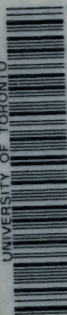
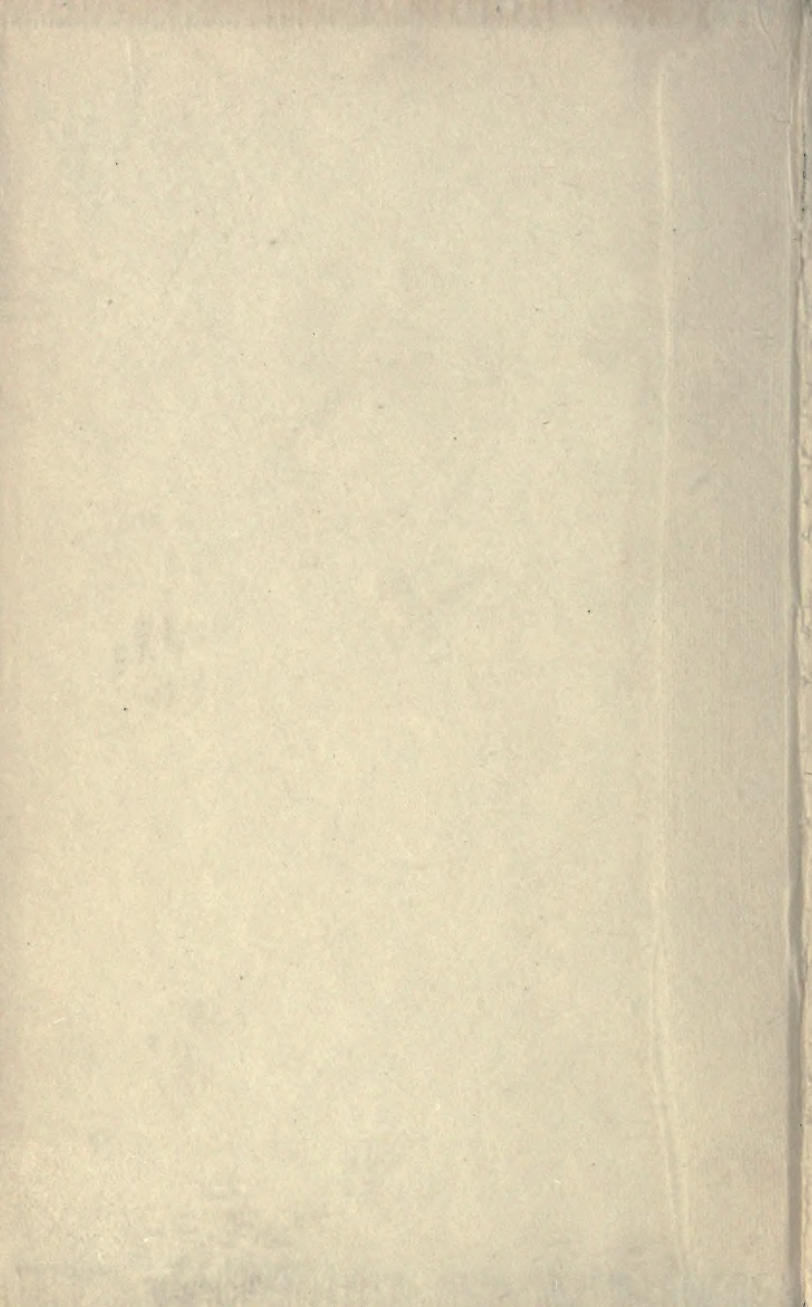


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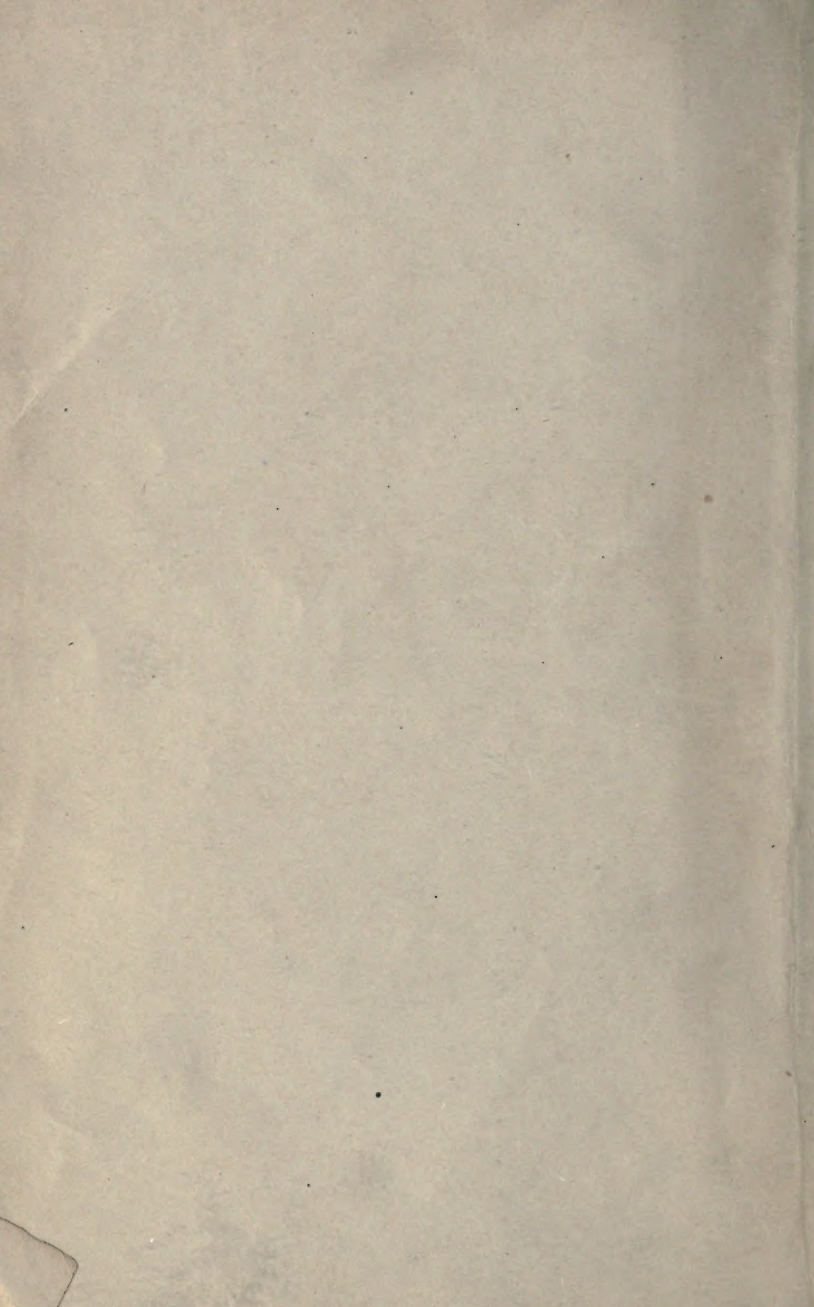




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# THE LAWS OF PLATO

THE TEXT EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION,  
NOTES, ETC.

BY

E. B. ENGLAND, Litt.D.

LATE WARDEN OF HUME HALL AND ASSISTANT LECTURER IN CLASSICS  
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## ANALYSIS OF BOOK VII

**788 a 1.** This book deals with τροφή and παιδεία. The details of these subjects are so numerous and minute, that it is impossible to give a legal sanction to all our recommendations as to nurture and education, or to attach penalties for their infringement. It is, however, very important for the well-being of the community that the recommendations should be wise, and the general practice uniform.

**c 6.** It is clear that both body and soul must grow into their most perfect form. To begin with, physical growth, up to five years of age, is three times as rapid as it is afterwards; therefore during that period the need for bodily motion and bodily exercise is far more pressing than at any other time: even before birth the need must be recognized, and pregnant mothers should walk about as much as possible. Even after the children can stand, they should be carried about by nurses till they are three years old. If they walk too soon their legs will suffer. Such directions can, of course, only be observed if the masters and mistresses understand how important they are, both for their families and for the state.

**790 b 8.** Constant motion is good for the mind as well as for the body—especially for the very young. Witness the experience of nurses of little children, and of those who tend patients who are subject to states of frenzy. Some sort of motion is found to be a cure for the sleeplessness of the former, and of the mental excitement of the latter.

**e 5.** Fear is the cause of both disorders, i.e. the disturbance is *psychical* in origin. When you *shake* such sufferers, you apply an external disturbance, which overshadows, or gets the better of, the internal tremors and frenzies, and induces peace and quiet in the soul.

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**791 b 4.** This (mechanical) suppression of fear in the young will conduce to the growth of the virtue of courage. That is what I meant by saying it was good for the mind.

**c 8.** In the same way care should be taken to avoid, as much as possible, all occasion of pain and vexation to young children: the fewer the tears, the better the temper. But this does not mean that they are to be *indulged* with all the delights that we can procure for them. Complete repression, on the one hand, produces a morose and slavish disposition: on the other hand, unlimited indulgence produces irritability and makes children morbidly susceptible to all kinds of emotion. Don't be too anxious to give children "a good time"; a pleasure-loving and pleasure-seeking temperament is a snare. All through life the same principle holds: it is not good for man to make the pursuit of pleasure, or the avoidance of pain, his first object: he should deliberately prefer a *middle state* of placid content to one of ecstatic enjoyment. (He should fear one extreme as much as the other.) In no case is this more important than in that of the very young: even before their children's birth mothers should avoid either extreme alike.

**793 a 9.** Let me pause here to insist again on the vital importance of these admonitions and recommendations. We call such practices as we are inculcating "*unwritten laws*," "*tribal tradition*," "*the custom of the country*." It is imperative that these habits should be salutary. If they are, they form a protecting covering to the positive laws; they hold to those laws much the same relation as the clamps that bind masonry together do to the individual blocks. If these bonds are ill fitted, and get out of place, the whole fabric of society falls to pieces, and no further development is possible. Don't despise such trifles: without the trifles the great things cannot exist.

**d 7.** Such then must be the treatment up to the age of three. From *three* to *six* is the age of *play*; but judicious, and not humiliating punishment should check excessive indulgence of all kinds. Facilities for playing together will be given, to the children of each district, in the sacred enclosures attached to the temples. Children will invent their own games. They must at such times have their nurses with them, and nurses and all must be under the supervision of twelve staid and ancient dames chosen by the women who superintend marriage, and appointed, one to each tribe, by the Guardians of the Laws. These officials may deliver offenders to punishment without appeal, if the



offenders are slaves or aliens: citizens may appeal from their sentence to the *ἀστυνόμοι*.

794 c 3. At *six* boys and girls are to be separated, and are to begin to learn something: boys to be sent to learn riding, shooting and slinging—not that girls are forbidden to learn these things if they like—and the use of arms in general. Here I stop to criticize a point in our usual practice, and correct a general mistake. I mean the mistake of thinking that *nature* has given any superior advantage to the right *hand* as compared with the left (though no one thinks this about the feet). Thanks to the folly of our nurses and mothers, we have grown up as good as *lame* in one hand. Nature gave both sides the same capacity, and our perverse habits have spoiled one side. When a task takes *two* hands, and when it does not matter, you may train only the right to one part, and only the left to the other; but don't do this where it *does* matter. A Scythian can shoot equally well to right and left, because either hand can do either part of the action. When a man is in battle he may often want his shield on his right side and his weapon on his left. Follow the wrestler's example, and *train* both sides both for attack and defence. Suppose a hundred-handed giant practised throwing with only one of them! What a waste of good material! All in authority ought to see to this; nurses must watch the children, at play and at meal-times, and their various instructors later; we must not spoil what nature gives us.

795 d 6. All instruction which concerns the *body* comes under the head of *γυμναστική*: all that is to benefit the *mind*, is *μουσική*. The former has two divisions: (1) *dancing*, (2) *wrestling* or *boxing* contests. Dancing again aims either (1) at the stately or mimetic, or (2) at pure agility and suppleness. In wrestling and boxing we are not to emulate the skill of the professional—only to try to turn out able-bodied soldiers. Among dances, special attention should be paid to national *armed* dances, and religious processions. Any competitions in dancing should be for places in these dances or processions.

ε. 796 ~~4~~ 4. We thought we had done with *μουσική* (in Bk. II), but its *educational* aspect remains to be treated.

797 a 1. To begin with, I must (digress to) make a statement which may surprise you. That is, that the children's *playground* calls for the lawgiver's close attention. If the children go on playing the same games, generation after generation, it is well with the state. New fashions in games, and all that belongs to

them, mean mischief—mean disrespect for, and discontent with, what is old and established, and a restless craving for novelty. Such a temper is a national curse.

**d 8.** I call for your very particular attention when I say that I profoundly believe that in all things *change is a great evil*, unless what is changed is itself bad. You must get used, e.g., to a particular diet, before you assimilate it properly. Another diet may be just as good, but it is not so good for *you*, as the one to which you are accustomed. It is the same with the mind and character. Among people blessed with laws and customs of immemorial antiquity, mere *use* and *familiarity* beget respect for what is established. The lawgiver will greatly help to produce this blessed state of things if, instead of thinking that “child’s-play” does not matter, and that novelties in it may be encouraged, he reflects that, when mercurial children become men and women, they will be discontented with the laws and customs of their state—and where will his laws be then? I don’t mean that all change is *equally* disastrous. Change in dress and bodily appearance does not matter much. Not so, however, frequent alterations of opinion as to what sort of character is praiseworthy, or the reverse.

**798 d 7.** We said, you remember, (at 655 d 5) that musical tune and rhythm are *mimetic*—sometimes imitating good characters, and sometimes bad. It is therefore of the greatest importance that the young should acquire the taste for the better music to sing and dance to, and that no one should tickle their ears with what is bad. Like the Egyptians, we must give a sacred character and sanction to the good, and rule out every other sort from all public functions. A list of music for all special occasions must be officially prepared, and its adoption enforced by judicial penalties.

**799 c 4.** Even a young man, when he sees or hears what is foreign or strange, takes time to make up his mind about the course he should pursue with regard to it. Do not let *us* then be in a hurry to settle this difficult question, but leave it for the present undecided, and go on with our remaining laws and recommendations. Perhaps we may find light on it by the way.

**e 10.** The name *νόμοι* which our ancestors have given to kinds of music, shows that they had an inkling of the truth of our demand that the disregard of official regulations as to *music* should be reckoned a crime.

**800 b 4.** It will be best to give examples of the procedure

in cases of such transgression. For instance, suppose one member of a family made a blasphemous interruption in the course of a family sacrifice; would it not be a shock to his relations? Yet something like this is what is being done everywhere. When a public official is performing a public sacrifice, there follow him not one chorus, but many. They approach the altars, and cover the victims with blasphemy, wringing the hearts of the audience with doleful ditties; and the one who draws the most tears gets the prize. If people want that sort of funereal music, they should avoid festal days, import foreign-hired mourners, and dress them accordingly. This example explains the first requisite to be demanded of our music, i.e. *εὐφημία*—*it must not be impious*.

**801 a 5.** Secondly, the gods must be addressed in prayer.

**a 8.** Thirdly, what is asked for in prayer must be something *good* and not *bad* for us. Of this question poets are not the best judges; for instance, a poet might pray that the state should become *wealthy*, and we saw above that the less gold and silver the state has, the better. Ceremonial poems must therefore be approved by the proper state authority before they can be published.

**e 1.** Another subject of prayer is *praise*—of gods, heroes and the worthy dead—not of the living, though.

**802 a 5.** The list of approved songs and dances is to be prepared in the following way. *Censors* are to be chosen to select, revise, and reject, from among all existing compositions; taking poets as their assessors, but not giving them—except in a very few cases—a free hand: All poetry is the better for having to submit to rules, and does not lose thereby in real charm. Charm partly depends on familiarity; men like what they are used to, but they can only get *good* out of the *right* sort: the other does them harm.

**d 8.** The style of music must moreover be adapted to the *sex* of the performer—men's is martial and grand, women's reserved, and self-restrained.

**803 a 1.** Such a general regulating ordinance should be accompanied by detailed directions as to methods of instruction. I am not, however, giving such now. My object is like that of the shipwright when he lays the keel of a ship: he wants to fix *its general size and shape*. I am showing you the *main lines* of the character which I think will best weather the voyage of life.

**b 3.** After all, what *is* important? Our relations, I answer, to the Deity, and our appearance in his eyes. I have before

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called man God's plaything. If I am right, the way man *plays* must be *important*. In other words, Religion and Art, and the occupations of peace, are more important than the grim earnest of war. Do not therefore (like the Spartans) make *war* the one important thing in life, but study with me the art of *peace*. I have, as I say, only given you the *outlines* of this study: your own natural endowment of mind will enable you to supply the details.

You think all this is humiliating for human nature? You cannot think of man as in God's presence without a deep humiliation. I don't mean that I don't care for mankind really.

**804 c 2.** There should be three separate school-buildings in the city itself; each with its γυμνάσιον attached, and each with a larger exercise- and riding-ground in the suburbs. Spare no money in getting the best teachers from other cities. *Make attendance at school compulsory. The state has a right over its children which overrides the right of the parent.*

**d 6.** *The training of girls and boys should be identical.* Tradition and travellers' accounts alike prove that women *can* fight. Why diminish the efficiency of the state in every direction by one half? Experience proves that women *can* do the same work as men. If not the same, we must arrange another life for them. What is it to be? Shall we make them drudges like the Thracian women? Are they to be mewed up at home as house-stewards like our Athenian women? Or are we, like the Spartans, to educate boys and girls together up to a certain point, and then leave the women little or nothing to do when they are grown up?

**806 d 7.** When, by satisfactory domestic and economic arrangements, *leisure* has been secured, *what are we to do with it?* Is there anything which we *must* do with it? Is a man merely to lead an animal existence, and fatten like a pig? If so, he will be *eaten* like a pig, by somebody who has kept thin by using his time more strenuously. The institution of the *family* may somewhat fetter a man's highest activities, but even so there is a task for which he should strive with all his might; and that is *so to live as to develop the best that is to be got out of body, mind, and character*. This is a stupendous task, and will demand careful ordering of every hour of day and night. Sleep must be curtailed as much as possible. With dawn the children must be off to school, *always under due supervision, compulsion, and restraint*—even to the extent of corporal punishment—all under the supervision of the Supreme Minister of Education, whom the law must carefully instruct as to his important duties.



809 b. Passing from the regions of art and physical training we come to that of the *intellect*. First come *reading and writing*; then *lyre-playing*; then mathematics—which last we saw above to have valuable practical applications in daily life. Another subject of great practical use is *Astronomy*.

e. The lawgiver must indicate the *extent* to which all these subjects must be studied, and the *time* to be spent on them, and the ages when they are to be begun and left off. Reading and writing come from 10 to 13; lyre-playing from 13 to 16. These subjects must be forced on the reluctant, while those who take to them naturally must not be allowed to go too far on the road to virtuosity.

810 b 4. Next comes the question, what *literature* are the children to read? We are told they ought to be “well read”; but is there not a danger here? The *sort* of book they may read with advantage is this which I am writing: *Plato's Laws*. Teachers who object to this as a type must be dismissed. So much for letters, and literature.

812 b 2. As to *Music proper*, we must trust to our musical experts of the Dionysiac Choir to say what tunes have a good moral effect, and what a bad one. Learners must be taught to play correctly, but they must not aim at complicated effects, or extraordinary proficiency. Complications will make the subject generally unpopular: besides, we have not time for them. The words and rhythm of the songs, and the means of familiarizing learners with what is good in them, we have dealt with when talking of music in general.

813 a 7. About *Dancing* too there remains something to be said here. There must be teachers of dancing, and the supervision of these will be one more task for the hard-worked Minister of Education; but he will get help here from capable citizens. He will know how important the subject is. It will be remembered that we have gymnasia, and practice-grounds for military exercises, and riding and shooting; and state teachers for these subjects—which are moreover compulsory for both sexes—for there may be occasions when women, like hen-birds, will have to fight in defence of their offspring.

814 c 6. *Wrestling* should be taught with the necessities of the battlefield in view, and only such parts of it as are serviceable for that object. So much for the Palaestra.

e 1. Of *ῥῥησις* proper there are two kinds: the *serious*, and the *comic*. The serious again may be divided into (a) *martial*—

*armed* dances, imitating offensive and defensive attitudes, and the test of excellence in these is the degree to which they foster manly and vigorous bearing—and (b) *peaceful*, and the test of this kind is the question, “are its postures and attitudes those of a worthy man and a good citizen?” As for Bacchic and Satyric dances, which have some strange connexion with expiatory religious rites, they are neither peaceful nor martial; all we can say is that they are unworthy of a respectable citizen.

**815 d 5.** Of the *peaceful* dance one kind is prompted by a sense of well-being—either (a) because toils and dangers have been overcome, or (b) past blessings continue. Of these (a) is the more lively. The liveliness indeed varies according (1) to the height of the pleasure felt, and (2) to the power of self-restraint in the dancer. The fact is, *no one, when singing or speaking can keep his body still.* That is the origin and source of the dance. The character of the dance reveals the character of the man. There is much true significance in the name *ἐμμελεία* (“gracefulness” or “concinuity”) which is bestowed on the typical peaceful dance of the right kind. The lawgiver then must devote the same care to the choice and nationalization of dances as to those of songs and tunes. The comic and baser dances should be witnessed, as lessons in expression, and as warnings, but not danced by any self-respecting man or woman; they are for slaves and hired aliens, and no uniform kind of them must be allowed to become familiar to the spectator.

**817 a 2.** Serious dramatists are indeed worthy of honour; but they touch too closely on the great questions and interests which the lawgiver has at heart. They would conceivably be his *rivals*. He will not admit them unless he is quite sure that they can teach better lessons than he can himself.—Such then are the principles which should guide the education of the young in these artistic matters—I mean the young of the free citizens; slaves are different.

**e 5.** There remain three subjects of liberal education: (1) Arithmetic, (2) Geometry, and (3) Astronomy. Deep study of these three is not for the multitude. All they want is a grasp of certain *necessary* truths (for there is a real necessity about these subjects, which, in a sense, is binding even upon the divine nature). Ignorance of such truths on the part of a man is a grievous blot on his character, as well as a serious inconvenience, and a bar to further study. This, however, is not the place for a detailed outline of mathematical study. All I will say is that, if the subject is not rightly studied, it had better be left alone. Children should begin, as they do in Egypt, with questions about the

## ANALYSIS OF BOOK VIII

distribution of apples, and wreaths, and the like. When they grow up, they will want to apply these calculations to the necessities of life.

**819 c 7.** As to geometry, an extraordinary and disgraceful misconception is prevalent—I shared it myself till quite lately—i.e. that all measurements of line, surface, or body, are commensurable. The whole question of commensurability deserves far more attention than it has hitherto obtained, and should be included in school mathematics. All these directions I would submit to a subsequent revision if it were necessary.

**820 e 8.** In astronomy also false notions are prevalent. I have only lately become convinced that it is a complete misconception to think that the so-called “wanderers” (*πλανητὰ ἄστροα*) “wander,” or that the sun and moon go sometimes in one course, and sometimes in another. We are also altogether wrong in our notions of the comparative speed with which the heavenly bodies move. I will not demonstrate this now, but I have said enough to show the importance of including astronomy in our curriculum.

**822 d 2.** There remains the regulation of *field-sports*. Here the good citizen will attend to the expressed opinion of his guides, as well as to their express commands or prohibitions. The only really *healthy* form of sport, they will tell him, is the ordinary hunting of wild quadrupeds, with the help of horses and dogs. No night trapping; no bird-catching, except in wild country; fishing to be regulated by proper restrictions as to places and methods.

## ANALYSIS OF BOOK VIII

**828.** The next thing we have to do is to fix the dates for the festivals of the twelve patron deities of the twelve tribes. There must be one in each month, and on these occasions choric and gymnastic competitions must be held. The infernal deities must be thus honoured in Pluto’s month, the twelfth. In this connexion we must not forget to ordain monthly *military field-days*, extending over one or more days in each month in all weathers. In these the whole population must take part, and they should take the form of sham-fights, in which excellence shown by men or women should be honoured by poetical compositions by

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duly accredited poets. The lawgiver must remember that he is training his citizens for real combat, and just as all athletes make their training exercises as like as possible to those needed in the actual combat, so these mimic fights must approach as nearly as possible to the conditions of actual warfare. In view of these monthly field-days the citizens must both individually, and in choric groups, train their bodies by constant daily exercises, and drill themselves for all the operations of war. In these contests even danger must not be wholly shunned, for courage as well as skill needs development. Even the sacrifice of a few lives on such an occasion may have to be borne. Better lose a few lives, than lose courage from the state, and lose the chance of discovering who are bold and who are not. The reason why more states do not recognize the need of such elaborate military training is twofold. One reason is that though their citizens are willing to endure any labour or even any disgrace in order to make money and secure the selfish and often sordid enjoyments that money will procure, they will not put themselves out for patriotic motives. So the orderly among them turn into merchants and traders, and the disorderly, poor men ! starve their souls and become thieves and robbers and despots, but in such states no brave citizen-soldiers are reared.

**832 c.** The second cause of this deficiency is the defective constitutions of the states—the democracies, the oligarchies and tyrannies which set class against class, and kill the true patriotic spirit. You will never raise brave citizen-warriors in a state where power depends on fear. In the state for which we are now legislating each man is *free* and his time is not absorbed by sordid occupations. Our laws secure both these objects. In our state then we shall have military training and mimic warfare.

We will now proceed to detail the kinds of athletic contests necessary to such training. The test of all exercises and contests must be this, do they prepare for the battlefield or not? In the first place we must aim at speed of foot, and dexterity of hand and arm. In all such displays the athlete must be *fully armed and equipped as a soldier*. There are to be races of various kinds, on courses and across country ; single combats, combats between equal numbers, both for heavy-armed, and for all classes of light-armed soldiers, according to fixed rules ; and all these are to be open to women just as much as to men, and to be arranged in sections according to age. (Naturally quite young girls could do no more than the races on the course, and they need



not carry arms.) Crete is not the place for chariots, but riders of horses of various ages may contend under the direction of the cavalry authorities — and of course, fully-armed ; horse archers too, perhaps, as we have in Crete. In these latter contests the women may take part if they like, but they are not to be compulsory for them.

**835.** Musical contests also will be features in these holiday festivals, and rules must be framed for these likewise.

**c1.** The thought of these festal meetings of young people forces on us the consideration of sexual passion and its dangers. There is a plague-spot here which with God's help we will try to eradicate. I refer to the unnatural indulgence of men with men. In Crete the repression of this vice will be as hard as it is necessary. Certainly anyone who would legalize such a practice could not possibly defend such a law on the ground that it made any mortal *better*. On the contrary the practice cannot fail to deteriorate both the characters involved. To the understanding of this question a consideration is necessary of the nature of passion and desire. Attraction may either (1) arise between the equally endowed, or (2) it may be felt by need for affluence. The first is between equals, the second between unequals. When either of these attractions is strongly felt we call it "passion" (*ἔρως*). The former kind is mild and mutual, the latter violent and generally one-sided. There is, however, a third kind in which both kinds of attraction are at work, but in the case of which we cannot tell which of the two antagonistic motives predominates. The second element in this second or mixed sort contributes a craving for the satisfaction of a bodily appetite, while the first contributes a respect for admirable mental qualities and a desire to enhance them. It is clear that we must encourage the first kind of passion and ban the second and even the third.

**838.** How is the lawgiver to manage this? A unanimous public opinion is enough to ban certain forms of incestuous intercourse. *If* one could only increase this number of things *not to be done* by the addition of, firstly, paederasty, and secondly, all sexual intercourse except that between man and wife, our object would be easily secured. But the riotous opposition of lecherous youth will most likely prove too strong for the lawgiver when he tries to include these two things. It will be the case of the *sussitia* for women over again ; there will be too strong a party against such a law.

**840.** The example of athletes in training who abstain is

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enough to prove that a virtuous life is *possible* to any man. Can we not bring men to think the victory over self and pleasure as glorious as victory in the Olympic games? If the lawgiver has regretfully to confess, in face of the prevalence of vice, that he cannot, what is the next best thing for him to do?

**841.** Besides calling in the aid of hard physical exercise for the young, he must foster the feeling of *shame* in connexion with sexual indulgence, and he must manage to associate disgrace with the discovery of illicit connexion. He will then have to rely on three curbs to lust: the fear of God, the fear of man, and the growth of admiration for *spiritual beauty*. It is too much to hope that these motives would keep *all* men perfectly virtuous. We *may* hope so to stamp out paederasty; and further we may hope to make fornication and adultery less common, by making them disreputable.

**842 b.** It having been settled that we are to have some sort of public messes, we have now to consider the production of our food-supply. Our city is to be an inland one, fortunately. To legislate for an agricultural community is a much simpler thing than to regulate the varied and complicated activities of a bustling seaport.

**e 5.** Among farmers *boundaries* must be held sacred, and legal redress be provided for their infringement.

**843 b 7.** Encroachments made by neighbours or by neighbours' flocks shall be punishable by the full court of the *ἀγρονόμοι*, the less important cases being dealt with by their leaders the *φρούραρχοι* alone. The same shall apply to thefts of bee-swarms and injuries caused by fire or by the plantation of trees too close to a neighbour's boundary. Detailed legislation on such subjects, as also on that of irrigation, well-digging and damage by flood (in town as well as country) may well follow old-established precedent. Generally in these cases the fine imposed should be twice the damage done.

**844 d 4.** Fruit meant for storage or for wine must not be gathered before the rising of Arcturus; picking such fruit even on one's own land is actionable, more so on another's land, and especially on that of a neighbour. The finer or table fruit you may pick (on your own land) when you like. Hospitality enjoins that a foreigner (and one attendant) may pick table fruit unmolested, but he must not be allowed to touch storage fruit. As to the less valuable kinds of fruit, you may take them if nobody sees you; if you are caught and you are a citizen and under

thirty, the owner may use the stick to you with impunity ; an older man or a foreigner may pluck them at will, but must not pocket any. Soil, sunlight and air may be left exposed without fear, but water, another necessary to the farmer, may be diverted or abstracted or polluted ; against all such acts the law must provide remedy and restitution. Where the benefit is three times the damage done to his neighbour, a man may have a right-of-way through his neighbour's land for the conveyance of his crops. Such arrangements and the assessment of damages for all kinds of evil inflicted on a neighbour up to a value of three minae shall be in the hands of the local magistrates ; more important charges must go before the public courts, which shall also grant an appeal from the local official decision. If a fine is then judged to have been unjustly inflicted the magistrate is fined twice the original amount. The details of legal procedure may be left to younger legislators to settle according as their experience may dictate.

**846 d 1.** So much for farmers. As to handicraft work the rules must be as follows : (1) A citizen will incur disgrace if he does any such work or lets his slave do it. The citizen's craft is statesmanship, and no ordinary man can practise more than one craft with efficiency ; hence (2) the handicraftsmen shall confine themselves each to his own craft, nor must one man *employ* workers of another kind than his own. In the case of these foreigners the punishment shall be fine, imprisonment or banishment. Questions as to their wages or efficiency, or to any complaints of one against another must be settled by the city magistrates, or in more serious cases by the public courts, according to the law.

**847 b 7.** Inasmuch as nothing beyond strict necessities is to be imported and nothing that *is* necessary is to be exported, there will be no tolls or imports. Importation and exportation must be regulated by the twelve junior Nomophylakes, except in the case of munitions of war, as to which the chief military authorities must decide under their superintendence. But neither in this case nor in that of any other commodity must any profit be made out of the transaction.

**e 2.** *Distribution* of the food-supply should be arranged more or less as in Crete. The whole produce grown on land must be divided into twelve monthly parts which must not be broken into. Each twelfth must again be divided proportionally into three lots ; one for the citizens, the second for their slaves, the third

for the resident foreigners whether handicraftsmen or not. This third portion is the only portion of produce for which *money* must be paid. The three shares are to be equal in *value*, not necessarily in quantity. The masters are to decide as to the distribution of lots one and two as between themselves and their slaves. If anything is over after the wants of these three classes have been supplied, divide it by quantity alone according to the number of domestic animals.

**848 c 7.** The villages, like the city, must be built after a definite plan. Select a place for an *ἀγορά* and build temples round it, being careful to keep alive the worship of all local deities. In every village there should also be temples of Hestia, Zeus and Athene together with that of the patron deity of the *κώμη*. These four temples are to be in the fortified citadel—naturally on the higher ground. Each *κώμη* should be equipped with a settlement of handicraftsmen, as should each twelfth part of the city—where the handicraftsmen are to be dispersed in the suburbs—those in the villages being of the kind needed by the farmers. All these details are to be arranged by the *φρούραρχοι* of the *ἀγρονόμοι* and the chief officers of the *ἀστυνόμοι* in the country and city respectively. The city market is to be in charge of *ἀγορανόμοι*. These officers have to protect the temples, to keep order among the crowd, and to supervise the traffic between citizens and *ξένοι*. On the first of every month the foreign middlemen expose for sale the monthly share of corn and the like: the 10th is the market-day for wine and oil, the 20th (?) for beasts, and such implements and manufactured articles as are only produced on the farms. But no citizen or citizen's slave is to *trade* in these articles; this must be left to the foreign middlemen who sell in the *foreigners'* market—as do also the butchers. Firewood may be bought any day, and in any quantity, from the wholesale buyers. All other manufactured goods must be brought for sale into the *common* market. Here the authorities assign local limits to each trade, and preside over the traffic; of which it is a rule that no credit is to be given by buyers or sellers. It has before been laid down that no citizen may increase or decrease his property beyond certain fixed limits. The same law applies to foreigners—who like citizens have their property registered, as long as they remain in the country. A foreigner moreover must not stay more than twenty years in the country (counting from his fifteenth year, if born there), unless his worth can gain him special permission. All foreigners must have a craft, and the only tax exacted from them is good behaviour.



## ANALYSIS OF BOOK IX

**853.** Next come the assessing of penalties and the constitution of law-courts. Some of the offences we are going to legislate for are so heinous that it may seem a disgrace to a city to have them mentioned in its laws. But we do not live in a Golden Age; human nature is weak: besides, there are always foreigners and slaves in a city for whose education it is not responsible.

**854.** Take the case of temple-robbing, and sacrilege generally. The lawgiver must first point out, to those who may conceive the idea of such crimes, that they are *possessed*, and that they must strive by expiatory religious acts, and by the help of good companions and right thoughts, to free themselves from the possession—if not so, by a voluntary death. For such an offence the penalty, for foreigner or slave, is branding, scourging, and banishment from the country: possibly this may bring the culprit to a better state of mind—and that, of course, is the object of all legal punishment. If the culprit is a citizen his case is hopeless: he must die, and that is not all; he must be made an example of, and his body cast forth from the country, and his name forgotten.

**855 b.** Where the question is one of *damage* done, so much of a man's property may be taken to make it good as is not needed for the due equipment of his holding. If this superfluous property is not large enough to pay the damage, and he cannot get his friends to contribute, he must go to prison and suffer dishonour—but not to the extent of complete *ἀτιμία*.

In all cases the legal penalty, great or small, must be exacted.

**c 6.** The *death*-penalty must only be inflicted by a court consisting of the pick of the last year's magistrates, sitting with *νομοφύλακες*. The correct procedure may be left to younger legislators to determine. The voting must be in open court. Each party must be allowed only one speech, and the court must announce reasoned decisions—any judge, i.e., who has one to give—which must thrice be duly recorded and solemnly attested on three consecutive days, and each judge must then deliver a sworn verdict.

**856 b 1.** Next to sacrilege come questions of treason to the constitution. Any citizen who fails to prosecute one guilty of such treason is only less guilty than the offender himself. The court in this case must be the same as in that for sacrilege, and the procedure the same.

**c 8.** Children are not to be implicated in the guilt or shame of their parents, except where three generations share the guilt. In that case the families must be sent out of the colony, with their superfluous property, back to their original state, and suitable new owners must be chosen for their holdings.

**5 e.** The same court shall try cases of *treachery*, *sacrilege* and *treason*.

**857 a 2.** *Thefts*, whether of private or public property, shall be restored twofold out of superfluous property; in default the offender must go to prison at the will of the offended party.

**b 4.** The question naturally arises, how far does the *amount* stolen, or the circumstances of the theft, modify the guilt? That reminds me that here again we may learn from the analogy of the educated physician and his educated patient. The lawgiver ought not to be content with the minimum of enactment that is *necessary*, but must try hard to see what is *best*. We have time to look well round us and examine all our stores before making a final choice. Incidentally I would here advise that the legislator's work should be seriously regarded as a valuable piece of didactic *literature*, and a touchstone whereby to try the worth of other literature dealing with the same topics. The Law will then become to us a loving parent to *guide* us rather than a threatening tyrant to *command*.

**859 b 6.** From this wider survey we have evidently something still to learn—e.g. about the nature of crimes of sacrilege and theft, as about all injuries. Take the question of what is *admirable* and *right* in general. Everybody admits that what is right is admirable, but it does not follow that every righteous man is *handsome*. Further, there are two sides to every action: (1) there is the action as *done* by someone, and (2) the action as *submitted to* by some person or thing to whom it is done. If the action is right, both its active and passive sides, so to speak, must be right, and therefore admirable.

**860.** We are thus forbidden to call any rightful visitation or suffering ugly or disgraceful. And yet, just now, we said it was right for the temple-robber or the subverter of good laws to be put to death; but at the same time we saw that, though we might think we had a *right* to affix this penalty to countless other offences, it would be an *ugly* thing to do. Here then was something *right* which was not admirable; and such will often be the verdict of the multitude.

**c 4.** Possibly we may avoid such a contradiction, if we recon-

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sider our former contention that *all evil-doing is involuntary*. It is nonsense to call what is involuntary a voluntary action. "Does that mean," you will ask, "that there is no need for Law to prohibit any action?—or again, that you are not to say that, when a man does a thing on purpose, you are to punish him more severely than if he does it by accident?" Well, you know, we found it hard to be sure about questions of right and wrong sometimes; may there not also be some confusion that needs clearing up in our notions of voluntary and involuntary? I cannot give up my belief that all wrong-doing is involuntary; but perhaps we may find that what the world in general means by the two terms voluntary and involuntary is not what I mean. Let us see then if we can define the difference. It often happens that one citizen *hurts* another, often on purpose, often not. However serious the hurt may be, I shall not call an unintended injury an *ἀδικία* (criminal wrong-doing). Even a *benefit*, on the other hand, *may*, in some circumstances, be an *ἀδικία*. The *spirit* and the *principle* of the action must in both cases decide as to its legal character. The Law has two duties: (1) it must aim at *making good* the damage done—and thus abolish *enmity*; (2) when harm is done with evil intent, and out of an evil heart, the Law must not only make good the damage, but must try to *cure* the evil heart, and win it to a love of righteousness. If he finds it *incurable*, the lawgiver must ordain death, in the interests both of the criminal and of the community.

**863.** A little psychology is needed here in order to grasp the difference between *damage* and *crime*, and (so-called) intentional and unintentional hurtfulness. One element or affection of the soul is *θυμός* (passion), a pugnacious and intractable bit of nature—headstrong and violent. A *second* element is the susceptibility to the seductions of *pleasure*, which is an agent that uses persuasion, not force to gain its ends. A *third* source of wrong-doing is *ignorance*. When this is *simple* it does not do much harm; but if folly claims to be wisdom, and is found in a strong nature, or high position, it is shockingly dangerous, though in the weak and lowly it is to be pitied as much as punished.

Passion and pleasure we either master, or are mastered by: ignorance, however, we can not represent in either of these ways; it is not an active principle. All these three motive powers, however, often act at once, and prompt to opposite courses of action.

**e5.** Now we come to *right* and *wrong*. The overpowering

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mastery in the soul of passion, fear, the seductions of pleasure, envy, and desire is *wrong*, and an *ἀδίκη*, whether it does any harm or not.

Where a man makes it the rule of all his action to ask what the state, and his fellows, think *best*, and do that, everything done on this principle is *right*, even if some damage should be done; though damage done by a man who acts from such a motive is generally (and wrongly) pronounced to be an *unintentional wrongdoing*.

**864 b.** For memory's sake we will arrange these motives as follows : (1) in the first place the painful motives of *passion* and *fear* ; (2) in the second *pleasure* and *desire* ; (3) in the third the influence of self-confident mistaken belief in what is for the best—this last being divided into three—(a) simple ignorance, (b) highly placed and powerful folly which thinks itself wisdom, and (c) a like self-confident folly which is impotent. We have thus *five* sources of error, which will give occasion for five classes of laws—each class having two divisions, according as the wrongful acts are *open* and *violent*, or *secret* and *crafty*.

**c 10.** To return to our law-making : we have dealt with sacrilege, treachery, and treason, but must add that madness, or extreme physical or mental imbecility, must excuse a criminal from all retributive penalty. He must of course make damage good, and if he has killed a man, he must be sent out of the country.

**865.** We are now in a position to deal with violent deaths brought about *unintentionally*. If a man has the misfortune accidentally to kill a comrade, either in the gymnasium, or when in military training, or when treating him as a physician, a ritual purification is all that is necessary. If a man under any other circumstances unintentionally causes another's death, directly or indirectly, he must pay damages—if, e.g., he has killed a slave, he must give his master another or pay twice his value—and the purifications must be more elaborate than in the first case. If he thus kills a slave of his own, purification only is required. If a free man is unintentionally slain, the purifications will be the same as in the case of the slave ; only the slayer must vacate the country of the slain man for a year : if he does not, the spirit of the dead, with the aid of his own memory, will cause him distress. If this exile be voluntarily submitted to, the nearest of kin to the deceased will, at the end of the year, make his peace with the slayer. If, however, the slayer breaks his



exile, or frequents a holy place without having purified himself from his guilt, the nearest of kin must prosecute him for murder, and a conviction will involve double penalties of all sorts. Should the nearest of kin fail to prosecute in such a case, he will bring on himself the slaughtered man's wrath, the pollution of the crime itself, and, at anybody's suit, is liable to a five years' banishment.—If the unintentional slayer and his victim be both foreigners, he is liable to the same kind of prosecution as the citizen: if he is a resident alien, he must depart for a year from the country: if a passing visitor, whether he kills foreigner or resident foreigner, or citizen, he must never return within the purview of our laws. If he does return, he is liable to death, and the confiscation of any property he has with him to the next of kin of his victim. Should he be shipwrecked on the coast of the country, he must bivouac with his feet in sea-water, ready to take the first boat that serves: should he be brought violently back, the authorities must release him and dismiss him from the land under safe-conduct.

**866 d 5.** Of murders inflicted in *anger* there are two kinds: one due to a sudden fit of passion which is repented of afterwards; the other to a steady and implacable passion of revenge. Neither case is quite as serious as deliberate unprovoked murder; but the latter resembles it, while the crime resulting from an ungovernable fit of sudden wrath is of a like character with the involuntary one. We decide on the *amount of guiltiness* of these crimes of anger by the consideration of the question whether they were *intentional* or not.—The murder of sudden passion involves a penalty of two years' exile, in which to mend the temper. That of deliberate revenge, one of three years. The circumstances of the crime, and the behaviour of the criminal when in exile will determine the state's reception of him when he returns.

**868.** If either of these offenders is led by the incitement of his wrath to commit a second murder, he must be exiled for good, and the penalty of a return must be death and confiscation (as in the case of the returning foreign murderer).—If a man kills his own slave in anger he must undergo purification: if another man's slave, he must pay him twice the slave's value.—If a man-slayer shirks the purification, and ventures on places of public resort of a sacred character, it is open to anyone to prosecute not only the criminal, but also the next of kin of his victim, for allowing it; the penalty is to be twice the original one, and the money part of it is to go to the prosecutor.—If a slave kill his master in anger,

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the relatives of the dead man may, without incurring any impurity, do anything to the slave except keep him alive; if the slave who kills a man belongs to someone else, his victim's relatives must be allowed, and even compelled to put him to death—in any way they like.—In the rare case of the slaying of a child by its parent the same purification must be undergone, an exile of three years endured, and the relationship between the child's parents must be for ever dissolved. The same penalty awaits the murder of one's wife or husband, and the family must shun the murderer. Disobedience to these injunctions lays a man open to prosecution for impiety. The same penalties attend the wrathful slaying of one's brother or sister, and the same for the infraction of the laws concerning it.

869. If an almost impossibly mad anger leads to the slaughter of a parent, the murderer, if his victim does not forgive him before death—in which case only purification and a year's exile are necessary—lays himself open to several "distinct damnations." For one thing, to break open the parent temple and rob it of life is an impious sacrilege, such as would merit repeated death, were such a thing possible. Such a deed is inadmissible even in self-defence: rather must anything be suffered. There can be no penalty less than death for it.—If a man slays a brother when attacked by him in civil strife, he is no more guilty than a soldier who kills an opponent in battle. So, too, in other cases of self-defence, whether against citizens or foreigners. If a slave, however, kills a free man in self-defence, the law must be the same as for the slayer of one's father: in the case of the victim's forgiveness the penalty is purification and a year's exile.

870. Next come intentional and inexcusable murders. First of motives for such crimes comes the overpowering love of money, which arises in a bad or uneducated nature. Men are even *trained* to love it by public talk and public opinion all over the world. Instead of putting *Soul* first, *Body* next, and *Property* third, they put the third first, although it is only useful as far as it serves the need of the other two—the second being the servant of the first. If the proper restrictions on the pursuit of wealth were urged and understood, there would be no such murders as these.—Next comes *ambition* as a motive for murder.—And thirdly guilty *fear* of exposure.

Besides this "prelude" on the subject, we must, in the case of the refractory, call in the aid of Religious Mythology and its experts, who tell us that it is fated that anyone who commits

such a murder must after death suffer exactly the same fate in another existence. Besides, the law in such cases is as follows: for a deliberate wicked murder of a fellow-citizen, first *seclusion* from civic life and public places of resort. If a relative of the deceased fails to prosecute, or to proclaim the murderer's seclusion, he will incur the pollution of the murder, and may be sued by anyone who likes, in the interest of the deceased. The court will be that which judges cases of sacrilege. The criminal condemned on such a charge must be put to death, and must not be buried in his native land.

**871 d 6.** If an accused man avoids prosecution by flight, he must never return: if he does it is to certain death.—The prosecutor must let the accused find bail if he can.

**872.** The plotter and instigator of a murder, though not polluted by it in body, is polluted in soul. The penalty is the same, except that his body *may* be buried in his native land—but he cannot claim to be let out on bail, if he is a citizen.

A slave who kills a free man by force or guile is to be flogged to death in sight of his victim's tomb.—If a citizen kills a slave for fear of what he knows, it is as if he had not been a slave, but a free man.

**c 7.** The legislator hardly likes to contemplate the possibility of a deliberate murder, either at first or second hand, of near relatives; but such murders *do* occur, even among citizens of reputable communities. As we said above, mythology teaches us that exactly the same fate awaits the murderer of a relative in another life. In one way or another such a crime cries out for the blood of the guilty man; and so, while we are bound to repeat the teachings of mythology, in the hope of preventing such a crime, we must also provide a penalty in this life. We ordain then the same proclamations of seclusion, and the same rules as to admission to bail as in the other cases of murder. If convicted, his dead body—to clear the state of pollution—must be subjected to public and official outrage by stoning, and then cast forth unburied in the outskirts of the land.

**873 c 2.** A man is even nearer akin to himself than to his relatives. What then if he wilfully takes his own life, and cheats Destiny? His next of kin must seek the advice of religious experts as to purification, and must bury his body, with no outward mark upon his tomb, in some out-of-the-way spot.—If a beast kills a man—supposing the beast is not running in a public race—the relatives must pursue the offending animal in the court of the

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ἀγρονόμοι, and if convicted, it must be banished the country.—The same fate must await any lifeless object (supposing it is not a thunderbolt from heaven).

874. If a murder appears to have been committed, and the murderer cannot be found, the same public proclamation must be made against the unknown, accompanied by threats of death on discovery.

b 6. A burglar slain by night, or a violent robber slain by day, a violator of a free woman (or free boy), slain by his victim, or his victim's near relatives, entails no guilt and no pollution. The same impunity attends the slaying by a husband of the outrager of his wife, or, by a son, of an unprovoked murderous assailant of his father.

d 2. We have legislated about the necessary nurture and education of the living *soul*, and the penalties for its extinction by *murder*. The *body's* nurture and training we have also dealt with; but we have still to discuss *violent injuries* to the body and their varying nature, and to assess penalties for them. Manifestly wounds and maimings come next after murders. Wounds, like murders, may be unintentional, due to (the supremacy of) anger or fear, or even deliberately intentional.

875. About all violence we have this "prelude" to deliver. But for laws men would act like the fiercest of wild beasts. Man is not born with the power of (1) discerning the needs of *social existence*, or (2) of satisfying these needs by his actions. He cannot see that what he personally wants and likes must come second to what is good for the community, and that he cannot secure his own prosperity except through that of the body to which he belongs. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ κοινὸν συνδεῖ, τὸ δὲ ἴδιον διασπᾷ τὰς πόλεις.

b. Even supposing a man saw all this, and was in such a position of independent power that there was no external hindrance to his acting on it, his human weakness will forbid him to live up to such a standard for long. And yet it is conceivable that a man endowed by Heaven with keen insight, if he were to attain to such a position of power, might be a law to himself and would need no outward restraint. Such a real insight is of course better than any law, and *Mind* must rule and not obey if it is true and free as God made it. But where is such a nature to be found? No; we must take the second best, and trust to ordinance and law; it cannot do everything, but it is generally adequate.

d 6. Wounds vary greatly in character. The Court has always to decide questions of fact, and the lawgiver may leave to it a



large amount of discretion as to the comparative seriousness of particular cases. Before we specify the points on which the lawgiver must insist, we must say something on the nature of the law-courts themselves. It is a grave public danger when a law-court is either (1) too private and secretive, or (2) too public, and truckles to the mob. The latter is the worse evil of the two. To neither of such courts can the lawgiver commit the decision of any but the most trivial matters. But if a state has good responsible judges most penalties may be left to them to assess; and we will assume that our judges are above the average. For their guidance on matters of principle we ordain the following law as to wounding.

**877.** A man who wounds when intending to kill deserves no *mercy* on account of his accidental failure; but respect must be shown for the Fateful Chance which saved one man from death and another from a worse crime. On this ground we banish him for life to the nearest state, without confiscating his property; damage of course to be made good as the murder-court may reckon it. If the wounded man is the parent, or master, or brother (or sister) of the criminal, the penalty must be death: if the husband or wife, lifelong exile. Infant children (if any) to be under guardians: adult children are to enjoy the family property, but must keep the exiled parent out of it; if there are no children, the relations, in conference with high state and religious officials, must appoint an owner for the derelict holding, and thereby, after due purification, provide the missing holder's ancestors with a fit successor.

**878 b.** The crime which springs from *anger* comes midway between "unintentional" and "intentional" crimes. In such cases damages are to be twofold if the wound is curable, fourfold if irremediable. If curable, but involving disfigurement, threefold. If the wounded man is debarred by his wound from military service, the offender must serve in his stead, as well as on his own account, or be liable to prosecution for desertion. Damages for wounds inflicted by children of the same family on one another to be assessed, in family conclave, by the parents; failing a decision from them, by the male relatives; failing them, by the Law-Wards. Of wounds inflicted by children on parents, men over sixty—if unrelated to the offender and having children of their own—are to be judges, with discretion as to penalty, which may be more or less than death. A man wounded by another man's *slave* must have the slave given over to him bodily, or have the damage

made good by the slave's owner. If the owner suspects that it is "a put-up job" he may prosecute; if he fails to secure a conviction, he must pay three times the damage; if he succeeds, the man who plotted with his slave is thereby convicted of the crime of man-stealing.

**879 b.** For wounds caused unintentionally simple damages must be paid—"τύχης γὰρ νομοθέτης οὐδεὶς ἱκανὸς ἀρχεῖν"—the court to be the same as for children who wound their parents.

**b 6.** Another form of violence is *outrage* (αἰκία). Respect for age is inseparable from a healthy community. A foreigner too must be respected. A blow from an elder (unless he be a childless man) must be borne with; a blow from a foreigner must only be met by legal proceedings. A blow must only be repaid in any case by nature's weapons. For offences against such precepts as these we provide the following law. If a man strikes any man twenty years older than himself, any bystander of an age between those of the combatants will incur disgrace if he does not try to separate them; the blow, moreover, is actionable and punishable by imprisonment for at least a year. If the offender is a foreigner and non-resident, the least sentence will be two years' detention; if a resident foreigner, three years. Bystanders who fail to interfere to prevent any of these assaults are to be fined according to their means, the court being composed of military officers.

**880 d 8.** Some laws are a guide to the well-disposed; others are meant as a terror to the depraved. For the self-confident impiety of the man who can go so far as to outrage his parents or grand-parents, death is too light a penalty, and as he makes light of tortures promised him in another world, he must be threatened with something worse than death in this. In such a case exceptional honours will attend the bystander who interferes, and exceptional penalties and disgrace the one who fails to do so; moreover, the guilty man himself must be a perpetual outlaw, with whom any communion will entail a dangerous pollution.

**882.** If a slave is seen striking a free man, bystanders must help to secure his person, and he must be handed over for chastisement to the man whom he assaulted. All these laws apply equally to both sexes.

## ANALYSIS OF BOOK X

**884.** The next concern of the lawgiver must be the fostering of respect for the sanctity of other persons' property, of other people's rights, and, above all, of religion. For the religious sanctity is the foundation of all sanctities, and the man who believes that the Gods of the Laws are real gods will never intentionally do an impious or unlawful thing.

**885 b 6.** The three causes of impiety are (1) disbelief in the existence of gods; (2) the belief that they exist but do not concern themselves with mankind; (3) the belief that by entreaties and sacrifices the gods may be prevailed on to overlook crime.

Objectors say: "though *authority* tells us that there are gods, and that they care for the laws, we want something more than authority to make us believe it. Most of us break laws either because we don't believe there are any gods, or because we hope to appease them afterwards."

This disbelief in any gods, or in such gods as our lawgiver believes in, does not spring solely from the desire for licentious indulgence. In Athens, at any rate, atheism has the support not only of the reaction against a foolish mythology, but also of a false *philosophy*.

**887.** If we cannot claim divine sanction for human justice, we shall be poorly off as lawgivers. We will therefore spare no pains or time in the endeavour to prove (1) that gods exist; (2) that they take an even greater interest in mankind's good than mankind do themselves; and (3) that they are incorruptible—not to be diverted from just judging and dealing by entreaties or sacrifices.

We must repress the exasperation which naturally arises against those who would rob us of long familiar and cherished beliefs, and argue calmly with atheists as man to man. For it is as important for them as for us.

**888 e 1.** On their side the sceptics state that the only creative forces they recognize are *φύσις*, design, and chance. Of these three they regard *design* as the least important—as merely aping the activity of *φύσις*. The primary productions of *φύσις*—substances of various kinds—they say, are all *ἄψυχα*, and their constitution is due to the chance clashing of opposite characters and motion, without the help of any god or mind or design whatever.

**889 c 6.** Design, they say, amuses itself at a later stage with mimicking these results of φύσις and τύχη, and among its sham products are the lawgiver's morality and theology. From this it would result that, as religion and morality are man-made, they lose their old sanction. A strong man who can impose his will on his fellows can make a morality and a religion to suit him. And so the κατὰ φύσιν ὀρθὸς βίος is to grow strong enough to do as one likes.

**890 b.** It is not enough for the lawgiver to *threaten* such men with penalties if they break his laws; it is his duty to try to convince them of their error,—and restore to *Mind* and *Design* their proper dignity—however much time and trouble it may cost him.

**891 c.** The important thing to notice is that these views make Nature the *producer*, and even the *essence* of primary substances or bodies: these, they say, are of the *first* order in creation; ψυχὴ springs from them, and is of the *second* order. This is the source of all their error, and this vitiates all their arguments. What our philosophy teaches us to be the cause of all coming into being, the lawbreakers' philosophy turns into a subsequent product of something else.

**892.** Like most men, they fail to recognize the nature and powers of ψυχὴ—how, above all, it stands *first* in the order of creation—prior to body of every kind—and has supreme power over any change or rearrangement whatsoever. This consideration at once puts ψυχὴ and all belonging to it in a class before and above *body* and all that belongs to it. In fact ψυχὴ is more φύσις than body—for the sceptics mean by φύσις to denote *primary production*, and that, as we say, is the work of ψυχὴ.

As being more used than you are to the subtleties of abstruse philosophy, I will for the present undertake the duty of answering the questions which the argument suggests. The first thing then we have to prove is that Soul is anterior to Body.

**893 b.** In the universe there is both *motion* and *rest*. Motion sometimes takes place without changing the moved body's area, sometimes takes place in many areas—in the latter case, sometimes by *gliding*, sometimes by *rolling*. (By the by, the motion of the wheel whose axle is fixed, is very interesting mathematically.)

**e.** Again, the clashings of moving with unmoving bodies produce *disruption*, and of two oppositely moving bodies *agglomeration*. By agglomeration bodies suffer *increase*, by disruption *decrease*, provided their principle of composition (ἔξις) remains unaltered. If however the ἔξις changes, bodies suffer destruction by both



kinds of clashing. Γένεσις, which is the opposite of destruction, is a process of the following kind. A *beginning grows*, reaches the first motion, then the second, and finally becomes perceptible to the senses by reaching the third. These changes and motions accompany all γένεσις.

894 b. Another classification of motions remains to be described : (1) motion may be *imparted* and *passed on*, or (2) *original*. The first comes from outside itself : the second *sets itself in motion*.

The first eight kinds of motion then are : (1) motion in one area, (2) motion in many areas, (3) agglomeration, (4) disruption, (5) increase, (6) decrease, (7) γένεσις, (8) destruction. It does not seem right to add the two kinds last mentioned—imparted, and original—to these as numbers 9 and 10. Rather ought the “*original*” to come first of all, and the imparted to rank as number 2. For supposing the universe were brought to a standstill together, the self-originated motion is the only kind that could help it to movement again. Being ἀρχὴ κινήσεως therefore the self-moving motion is πρεσβυτάτη καὶ κρατίστη. (It will be remembered that we started at 892 a to prove (1) that ψυχή was σωμάτων πάντων ἔμπροσθεν γενομένη, and (2) that it holds supreme command over change of every kind.)

When we see this self-moving motion, we call the thing in which it is manifested *alive*. And that is the very thing we say when we discern ψυχή in anything ; we say it *lives*.

896. The name of a thing and the definition of that thing are identical : ψυχή therefore being the name of independent activity, the two things are one and the same. And as nothing can originally happen without independent activity, ψυχή must be both prior in existence, and superior in power to everything else—and so prior to and superior to *body*. Therefore mental processes of every kind come before bodily extension of every kind.

897. All processes then and results throughout the universe, good and bad alike, must be the work of ψυχή or ψυχαί. When a body moves, a ψυχή has moved before it. The good things in the world are the work of a ψυχή acting under the (divine) guidance of νοῦς, bad things of a ψυχή bereft of that guidance (ἀνοία συγγενομένη). Inasmuch as the regular movement of the heavenly bodies tells of mind and calculation, it is clear that the ψυχή which set them going must be of the good kind. If their movement had been irregular and mad, we should have said it was of the bad kind.

Further, I suggest that we may see an *image* that tells us some-

thing of the nature of the movement of mind in that interesting kind of motion which we described above as movement in one and the same place, i.e. the revolution of a circular body about its centre. Both that motion, and that of the mind are in the same place, about the same point, in the same direction, and distributed, and arranged in a uniform ratio. The motions with which *voûs* has nothing to do show characteristics the opposite of all of these. The soul therefore, which is the cause of the heavenly revolution, having *voûs* for its guide, must be supremely good.

Soul is indiscernible by the bodily senses, and its action on bodies is mysterious. Probably, however, we are right in judging that each of the heavenly bodies is animated by a divine soul. Be this as it may, we have demonstrated, I think, that the  $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$  which is the cause of everything, and animates all existence is divine. That being so, we call upon our friends the atheists, if they cannot show our argument to be false, to believe in gods for the rest of their life.

**899 d 4.** We must next admonish the second class of sceptics, those, i.e., who believe in the gods, but think that they do not concern themselves with men and their affairs. To this view men are tempted by the sight of prosperous villainy.

**900 c 8.** I think I can show that the gods do take care for small things as well as for great ones. You acknowledge that they are perfectly virtuous—that they are, e.g., clear-headed and high-minded, and incapable of mean or disgraceful conduct of any kind. What would you think of a *man* who attended to the big parts of any task, and neglected the small ones? If he did, it would be either (1) because he thought the small parts did not matter, or (2) because he was too lazy to attend to them. The *knowledge* and *power* of the gods you admit to be unlimited; also their *virtue*. It cannot therefore be from *timidity* or *laziness* that they neglect small things (if they do so) nor from *self-indulgence* of any kind. On the other hand if there *is* no need for them to care for small things they must *know* it to be so. But *is* there no need?

**902 b 4.** Man is a creature with a living soul, and he is moreover god-fearing above all other creatures, and, like them, he is the *property* of the gods. Even the least important piece of property claims some care on the part of the owner. Moreover, smallness in itself has a claim to dignity; small things are harder to see and understand and manipulate than big ones. What would you think of a physician who paid no attention to a part of the body because

it was small? Or of any functionary who acted on this principle? A "waller" could teach you that big stones won't lie well without small ones to fill the gaps. Can not an all-seeing and all-powerful and perfectly virtuous god see this as well as a human workman?

**903 a 10.** This argument is, I think, unanswerable, but we must try not only to defeat our sceptic in argument, but to win him heartily to our side, by presenting a *great* view of divine providence.

"You yourself," we say to him, "are a part of a great whole, which is organized to its last fraction, and is all under perfect control. But you do not realize, notwithstanding your insignificance, that the *raison d'être* of every created creature or thing is the felicitous condition of the whole organism. The act of creation does not take place on *your* account, it is *you* who have been created to play your part in the *whole*. No human workman would elevate the *part* to the position and dignity of the *whole*: without the latter the former is nothing at all. The reason why you are out of temper is because you are too blind to see that your true interest is bound up with that of the whole universe. Without it you are nothing."

The work of the Great Disposer is this: to put souls which fill their place *well* into a better place (i.e. a more favourable bodily existence), and to degrade those which fill them ill. The rest of the organism is arranged on fixed lines, and body and soul are indestructible, but not indissoluble. In deciding thus a soul's place the Ruler of all has only to determine which position for each will work the most good in the world, and obviate the most evil. Do not forget that it is left to each soul by its actions or rather by the desires which prompt them, *to fit itself for a better or a worse position*. If you change *much* in this process, your lot, for good or evil, either in this world or in another, will change greatly too; for the soul must inevitably submit to the influence of its new surroundings.

**905.** That is how the Great Tribunal works. Do not flatter yourself that you can escape its verdict, however small or great you are. Prosperous villainy will in the Day of Judgement be found to be the reverse of prosperous.

**d.** It may be unnecessary, but listen further to the proof that there is no possibility of *bribing* the gods to connive at wrong. The gods are *ex hypothesi in authority*: can you imagine any *man* in any position of authority—say a ship's pilot, or a charioteer, or a physician, a farmer, or a stock-master—who would allow anyone

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to do mischief to his charge "*for a consideration*"? Would you make the gods worse even than sheepdogs?

907 b 10. So much for the three classes of sceptics. You may think I show over-much hostility to them. It is because their opinions lead to disastrous results for the community. I can only hope that this my prelude to the laws against impiety may turn their hearts.

For the impenitent the law must run thus: Bystanders must inform the authorities of impious acts or words, and these authorities must prosecute the offenders in the proper court, or be liable themselves to such a prosecution. Imprisonment must in all cases follow conviction—either in the *σωφρονιστήριον* of the Nightly Assembly, or in a remote prison in the wilds, according to the heinousness of the offence, and the character of the offender. The worst are those clever hypocrites who trade on the superstitions of the vulgar. For these and any others in whom a vicious nature is discernible, imprisonment in the last-named prison for life, and burial beyond the frontier is the penalty. Their children are to be given to the care of their legal guardians. Prisoners in the *σωφρονιστήριον* are such as give hope of reform.

909 d 3. A further law must forbid shrines (even to national deities) in private houses. They afford opportunities for hysterical and nefarious rites. A fine is enough penalty in this case if no evil design is there; but any criminal purpose pursued under cover of either private or public worship, must be punished by death.

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913. The sacredness of other people's property is the foundation of mutual trust. If I care for my soul's health and my children's welfare, I shall keep my hands and my thoughts even off treasure trove. "*Ἄ μὴ κατέθου μὴ ἀνέλῃ.*" Of the appropriation of such a find the proper officials must be informed, and advice sought about it by them from the Delphic oracle. The informer, if a slave, will have his freedom purchased by the state; but death is the penalty for the slave who knows and does not inform. If the informer is a citizen, he will win honour by his deed. The sacredness of



treasure trove—even of trifles—is guaranteed by law and religion. If a slave appropriates such a trifle, any man over thirty may give him a good beating: if a citizen, there follows disgrace, outlawry, and a tenfold indemnity to the possessor. If the ownership of a find be disputed, it must be produced in court and the proper magistrates must decide the dispute with the help of the state register of property, in case it is registered: if the owner be not in court, a sworn representative of him must take the find. If the object is unregistered, the case must be settled within three days, all costs to fall upon the loser.

**914 e 2.** A runaway slave may be recovered and punished by his master, and held in custody by any of his master's friends. If the slave be claimed as free, the claimer may take him away if he can produce three good sureties. Violent seizure without sureties is actionable. Want of due respect on the part of a freedman may justify seizure by his late master. The freedman must relinquish to his late master any surplus property he may acquire over that of his master. He may not stay in the state more than twenty years after his enfranchisement except by special permission. Without any exception he must quit the state within thirty days of his acquiring property larger than that of the third citizen class, under pain of death, and the confiscation of all his belongings.

**915 c 7.** If A claims as his own any kind of property which B has, by any process of sale or gift, obtained from C, B must restore it to C within thirty days—if C is a foreigner, within five months.

**d 6.** Purchases must be delivered and paid for in the *áyopá*, no credit being allowed on either side. There can be no recovery at law on any other terms.

**e 6.** Voluntary contributions are no subject for legal proceedings of any kind.

**916.** Sellers must give their address, and remain in the city for ten days after the purchase, in case the buyer wants to return the goods. Permission is given so to return a slave discovered to be seriously diseased within six months, or, if epileptic, within twelve, unless the purchaser be a doctor or trainer, or was notified of the disease. If the seller is an expert, and the defect is proved before arbitrators, he must pay twice the price, if a layman, the simple price. Similar regulations hold for the sale of a homicide. The court is to be the five youngest Nomophylakes, and if the seller is proved to have known of the crime, he must pay thrice the price, and duly purify the buyer's house.

**d 2.** The law demands that all money or other article, alive or dead, given in exchange shall be *genuine*. The dictum that spuriousness, like any other kind of lie or deceit, is occasionally permissible is a *dangerous* one. Such a permission must be rigidly limited by the lawgiver. (1) Heaven's curse falls on the man who calls the gods to witness to any lie. (2) Accursed too is one who tells any lie to his or her superiors, whether in station, age, or sex. A man then who, in heaven's name, sells a spurious article in the market, and in the face of the Agoranomoi, sins against both god and man. To obviate such disgraceful conduct the Law says: A seller in the market must not change during the day the price he first asks; nor must he praise his wares, or swear to their realness. A bystander of thirty or more years who sees a breach of this law and does not chastise the offender must be disgraced. Anyone who is aware of the sale of a spurious article must prosecute the offender. If the successful prosecutor is a slave or resident alien, the article becomes his: if a citizen, he is to dedicate it to the gods of the market-place: if a possible citizen informer fails to prosecute, he must be disgraced. A convicted offender, besides forfeiting the spurious article, must be publicly beaten—a stroke for every drachma in the price. The officials must, on information received from specialists, post in the market-place a list of common offences against this law, for the enlightenment of the public. A similar public notice, if necessary, as to the duties of the Astynomoi in connexion with market transactions, shall be posted at their official seat.

**918.** Retail trade and inn-keeping are both very useful in a community: why then is *καπηλεία* (which includes both) in disrepute? *Moderation* in the pursuit of money and other advantages is *rare*, and is the result of careful training of *picked* natures. It is this defect of human nature, and not any default in trade itself, that has damaged trade's reputation. Take the case of an inn-keeper: what *might*, in really good men's hands, become a gracious and welcome hospitality, looks, in its now degenerate state, more like organized brigandage.

**919 b.** The lawgiver finds society threatened on two sides: if he abolishes trade, the result is a wearing and degrading poverty; if he lets trade become supreme, luxury corrupts the nation's soul. His efforts then must be directed (1) to confirming mutual service among citizens, and (2) to endeavouring to keep good elements in the state from trade's corrupting influence, and (3) to trying to

purge trade of mischievous tendencies. To this end he will make the following laws.

(1) None of the 5040 burghers of our resurrected Magnesia must engage in any commercial or industrial activity except on terms of mutual service among themselves, or in the service of the elders of their own family or acquaintance, and such service must be of a "gentlemanly" kind. Only a court of perfect gentlemen can define in each case what is gentlemanly and what not: it is beyond the lawgiver's logic. The penalty which such a court must inflict upon a citizen for engaging in a degrading occupation is a year's imprisonment—the period to be doubled on each renewal of the offence.

**920 a.** (2) Καπηλεία is to be confined to metoecs or foreigners.

(3) Trade is to be reduced to the absolutely necessary minimum, and kept under strict supervision by the Nomophylakes. As in the case of the kindred κιβδηλεία, the officials shall post lists about it—stating limitations of price.

**d.** Actions for avoidable breach of contract shall be tried in the tribal courts, when friendly arbitration fails. He who fails by his own fault to complete work he has undertaken, or who fails to pay for work he has ordered, in the first place incurs the enmity of his patron deities—Hephaestus and Athena for ordinary artisans, Ares and Athena for the "artisans of safety," i.e. soldiers—Zeus and Athena for citizens; in the second place, he must produce (or pay) double value; for such failure loosens the mighty bonds of society. Not only must payment withheld be doubled, but for each month it is deferred interest on it must be paid.

**921 d 4.** A soldier's wages are *honour*, and those who refuse it are themselves dishonoured; but honoured soldiers come only second in repute to perfect keepers of perfect law.

**922 a 6.** The only important remaining human contract or engagement concerns the position of orphans and their relation to their guardians. These matters cannot be left unregulated. The two facts which are at the root of the question are (1) the prevailing desire of settling what is to become of one's property after one's death; and (2) intestacy. Both present difficult problems. Death-bed testaments are likely to conflict with the moral sense of the community, if not with its laws. The leading idea in a dying man's mind is *the desire to retain his hold on his possessions*. Hitherto Law has been too indulgent to this desire. Law ought to say to men in such a case: "Poor creature of a day, in your present state you do not know what you have

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got or what you are: you and yours belong not to yourself so much as to your family past and present, and both you and they belong to the state. So I will not suffer you to be cajoled by flattery, or reduced by sickness, into making a bad will: the state's interest must count before that of any individual. Depart from life in peace and charity: leave the rest to us lawgivers." Following on this prelude of exhortation comes the law. If the testator leaves children, he must in the first place fix on the son who is to inherit his *lot*; must notify any adoption that has been settled for any other son; and, if any children are left unadopted and intend to emigrate, to them he may assign as much of his property as he likes out of his superfluity—and in what proportion he likes—but must not touch his *lot*, or its equipment, always provided that such son or daughter has not a house and lot already. If any children so dowered become subsequently possessed of a lot of their own, their dowry must revert to the son first favoured. If a man leave daughters only, the lot goes to the husband whom the man selects for the daughter of his choice. In case a real or adopted son should die before coming of age, the testator should name a second heir. A childless testator may only dispose of a tenth of his superfluity; the rest must follow the lot, and go to the adopted son.

**924 a 6.** A man may in his will name guardians for his children if they need them. If he fails to do so the Nomophylakes must appoint such from among relatives and friends—two on the father's side, and two on the mother's, and one from friends. Moreover, the fifteen oldest Nomophylakes shall look after all guardians and orphans, three each year.

**c 6.** If an intestate leave daughters only, he must expect the Law to consider, in selecting husbands for them, nearness of kin, and the interest of the *lot*, rather than personal eligibility. It will ordain in such a case the following order: first, the deceased's brother on the father's side (*ὁμοπάρωρ*), next that on the mother's (*ὁμομήτριος*)—if *ἄκληρος*—next a son of either of the former, next a sister's son, next it goes to his father's brother, fifthly his father's brother's son, sixthly his father's sister's son. Suitability of age shall be settled by the court after personal inspection. If the family provides no possible husband within the three generations, the girl and her guardians will have free choice. They may even choose a man who has emigrated, whether related or not.

**925 c 3.** If an intestate leave no children, the nearest unmarried woman in the family must take a husband from the



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family and occupy the "*lot*." There will, however, be cases where public interests must give way before strong and natural private disinclination. For such cases arbitrators must be provided. In case the family press the marriage on a reluctant bride or bridegroom, the above-named fifteen shall decide whether the objection is to be upheld or not, appeal being allowed from them to the "select judges." The loser in the suit will be made to suffer in public reputation, a more serious thing than loss of money.

**926 d 8.** For the general welfare of orphans we trust to their second fathers, the fifteen, and to them and to guardians we would address the following exhortation: "It will be well to acquiesce with the lawgiver in the general belief that the dead exercise influence over the living. So that besides the gods there are the spirits of the departed parents, whose wrath must be shunned and whose favour must be courted by all who have to deal with orphans. The aged too among the living are, in a well ordered state, to be reckoned with by those who misuse orphans. In the face of all these, guardians and others should count that kindness to orphans is really kindness to themselves, and that ill-treatment of them will bring on themselves twice as heavy a penalty as would ill-treatment of others." Guardians, then, and officials who have orphans in charge must treat them in all respects as they would their own children. The court of "select judges" shall try cases of ill-treatment or neglect on the part of guardians or officials, even within five years after the lapse of official connexion—inflicting double penalties on the officials and quadruple on the guardians, and superseding the official guardian if necessary.

**928 d 5.** The conflicting interests of parents and sons may lead to serious antagonism, ending in either (1) repudiation, and so ultimate expatriation of sons (if not adopted within ten years by someone), or (2) legal incapacitation of incompetent parents. The former process must have the support of a full family council; the latter can only be attempted with the approval of the oldest Nomophylakes.

**930 a.** For quarrels between husbands and wives the middle-aged Nomophylakes are the arbiters. If they fail to restore peace, they are to dissolve the union and find each side a fresh and suitable partner.

A widower *with* children (of both sexes) had better not re-marry; but if *without*, he must. A widow, with a sufficiency of children (one at least of each sex) should stay and keep house

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for them. If she is young enough to make re-marriage advisable, the case must be referred to the women overseers of marriages, and especially where there are *not* children.

No child of a slave (man or woman) must have a chance of being established in the family, whatever the position of the *other* parent: it must be rigidly excluded from it.

**931 a.** Aged relatives in a household are quite as worshipful as statues of the gods. Legend tells of the power of their blessing or their curse. Dishonour to them is resented by the gods, and honour to them secures divine favour. Moreover, statues which we worship cannot pray for us, but aged relatives can. No honour is too great for such. The three oldest Nomophylakes, along with the three oldest of the women supervisors of marriage, are a court to which dishonoured age can appeal. Delinquents under thirty (women under forty) may be punished by the court with stripes and imprisonment. If over these ages, they must be taken before the 101 oldest citizens, who may inflict any sentence they like. It is *everybody's* duty to aid dishonoured age in getting the culprits punished. A slave may gain his freedom by so doing, and a free man who could do it and fails may be prosecuted.

**933 a.** Injuries to the person by means of so-called "pharmacy" are of two kinds, (1) the natural effect of noxious drugs, and (2) the effects of magic charms or philtres. We may disbelieve in the reality of the latter effects, but it is no good for the lawgiver to tell the mutually ill-disposed, who practise it or are its victims, that there is probably nothing in it. What he must do is, first argue with and warn all such intending transgressors of either kind, and next threaten (a) a physician, and (b) a soothsayer or magician with *death* for attempting such damage to person, or any damage to live stock; further, to threaten laymen who pursue either course with the punishment of the tribunal which assesses the damage.

**934 a.** Thefts and acts of violence must be made good, and the culprit must be made to smart for *his own moral good*. If the felony be of his own devising, and he is prompted by desire or by coward fear, so much the worse: if he is the tool of others, he is not so culpable, and a lighter punishment will be necessary for his moral restitution. In all these matters the judge's acumen must supplement the law, and the lawgiver must do his best to give a lead to the judge, by picturing to him typical cases beforehand. This is a duty which we as lawgivers, Megillus and Cleinias, must not forget.

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**c 7.** The mad, whether slave or free, must be kept out of public view. Those responsible for them must be fined (in proportion to their wealth) for failure to do so.

Akin to madness is *an angry temper* freely indulged, and liable to be a public scandal. Personal disagreement must not proceed to personal abuse. It breeds deadly quarrels, and that sort of gratification of angry impulses turns men to brutes—a poor gratification that! Further, *Ridicule*, a favourite weapon of anger, must be held in check. No one must be allowed by the presiding authority to make fun of another on any public occasion. If he does it elsewhere, any older man than himself may rebuke him with blows for his evil propensity.

But though universally accompanying personal abuse, the attempt to raise a laugh at another's expense is not criminal, if *not* associated with ill-feeling, especially when the joker is himself a man of high character (cp. 829 d). No public literature, on the comic stage or off it, must make a butt of an individual citizen, whether in anger or not. The decision as to what literature of the kind is allowable must be left to the Director of Education.

**936 b 3.** In a well ordered state it will be safe absolutely to prohibit *begging*.

**c 8.** Injury done by a slave must be made good by his master, except, of course, in case of culpable negligence on the part of the injured man, or of collusion with the slave—which is possible in such cases as are punishable by the delivery of the slave. If A accuses B of collusion with his (A's) slave, and proves it at law, B must pay A twice the value of the slave: if he fails to prove it, he must give up the slave to B and make good the damage.

**937 a.** A summons to attend a trial as witness must be obeyed. A judge called as witness must not act as judge in the case. A woman may bear witness, if over forty, and may bring a suit, if over forty and without a husband. In a murder trial slaves and children may bear witness, but must furnish bail that they will stand a trial for perjury. Such a trial of any witness must be applied for during the original trial. After two convictions for perjury a man cannot be summoned to give witness; after three he will not be allowed to, under penalty of death. If witness which has been pronounced false is found to have decided a trial, a fresh trial must take place.

**d.** There is a curse which attends the boon of judicial proceedings, and that is (the art of) professional advocacy. The man who undertakes to defend anyone who will pay him for it must be

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reduced to silence, and, if necessary, banished. Any man who attempts to follow in his steps for *fame's* sake must be excluded from taking part in any trial, or urging a suit of his own: if a man does so for *money's* sake, for a foreigner the penalty is perpetual banishment; for a citizen death.

### ANALYSIS OF BOOK XII

**941 a.** Treachery in an envoy to a foreign state is punishable both as impiety and as treason. Theft of state property—no matter whether of a small or great amount—whether by guile or force—must be punished by death in the case of a citizen, less severely in the case of a foreigner or a slave. Let no thief think to gain any countenance from the wicked and idle tales of the poets who represent sons of Zeus as guilty of all kinds of theft.

**942 a 5.** The military habit of doing everything by order and nothing on one's own initiative is a most valuable asset to the state. Anarchy is not good for either man or beast. The trained soldier's physical suppleness and skill, his powers of bodily endurance, last, but not least, the soundness of his feet, and ability to dispense with artificial covering for the head are all necessary to bodily efficiency.

**943 a.** Military service then must be compulsory. Failure to serve, or desertion, or other failure of duty, is punishable by a court of fellow-soldiers with forfeiture of the chance of distinction and the power of prosecuting or defending his fellows, in addition to any special penalty that may be inflicted. The same court of fellow-soldiers, when on a campaign, can confer various ranks of distinction for good service. False testimony before such a court, or failure to distinguish between necessary and unnecessary lapses, are both impious. As to the latter point Homer teaches us, by the example of Patroclus's fate, that the loss of a shield may not involve disgrace. The coward must be punished to make him brave, but not the victim of a hard fortune. A real coward should be visited with a punishment as nearly as possible approximated to the opposite of the change which overtook the Thessalian Caineus, when he was changed from a woman to a man. He must never be admitted again to the ranks of martial men. Any general who is responsible for his re-admission, as well as the original culprit, must be fined according to his property qualification.



945 b 3. Magistrates are chosen, some by lot, some by election ; some for a year, some for a longer period. For fear that any of these may "talk crooked talk" or be "bowed down" in his weakness by the weight of his official responsibility, a "straightening" process must follow at the end of his term. How are we to find the virtue for such "straighteners" or correctors? If we can find it, it will contribute more than anything to the stability and coherence of the political fabric. For the *rule of right* is essential to political unity, and that is why we cannot do without the scrutiny of *correctors* who are above suspicion, and of transcendent ability. Their election shall proceed as follows. All citizens shall assemble every year immediately after the summer solstice in the precinct of Helios and Apollo, and each man shall in that presence produce the names (of which none shall be his own) of the three men he thinks the best from among those of fifty years or over. Arrange these names in order of votes received and take the upper half of such a list. In cases of equality of votes the younger (if necessary for an equal division) must be excluded. This process must be repeated till three are left. In case of equality of votes in their case, the lot must decide their order, but these three shall solemnly be proclaimed as Correctors in the face of the two deities, and, as it were, consecrated to the precinct which is to be their official residence. In the first year the number elected must be twelve, not, as in future, three, and all are to serve until they reach the age of seventy-five. These Correctors shall divide the magistracies into twelve groups, and apply all kinds of honourable tests in judging of the official acts and life of each magistrate. Sometimes they are to judge singly ; at others all together, publishing in all cases their judgement in writing in the agora. Appeal is allowed from the Correctors to the Select Judges court (see p. 767 c 2 ff.), but at the risk of the penalty—if short of death—being doubled, if the appeal fails. These Correctors are to enjoy the highest honours and distinctions. They are all priests of Helios and Apollo ; the first of the three elected in the year being the High Priest, and giving his name to the year. They have the chief seats in all public assemblies, and preside over all special embassies to foreign states. When they die their burial (in a special underground vault) is a public ceremony of such dignity and holiness that the usual taint of impurity attaching to a corpse is in their cases non-existent, if the Pythia makes no objection. Still they themselves are not above correction. There is a court before which even they can be summoned. This

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consists of Guardians of the Law, all the surviving members of the Corrector's own order, with the addition of the Select Judges. Any citizen may impeach a Corrector, before such a court, of being unworthy of his office, and conviction involves loss of all rank and station while alive, and of the state funeral when dead. If the prosecutor of the suit fail to obtain a fifth of the votes of the court, he must pay a fine according to his station, the highest being 12 minae.

**948 b.** Rhadamanthus, at a time when he and all around him were children of the gods, was doubtless right in thinking that an oath taken in court in a god's name was to be implicitly trusted. This made judicial proceedings simple and speedy. But in these days, when some men think gods do not exist, others that, though existing, they take no part in human affairs, others, who are the worst of the three classes, believe that the gods can be bribed to join them in wronging their fellow-men—manifestly in such a society, Rhadamanthus's device is of no use. *No litigant must be sworn.* It would be distressing to think that we were every day associating familiarly with perjurers; and, if both sides in a suit take oaths, one side must be perjured; and there are a lot of suits. No: the judge's verdict and the elector's vote shall still be given upon oath, or given in a sacred place; so shall that of the judges in all kinds of contests, whether artistic or gymnastic—on all occasions, in short, on which there is no thought of personal gain: but all suits involving such gain must be decided *without an oath.* Judicial authority shall further absolutely discourage all kinds of "calling gods to witness" in litigants' speeches, as also all whining appeals to pity. Let them state their case like gentlemen and stick closely to the subject. Foreigners in our courts may swear if they like: they are casual residents who do not take root and have progeny here, and so it does not matter if they are spoilt—and the courts are open to all alike.

**949 c 6.** Citizens guilty of ceremonial and other minor offences, such as being behind-hand with due contributions in peace or war, must first of all make good the deficiency or find bail. The security is to be forfeit to the state in case of non-compliance. If the case is serious, the proper official must bring the culprit to judgement to obtain full satisfaction.

**e 3.** As our citizens make no money except by agriculture, and do not engage in trade, the question arises how far is intercourse with foreigners to be encouraged, or even allowed them, whether at home or abroad. Indiscriminate intercourse of state with state weakens and confuses the customs and laws of each; and, though

## ANALYSIS OF BOOK XII

the state with inferior institutions may gain, that with good ones is sure to lose. At the same time, even if it were possible—which it is not—to avoid all such intercourse altogether, such a course would bear a churlish and uncivilized look to foreign eyes; and a good name abroad, if really deserved, as I hope our state's will be, is by no means to be despised. Foreigners who have not our advantages have yet sharp enough eyes to detect our failures. No citizen under forty must go abroad at all; none without state authority, whether as envoy, ambassador, or spectator at a ceremony. (Warlike expeditions do not count in this respect.) To all public Hellenic meetings and centres of religious influence we must send numbers of such representatives as will do us credit. These men will be able to speak with authority when they tell us, on their return, of the superiority of our home arrangements. Interest in foreign ways and manners, however, may sometimes lead to discoveries of improvements on our own institutions, while the added experience of good and evil will at once refine the mind and manners of the traveller, and give a rational confirmation to his patriotism. Among the multitudes he meets he will very possibly encounter one or two divinely endowed natures who will be invaluable as associates: such men are to be sought diligently, even in the desert of a low civilization, for the lessons they can teach us; and no state, however perfect, can dispense with such search. Such a traveller must be over fifty but not over sixty, and of a reputation for prowess and general capacity which will do credit to his order of Guardians of the Laws. On his return home he must enter the Nocturnal Council, that mixture of old and young which will meet each day at dawn, consisting of men on whom the highest state and religious distinctions have been conferred, along with the ten oldest Guardians of the Law, the Minister of Education and all surviving previous holders of that office. Each of these "Privy Councillors" is to bring with him a chosen younger man of between thirty and forty. This assembly will discuss the laws of its own state, and keep its eyes on any possible improvements to be learnt from the experience of other states. They shall also undergo the *training* most likely to make their younger members politically wise. Each of these younger men's proficiency, or the reverse, will bring credit, or the reverse, upon the elder who chooses him, and upon himself, in the eyes of the whole state. They are marked men, and must expect greater blame, as well as greater praise, than others.

952 b 5. Immediately after his return the traveller must present

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himself before this Council to communicate any fresh notions he may have gathered in his travels on laws, education, or nurture. If he be judged not to have suffered in character during his intercourse with foreigners, he is to be praised for his enterprise, even though he may be thought to have nothing valuable to communicate: if his foreign experience has been of service, he is to be highly honoured both in life and after death. If on the other hand it has done him harm, let him not presume on his claim to experience and wisdom to influence young or old. If such a man is convicted in a law court of having meddled with laws or education, he must die, and it shall be a disgrace to any magistrate who knew him to be guilty, and failed to prosecute him, when that magistrate's turn comes to have his conduct officially judged.

**d 5.** Foreign visitors to our state, for whose treatment we must provide, will be of four kinds: (1) those summer birds of passage, the foreign traders, who mostly come by sea. For these and for their ships accommodation must be found near the city, but outside it, and intercourse with them must be limited as much as possible, and confined to magistrates with judicial functions elected for the purpose: (2) visitors at public games and other national ceremonies. Special arrangements must be made for their hospitable entertainment during their stay, by religious officials, who will also have judicial functions as far as minor offences go—more important cases being referred to the Agoranomoi: (3) thirdly come foreign embassies or envoys. These are state-guests, and should be entertained by the military authorities; and the Prytaneis must help each private entertainer of such a guest: (4) fourthly come the rare travellers in search of foreign experience and political information. These must not be admitted if under fifty, and must show good cause for their journey. Being themselves, by implication, wise and rich, they should be the guests of their like, e.g. of the Minister of Education, or some other distinguished "Right Honourable." In all these dealings with foreigners, at home or abroad, we must not be churlishly exclusive, but must respect and invoke the protection of the Zeus of Hospitality.

**953 e 5.** In cases of bail *security* should be given clearly in writing, before three or five witnesses, according to the amount. An *agent* acting in a sale for a wrongful or fraudulent owner is to be held responsible at law.

**954 a 5.** A seeker for stolen goods must come with no outer clothing, and ungirt, and the man under suspicion must abandon all the contents of his house to inspection, sealed and unsealed.



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In case of refusal, if a law court supports the claim to search, double the value of the stolen article must be paid. In the absence of the owner the seeker must himself put his own seal and set guard on all sealed property, and wait five days. After that time he may conduct the search into sealed property himself, in the presence of the Astynomoi, and afterwards must re-seal in their presence and that of the owner's people.

**c 3.** A year of open and unchallenged holding, in town, of any movable property—the possession of houses and lands can never be disputed among us—is enough to establish possession: if in the country it must be a five years' open and unchallenged holding: if the object is never seen out of the town house, three years: if kept indoors in the country, ten years must elapse: if kept abroad the claim may be made after any length of time.

**e 4.** As for violent interference with principal or witness in a trial, if it is a slave that is so kept away, the suit fails, if a free man, it fails, with the added penalty of a year's imprisonment, and a liability to prosecution for kidnapping. If the like violence impedes a competitor in a public contest, and the athlothetai cannot remove the impediment, the winner must give the victory to the thwarted competitor, and duly advertise the fact, besides forfeiting for ever the chance of advertising any victory of his own, and paying damages for violence.

**955 b 5.** The receiver of stolen goods is to be held as guilty as the thief. For the harbourer of a runaway slave, likewise for any person or persons who themselves make peace or war with those with whom the state does not do the same, death is the penalty. For the latter offence the military authorities are those who must prosecute.

**c 6.** Under no pretext of good service must a gift be accepted by a state official. It is hard to see good work and withhold a reward, but the only safe thing is loyally to obey the law which punishes the receiver of such gifts with death.

**d 5.** As to public taxes, not only is it necessary, for many reasons, to have a public register of each man's property, but also that each tribe should register their yearly harvest, so that the state may have either register on which to base their inquisitions.

**e 5.** Let there be no extravagance in religious arrangements. The soil and hearth of our dwellings are sacred to all the gods: no special private shrines are needed, nor any display of gold or ivory. The former is vulgar, the latter has associations which make it unfit for pious use. Bronze and iron have too war-

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like a look. For public temples whole wood or marble statues, plain woven draperies in white, are the suitable adornments. Birds are suitable for sacrifice, and simple frescos for decoration.

**956 b 4.** The state having been divided into its due components, and such and such laws having been made for the regulation of important contracts between citizens, there remains the question of judicial proceedings. Resource must first be had to arbitration by agreement between the parties to the suit. Next come the sessions of the villagers and tribesmen, who for this purpose are divided into twelve parts. If the arbitrator's decision be challenged by the defendant, the case moves to the higher court, at the risk of an enhanced penalty. If a third trial is desired, it must be before the Select Judges, and involve a higher penalty still. If it is the plaintiff who appeals, the same rules as to penalties apply. The election of judges, whether original or supplemental, the constitution of their assistant staffs, and their terms of office, and the proceedings of their courts may, for the larger state courts, be copied from other states, with amendments where experience may show them to be needed, and, in the smaller details, left to the "younger legislators," who will in course of time supplement our work. But when once completed the judicial system must thereafter be unalterable. Even the manners and tone of the court proceedings should be subjects of regulation. All these regulations, being a branch of Legal Science, belong to a subject of study of the most improving kind. It is therefore most important that there should be no defect in them. The profound study of Legal Science will help, more than all other literature, to give soundness to men's judgement, and stability to the state. For the good will be confirmed and advanced in goodness, and all not irreclaimably bad converted. On the hopelessly bad the wise judge will inevitably pass sentence of death.

**958 a 4.** At the conclusion of judicial proceedings steps must be taken to execute their decisions. Power must first be publicly assigned to the winner over the loser's personal property. If in the course of the next full month after the month of the trial the winner's just demands have not been satisfied, the court will hand the property over to him. If this does not suffice within a drachma, the loser, while still in debt, will be incapacitated from suing anybody else. If a man sets the court at defiance, he may be sentenced by the Law-Guardians' Court to death.

**c 7.** At the end of all things comes death, and after death

burial. As to burial rites in honour of gods of this world or the next, the Delphi-taught state hierophants must decide. The state itself must insist on the earthly part of the transaction. Graves, great or small, must not be made in agricultural land, and must in no way injure the living. Mounds must be limited in height, and stone tablets not larger than what would contain four hexameter verses. Lyings-in-state must be only long enough to establish the fact of the death. The great lesson the lawgiver must enforce about death is that the *real man* is his *soul* not his body, which is the soul's image or shade. The real man has gone to give, to the gods of the lower world, an account of the deeds done in the flesh. Nothing that you can do here can help him in this ordeal. *While he was alive* it was possible for his friends to help him so to live that he would have nothing now to fear. Now it is too late. Let no man therefore ruin himself over funeral expenditure, but remember *what* it really is that he is burying, and not think of it as the departed loved one, who has gone far away to learn his fate. Make the best of what is left, but do not exaggerate its value. It will be well to prescribe five minae as the extreme limit for such expenditure, with smaller limits for the lower property classes. Let each family of mourners put themselves in the hands of any member of the Guardian class they choose, and he shall be responsible for the correctness of the funeral ceremony. Funeral customs will only be checked by the state in the following particulars. Tears it would be unbecoming either to demand or to prohibit. Wailing must not be heard in public: the funeral cortège must make no display of the corpse, and no noise in the streets, and must be outside the city before daybreak. Disobedience in these respects to the Guardian in charge must be punished by the Guardians as a body as they think fit. As has been mentioned above, apropos of some kinds of murders, there are cases where no burial at all is allowed.

960 b 4. This brings our law-making to an end, but no task is really finished unless provision has been made for the *security* and *maintenance* of the thing produced. We have completed our work. We must now find means of preserving our structure. The name of the third of the Fates, Atropos, hints this need. Atropos means unalterable. That good laws should sink into our souls, and so become immortal, is as important to the state as health and safety for the bodies of its citizens.

961 a. Do you remember the Nocturnal Council we spoke of? —comprised of (1) the ten oldest Guardians of the Laws, (2) the

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recipients of special commendation for state service who were appointed Correctors and priests of Apollo and Helios, (3) the approved travellers of over fifty who have acquired valuable experience abroad, and (4) the younger men of over thirty chosen each by one of these elders, and "passed" for admission? It meets at dawn, when other engagements are fewest. Give this assembly its proper weight, and it will provide the preservative we want.

d. The preservation of every animal depends on the combined excellence of (1) its *intelligence*, and (2) its "head" senses of seeing and hearing. In different circumstances the aim and occupation of the intelligence and senses are different. The physician's aim, e.g., is health: the general's, victory: on sea the aim is safe-conduct. What is the statesman's aim? The faculty for discerning what ought to be the aim of the statesman is a prime necessity for the *preservation* of our fabric. Where, in our state organism, shall we find such a faculty? Surely in the Nocturnal Council. It must then be our first object to ensure that Council's perfection, and for this purpose the Council must have *one sole aim*. Different states have different laws and institutions because their aims are different. In one it is power for its oligarchy—whether good or bad; in another wealth, with or without freedom; in another mere freedom, or freedom coupled with sovereignty over others. Some states aim at all together.

963 a. We agreed long ago that our state must aim at one thing only, and that ἀρετή. Under the leadership of Mind, or Wisdom, Virtue is fourfold. *Mind*, whether of statesman or physician, keeps its eye on its aim. What, I ask again, is the aim of the πολιτικὸς νοῦς? What exactly is it that we are so eager to catch sight of? and in what manifestations? What do we mean, you ask, by "manifestations"? In saying there are four kinds of ἀρετή we imply that each of the four is *a separate kind*. At the same time we give them all four a common name, which seems to pronounce them *one* and not many. It is easier to account for the bestowal of each of the four separate names, than it is to account for the bestowal of the *one* name which is common to all four. Courage, e.g., is "physical" and may be found in irrational creatures. But wisdom cannot exist without reason. The *difference* between the two is plain. Wherein they are *one* it is harder to see. (That is what I mean by different manifestations.)

964 a. Again, in this connexion let me remind you that a man of judgement has to know two things about every important thing: (a) its *name* and (b) its *definition*. What can be more



important for such a distinguished man as a Lawgiver and Law-guardian than these four virtues of Courage, Temperance, Justice and Wisdom? Do you think a chance poet or sophist would be more likely than such a man—whose ἀρετή is beyond that of other men—to enlighten us on the nature of ἀρετή and its opposite? The want of such enlighteners among its citizens would abandon a state to all kinds of misfortune.

d 3. Our first object, then, must be to secure Guardians of superior ἀρετή, and thus provide the state with wise “head-senses” to preserve its constitution. The state being the “body,” the selected younger men of the assembly will resemble the “*body senses*,” and the elder members will be its *mind*. The *education* of destined members of this assembly must be of a higher kind than ordinary, and then we shall have got the preservers we want. Our model Guardian must have an eye for the one thing needful, and the power of concentrating all his energies on its pursuit. For the former purpose the best possible philosophical education is the process of discerning the *one* in the separate and unlike *many*. Not a doubt of it. Let us therefore propose to these preservers of our society this problem: how is it that the four distinct virtues of Courage, Temperance, Justice, and Wisdom have yet the *one* name of Virtue? Is it *one* thing? Is it a *whole* thing? Is it both? or what is it? We *must* have this defined. Real excellence is, I believe, otherwise unattainable by the state. We know the cost then: are we going to pay it, or to give up? Never, you say; but how, you ask, are we going to get the definition in question? Before we ask that I want to be sure that we all feel the need of it.

966 a 5. In the case of Beauty and Goodness the Guardians have to find out not only that various kinds of good things are *many*, but also that they are one. Further, if they feel that, they ought to be able to explain the one-ness. All genuine Guardians of the Laws ought thoroughly to understand all important subjects, and to be able to explain them, and to act accordingly. Now can there be any more important subject than the knowledge of the existence and manifested power of the gods? While allowing the multitude to hold these truths *on report* alone, our Guardians must labour to arrive at complete conviction on the subject. To secure this we must choose only such guardians as are exceptionally capable, exceptionally well trained, and exceptionally virtuous.

e. Our previous discourse showed us that there are two discoveries that produce faith in the gods: (1) that the ψυχή is the first of prime movers, and (2) that the ordered movement of

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the stars and all else is directed by *mind*. A thorough and competent investigation of these two subjects will not, as is popularly supposed, make infidels, with no faith but in blind necessity. Such infidelity was due to men's belief that the origin of all things was lifeless matter, though even then some thought there must be *mind* in the heavenly movements. No mortal can "be right with God" who (1) does not hold that *soul* is prior to and lord of *body* of all kinds, and immortal, and (2) has not so intelligently studied astronomy as to see that the motions of the stars are the work of *mind*. He must also be able to expound these beliefs. Men who fall short of this must be content with *practical everyday virtue*, and can never be fit to *rule*; only to *obey*. Such then must be the education and training of the members of the Nocturnal Council, if it is really to save the constitution.

968 b. For this purpose you shall have the best help that I can give you. I happen to have some friends whose help will be valuable. Our first step must be to constitute our Council: to them, after they have received much instruction and held much consultation with us, we must leave further legislation. To begin with, we must select all fit persons—i.e. those whose age, intelligence and character mark them as appropriate members. For their studies we cannot yet frame strict rules. The *value* and appositeness of a study is often only revealed when it is already mastered. It is not so much that we can't make rules for it as that we must *wait* to make them. Something we must leave to chance, and hope for the best. My own experience as an educator and a student is entirely at your service, and if, Cleinias, you will make the great venture, the New Magnesia will through all its generations bless you and hold you in high honour. Set up your Council: choose and train them wisely: put the state in their hands, and you will have that desirable union of Mind and Head-Senses—thought and clear-sightedness—which was the creation of our dreams. Such a perfect safeguard will it be as no state has ever yet possessed.

Megillus and Cleinias heartily agree, and promise complete compliance with the Athenian's advice.

# NOMOI

(Z-IB)

ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ ΞΕΝΟΣ ΚΛΕΙΝΙΑΣ ΚΡΗΣ  
ΜΕΓΙΛΛΟΣ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΣ





## BOOK VII

### SHORT ANALYSIS

**788-793 d 6.**—The care of children up to three years of age.—Carry them about much; keep them from pain and vexation, but do not be anxious to procure them pleasure.

**793 d 7-794 c 3.**—From three to six is the age of play; careful supervision; and, if necessary, punishment.

**794 c 3-798 d 5.**—At six the children begin to be taught.—Gymnastic and dancing for the body; “music” for the mind. Oversight must still be kept over games, which will be as far as possible the same for every generation.

**794 d 2-795 d 5.**—Left and right hands to be both equally trained.

**798 d 7-803 b 3.**—The choice of “music” (tune, dance, and song).

**803 b 3-804 c 1.**—The meaning and value of man’s life, and the part played in it by Art and Religion.

**804 c 2-806 d 2.**—Women’s education to be the same as men’s.

**806 d 7-808 c 6.**—Man’s supreme task through life must be his own perfection.

**808 c 7-809 b 3.**—Ὁ παῖς πάντων θηρίων ἐστὶ δυσμεταχειριστότατον: the education of children will task the lawgiver’s wisdom to the uttermost.

**809 b 3-812 b 1.**—Reading and writing; what to read.

**812 b 2-813 a 3.**—Lyre-playing.

**813 a 5-814 d 5.**—Further remarks about gymnastic training.

**814 d 7-817 e 4.**—Further remarks about dancing and dances.

**817 e 5-819 a 7.**—Preliminary remarks on mathematical necessity.

**819 a 8-c 7.**—Arithmetic.

**819 c 7-820 e 7.**—Geometry.

**820 e 8-822 d 1.**—Astronomy.

**822 d 2-824.**—Field sports.

## Z

788 ΑΘ. Γενομένων δὲ παίδων ἄρρένων καὶ θηλειῶν, τροφήν  
 μέν που καὶ παιδείαν τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα λέγειν ὀρθότατ' ἂν  
 γίγνοιθ' ἡμῖν, ἣν εἶναι μὲν ἄρρητον πάντως ἀδύνατον, λεγο-  
 μένη δὲ διδαχῇ τινι καὶ νουθετήσῃ μᾶλλον ἢ νόμοις εἰκνύ'  
 5 ἂν ἡμῖν φαίνοιτο. ἰδίᾳ γὰρ καὶ κατ' οἰκίας πολλὰ καὶ  
 σμικρὰ καὶ οὐκ ἐμφανῇ πᾶσι γιγνόμενα, ῥαδίως ὑπὸ τῆς  
 b ἐκάστων λύπης τε καὶ ἡδονῆς καὶ ἐπιθυμίας ἕτερα παρὰ  
 τὰς τοῦ νομοθέτου συμβουλὰς παραγενόμενα, παντοδαπὰ καὶ  
 οὐχ ὅμοια ἀλλήλοις ἀπεργάζοιτ' ἂν τὰ τῶν πολιτῶν ἦθθ.  
 τοῦτο δὲ κακὸν ταῖς πόλεσιν· καὶ γὰρ διὰ σμικρότητα αὐτῶν  
 5 καὶ πυκνότητα ἐπιζήμια τιθέντα ποιεῖν νόμους ἀπρεπὲς ἅμα  
 καὶ ἄσχημον, διαφθείρει δὲ καὶ τοὺς γραφῇ τεθέντας νόμους,  
 ἐν τοῖς σμικροῖς καὶ πυκνοῖς ἐθισθέντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων παρα-  
 c νομεῖν. ὥστε ἀπορία μὲν περὶ αὐτὰ νομοθετεῖν, σιγᾶν δὲ  
 ἀδύνατον. ἃ δὲ λέγω, δηλῶσαι πειρατέον οἶον δείγματα  
 ἐξενεγκόντα εἰς φῶς· νῦν γὰρ λεγομένοις ἔοικε κατὰ τι  
 σκότος.

5 ΚΛ. Ἀληθέστατα λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν ὅτι μὲν σώματα καὶ ψυχὰς τήν γε ὀρθὴν  
 πάντως δεῖ τροφήν φαίνεσθαι δυναμένην ὡς κάλλιστα καὶ  
 ἄριστα ἐξεργάζεσθαι, τοῦτο μὲν ὀρθῶς εἴρηταί που.

ΚΛ. Τί μὴν;

d ΑΘ. Σώματα δὲ κάλλιστα, οἶομαι, τό γε ἀπλούστατον,  
 ὡς ὀρθότατα δεῖ νέων ὄντων εὐθύς φύεσθαι τῶν παίδων.

ΚΛ. Πάνν μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Τί δέ; τόδε οὐκ ἐννοοῦμεν, ὡς ἡ πρώτη βλάβστη  
 5 παντὸς ζώου πολὺ μεγίστη καὶ πλείστη φύεται, ὥστε καὶ  
 ἔριν πολλοῖς παρέσχεν μὴ γίγνεσθαι τὰ γ' ἀνθρώπινα  
 μήκη διπλάσια ἀπὸ πέντε ἐτῶν ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς εἴκοσιν ἔτεσιν  
 αὐξανόμενα;

ΚΛ. Ἀληθῆ.

10 ΑΘ. Τί οὖν; πολλὴ αὔξη ὅταν ἐπιρρέῃ πόνων χωρὶς  
 789 πολλῶν καὶ συμμέτρων, οὐκ ἴσμεν ὅτι μυρία κακὰ ἐν τοῖς  
 σώμασιν ἀποτελεῖ;

ΚΛ. Πάνν γε.

ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν τότε δεῖται πλείστων πόνων, ὅταν ἡ πλείστη

τροφὴ προσγίγνηται τοῖς σώμασι.

5

ΚΛ. Τί δῆτ', ὦ ξέने; ἢ τοῖς ἄρτι γεγονόσι καὶ νεωτάτοις πόνους πλείστους προστάξομεν;

ΑΘ. Οὐδαμῶς γε, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ πρότερον τοῖς ἐντὸς τῶν αὐτῶν μητέρων τρεφομένοις.

ΚΛ. Πῶς λέγεις, ὦ λῶστε; ἢ τοῖς κυουμένοισι φράζεις; 10

ΑΘ. Ναί. θαυμαστὸν δ' οὐδέν ἐστιν ἀγνοεῖν ὑμᾶς τὴν τῶν τηλικούτων γυμναστικὴν, ἣν βουλοίμην ἂν ὑμῖν καίπερ ἄτοπον οὔσαν δηλῶσαι. b

ΚΛ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Ἔστι τοίνυν παρ' ἡμῖν μᾶλλον τὸ τοιοῦτον κατα- 5  
νοεῖν διὰ τὸ τὰς παιδιάς αὐτόθι μειζόνως τινὰς παίζειν ἢ δεῖ· τρέφουσι γὰρ δὴ παρ' ἡμῖν οὐ μόνον παῖδες ἀλλὰ καὶ πρεσβύτεροί τινες ὀρνίθων θρέμματα, ἐπὶ τὰς μάχας τὰς πρὸς ἄλληλα. ἀσκούντας τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν θηρίων πολλοὺ δὴ δέουσιν ἡγεῖσθαι τοὺς πόνους αὐτοῖς εἶναι τοὺς πρὸς c  
ἄλληλα μετρίους, ἐν οἷς αὐτὰ ἀνακινούσι γυμνάζοντες· πρὸς γὰρ τούτοις λαβόντες ὑπὸ μάλης ἕκαστος, τοὺς μὲν ἐλάττονας εἰς τὰς χεῖρας, μείζους δ' ὑπὸ τὴν ἀγκάλην ἐντός, πορεύονται περιπατοῦντες σταδίους παμπόλλους ἕνεκα τῆς 5  
εὐεξίας οὔτι τῆς τῶν αὐτῶν σωμάτων, ἀλλὰ τῆς τούτων τῶν θρεμμάτων, καὶ τό γε τοσοῦτον δηλοῦσι τῷ δυναμένῳ κατα-  
μαθεῖν, ὅτι τὰ σώματα πάντα ὑπὸ τῶν σεισμῶν τε καὶ κινή- d  
σεων κινούμενα ἄκοπα ὀνίναται πάντων, ὅσα τε ὑπὸ ἑαυτῶν, ἢ καὶ ἐν αἰώραις ἢ καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, ἢ καὶ ἐφ' ἔππων ὀχουμένων καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλων ὅπως οὖν δὴ φερομένων τῶν σω-  
μάτων, κινεῖται, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τὰς τῶν σίτων τροφὰς καὶ 5  
ποτῶν κατακρατοῦντα, ὑγίειαν καὶ κάλλος καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ῥώμην ἡμῖν δυνατὰ ἐστὶ παραδιδόναι. τί οὖν ἂν φαῖμεν ἐχόντων οὕτω τούτων τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἡμᾶς δεῖν ποιεῖν; βού-  
λεσθε ἅμα γέλῳτι φράζωμεν τιθέντες νόμους τὴν μὲν κύου- e  
σαν περιπατεῖν, τὸ γενόμενον δὲ πλάττειν τε οἶον κήρινον, ἕως ὑγρόν, καὶ μέχρι δυοῖν ἐτοῖν σπαργανᾶν; καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰς τροφὰς ἀναγκάζωμεν νόμῳ ζημιοῦντες τὰ παιδία ἢ πρὸς ἀγροὺς ἢ πρὸς ἱερὰ ἢ πρὸς οἰκείους ἀεί πη φέρειν, μέχριπερ 5  
ἂν ἱκανῶς ἴστασθαι δυνατὰ γίγνηται, καὶ τότε, διευλαβου-  
μένας ἔτι νέων ὄντων μὴ πη βία ἐπερειδομένων στρέφηται τὰ κῶλα, ἐπιπονεῖν φερούσας ἕως ἂν τριετὲς ἀποτελεσθῇ τὸ γενόμενον; εἰς δύναμιν δὲ ἰσχυρὰς αὐτὰς εἶναι χρεῶν

790 καὶ μὴ μίαν; ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἐκάστοις, ἂν μὴ γίγνηται, ζη-  
μίαν τοῖς μὴ ποιοῦσι γράφωμεν; ἢ πολλοῦ γε δεῖ; τὸ γὰρ  
ἄρτι ῥηθὲν γίγνοιτ' ἂν πολὺ καὶ ἄφθονον.

ΚΛ. Τὸ ποῖον;

5 ΑΘ. Τὸ γέλωτα ἂν πολὺν ὀφλεῖν ἡμᾶς πρὸς τῷ μὴ  
ἐθέλειν ἂν πείθεσθαι γυναικεῖά τε καὶ δούλεια ἦθη τροφῶν.

ΚΛ. Ἀλλὰ τίνος δὴ χάριν ἔφαμεν αὐτὰ δεῖν ῥηθῆναι;

ΑΘ. Τοῦδε· τὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν τε καὶ ἐλευθέρων ἐν ταῖς  
b πόλεσιν ἦθη τάχ' ἂν ἀκούσαντα εἰς σύννοιαν ἀφίκοιτ' ἂν  
τὴν ὀρθήν, ὅτι χωρὶς τῆς ἰδίας διοικήσεως ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν  
ὀρθῆς γιγνομένης μάτην ἂν τὰ κοινὰ τις οἶοιτο ἔξειν τινα  
βεβαιότητα θέσεως νόμων, καὶ ταῦτα ἐννοῶν, αὐτὸς νόμοις  
5 ἂν τοῖς νῦν ῥηθεῖσιν χρῶτο, καὶ χρώμενος, εὖ τὴν τε οἰκίαν  
καὶ πόλιν ἅμα τὴν αὐτοῦ διοικῶν, εὐδαιμονοῖ.

ΚΛ. Καὶ μάλ' εἰκότως εἴρηκας.

ΑΘ. Τοιγαροῦν μήπω λήξωμεν τῆς τοιαύτης νομοθεσίας,  
c πρὶν ἂν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν πάντων νέων παίδων ἐπι-  
τηδεύματα ἀποδῶμεν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὅνπερ ἤργμεθα  
τῶν περὶ τὰ σώματα μύθων λεχθέντων διαπεραίνειν.

ΚΛ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν ὀρθῶς.

5 ΑΘ. Λάβωμεν τοίνυν τοῦτο οἶον στοιχεῖον ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα,  
σώματός τε καὶ ψυχῆς τῶν πάντων νέων τὴν τιθήνησιν καὶ  
κίνησιν γιγνομένην ὅτι μάλιστα διὰ πάσης τε νυκτὸς καὶ  
ἡμέρας, ὥς ἔστι σύμφορος ἅπασιν μὲν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ τοῖς  
ὅτι νεωτάτοισι, καὶ οἰκεῖν, εἰ δυνατόν ἦν, οἶον αἰεὶ πλέοντας·

d νῦν δ' ὥς ἐγγύτατα τούτου ποιεῖν δεῖ περὶ τὰ νεογενῆ παίδων  
θρέμματα. τεκμαίρεσθαι δὲ χρὴ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶνδε, ὥς ἐξ ἐμ-  
πειρίας αὐτὸ εἰλήφασιν καὶ ἐγνώκασιν ὃν χρήσιμον αἱ τε  
τροφοὶ τῶν σμικρῶν καὶ αἱ περὶ τὰ τῶν Κορυβάντων ἱάματα  
5 τελοῦσαι· ἡνίκα γὰρ ἂν πον βουλευθῶσιν κατακοιμίζειν τὰ  
δυσυπνοῦντα τῶν παιδίων αἱ μητέρες, οὐχ ἡσυχίαν αὐτοῖς  
προσφέρουσιν ἀλλὰ τούναντίον κίνησιν, ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις  
e αἰεὶ σείουσιν, καὶ οὐ σιγὴν ἀλλὰ τινα μελωδίαν, καὶ ἀτεχνῶς  
οἶον καταυλοῦσι τῶν παιδίων, καθάπερ ἡ τῶν ἐκφρόνων  
βακχειῶν, ἰάσει ταύτῃ τῇ τῆς κινήσεως ἅμα χορεία καὶ  
μῦσῃ χρώμεναι.

5 ΚΛ. Τίς οὖν αἰτία τούτων, ὦ ξένε, μάλιστ' ἔσθ' ἡμῖν;

ΑΘ. Οὐ πάνυ χαλεπὴ γινώσκειν.

ΚΛ. Πῶς δὴ;



ΑΘ. Δειμαίνειν ἔστιν που ταῦτ' ἀμφότερα τὰ πάθη, καὶ ἔστι δείματα δι' ἕξιν φαύλην τῆς ψυχῆς τινα. ὅταν οὖν ἕξωθέν τις προσφέρῃ τοῖς τοιούτοις πάθεσι σεισμόν, ἢ τῶν 791  
ἕξωθεν κρατεῖ κίνησις προσφερομένη τὴν ἐντὸς φοβερὰν οὔσαν καὶ μανικὴν κίνησιν, κρατήσασα δέ, γαλήνην ἡσυχίαν τε ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ φαίνεσθαι ἀπεργασαμένη τῆς περὶ τὰ τῆς 5  
καρδίας χαλεπῆς γενομένης ἐκάστων πηδήσεως, παντάπασιν ἀγαπητόν τι, τοὺς μὲν ὕπνου λαγχάνειν ποιεῖ, τοὺς δ' ἐργη-  
γορότας ὀρχουμένους τε καὶ αὐλουμένους μετὰ θεῶν, οἷς ἂν καλλιεροῦντες ἕκαστοι θύωσι, κατηργάσατο ἀντὶ μανικῶν  
ἡμῖν διαθέσεων ἕξεις ἔμφρονας ἔχειν. καὶ ταῦτα, ὥς διὰ b  
βραχέων γε οὕτως εἰπεῖν, πιθανὸν λόγον ἔχει τινά.

ΚΛ. Πάνν μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Εἰ δέ γε οὕτως τοιαύτην τινὰ δύναμιν ἔχει ταῦτα, ἐννοεῖν χρή τόδε παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὥς ἅπασα ψυχὴ δείμασιν 5  
συννοῦσα ἐκ νέων μᾶλλον ἂν διὰ φόβων ἐθίζοιτο γίγνεσθαι· τοῦτο δέ που πᾶς ἂν φαίη δειλίας ἄσκησιν ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνδρείας γίγνεσθαι.

ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

ΑΘ. Τὸ δέ γε ἐναντίον ἀνδρείας ἂν φαῖμεν ἐκ νέων εὐθὺς 10  
ἐπιτήδευμα εἶναι, τὸ νικᾶν τὰ προσπίπτονθ' ἡμῖν δείματά τε c  
καὶ φόβους.

ΚΛ. Ὅρθως.

ΑΘ. Ἐν δὴ καὶ τοῦτο εἰς ψυχῆς μόριον ἀρετῆς, τὴν τῶν παντελῶς παίδων γυμναστικὴν ἐν ταῖς κινήσεσιν, μέγα ἡμῖν 5  
φῶμεν συμβάλλεσθαι.

ΚΛ. Πάνν μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Καὶ μὴν τό γε μὴ δύσκολον ἐν ψυχῇ καὶ τὸ δύσ-  
κολον οὐ σμικρὸν μόριον εὐψυχίας καὶ κακοψυχίας ἐκάτερον γιγνόμενον γίγνοιτ' ἂν. 10

ΚΛ. Πῶς δ' οὐ;

ΑΘ. Τίνα οὖν ἂν τρόπον εὐθὺς ἐμφύοιθ' ἡμῖν ὁπότερον d  
βουλευθεῖμεν τῷ νεογενεῖ, φράζειν δὴ πειρατέον ὅπως τις καὶ καθ' ὅσον εὐπορεῖ τούτων.

ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

ΑΘ. Λέγω δὴ τό γε παρ' ἡμῖν δόγμα, ὥς ἡ μὲν τρυφὴ 5  
δύσκολα καὶ ἀκράχολα καὶ σφόδρα ἀπὸ σμικρῶν κινούμενα τὰ τῶν νέων ἦθη ἀπεργάζεται, τὸ δὲ τούτων ἐναντίον, ἢ τε σφοδρὰ καὶ ἀγρία δούλωσις, ταπεινοὺς καὶ ἀνελευθέρους καὶ

μισανθρώπους ποιούσα, ἀνεπιτηδείους συνοίκους ἀποτελεῖ.

e ΚΛ. Πῶς οὖν δὴ χρή τὰ μήπω φωνῆς συνιέντα, μηδὲ παιδείας τῆς ἄλλης δυνατὰ γεύεσθαι πω, τρέφειν τὴν πόλιν ἅπασαν;

5 ΑΘ. Ὡδέ πως· φθέγγεσθαι πω μετὰ βοῆς εὐθὺς πᾶν εἴωθεν τὸ γενόμενον, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος· καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ κλάειν πρὸς τῇ βοῇ μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων συνέχεται.

ΚΛ. Πάνν μὲν οὖν.

792 ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν αἱ τροφοὶ σκοποῦσαι τίνος ἐπιθυμεῖ, τοῦτοισ αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ προσφορᾷ τεκμαίρονται· οὐ μὲν γὰρ ἂν προσφερομένου σιγᾷ, καλῶς οἶονται προσφέρειν, οὐ δ' ἂν κλάῃ καὶ βοᾷ, οὐ καλῶς. τοῖς δὴ παιδίοις τὸ δῆλωμα ὦν ἐρᾷ καὶ μισεῖ κλαυμοναὶ καὶ βοαί, σημεία οὐδαμῶς εὐτυχῇ· ἔστιν 5 δὲ ὁ χρόνος οὗτος τριῶν οὐκ ἐλάττων ἐτῶν, μόριον οὐ σμικρὸν τοῦ βίου διαγαγεῖν χεῖρον ἢ μὴ χεῖρον.

ΚΛ. Ὅρθῶς λέγεις.

b ΑΘ. Ὁ δὴ δύσκολος οὐδαμῶς τε ἔλεως ἄρ' οὐ δοκεῖ σφῶν θρηνώδης τε εἶναι καὶ ὀδυρμῶν ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ πλήρης μᾶλλον ἢ χρεῶν ἔστιν τὸν ἀγαθόν;

ΚΛ. Ἐμοὶ γοῦν δοκεῖ.

ΑΘ. Τί οὖν; εἴ τις τὰ τριετῇ πειρῶτο πᾶσαν μηχανὴν 5 προσφέρων ὅπως [τὸ τρεφόμενον] ἡμῖν ὥς ὀλιγίστη προσχρήσεται ἀλγηδόνι καὶ φόβοις καὶ λύπῃ πάσῃ κατὰ δύναμιν, ἄρ' οὐκ οἴομεθα εὐθυμον μᾶλλον τε καὶ ἔλεων <ἂν> ἀπεργάζεσθαι τηνικαῦτα τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ τρεφομένου;

c ΚΛ. Δῆλον δὴ, καὶ μάλιστα γ' ἂν, ὦ ξένε, εἴ τις πολλὰς ἡδονὰς αὐτῷ παρασκευάζοι.

ΑΘ. Τοῦτ' οὐκέτ' ἂν ἐγὼ Κλεινία συνακολουθήσαιμ' ἂν, ὦ θανμάσιε. ἔστιν γὰρ οὖν ἡμῖν ἡ τοιαύτη πρᾶξις διαφθορὰ μεγίστη πασῶν· ἐν ἀρχῇ γὰρ γίνεταί ἐκάστοτε 5 τροφῆς. ὁρῶμεν δὲ εἴ τι λέγομεν.

ΚΛ. Λέγε τί φῆς.

ΑΘ. Οὐ σμικροῦ πέρι νῦν εἶναι νῶν τὸν λόγον. ὅρα δὲ καὶ σύ, συνεπικρινέ τε ἡμᾶς, ὦ Μέγιλλε. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐμὸς δὴ λόγος οὗθ' ἡδονὰς φησι δεῖν διώκειν τὸν ὀρθὸν βίον οὗτ' αὖ 5 d τὸ παράπαν φεύγειν τὰς λύπας, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ ἀσπάζεσθαι τὸ μέσον, ὃ νυνδὴ προσεῖπον ὥς ἔλεων ὀνομάσας, ἣν δὴ διάθεσιν καὶ θεοῦ κατὰ τινα μαντείας φήμην εὐστόχως πάντες

προσαγορεύομεν. ταύτην τὴν ἑξίν διώκειν φημὶ δεῖν ἡμῶν  
καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι θεῖον, μήτ' οὖν αὐτὸν προπετῇ 5  
πρὸς τὰς ἡδονὰς γιγνόμενον ὅλως, ὥς οὐδ' ἐκτὸς λυπῶν  
ἐσόμενον, μήτε ἄλλον, γέροντα ἢ νέον, ἑὰν πάσχειν ταυτόν  
τοῦθ' ἡμῖν, ἄρρενα ἢ θήλυν, ἀπάντων δὲ ἡκιστα εἰς δύναμιν  
τὸν ἀρτίως νεογενῇ· κυριώτατον γὰρ οὖν ἐμφύεται πᾶσι τότε e  
τὸ πᾶν ἦθος διὰ ἔθος. ἔτι δ' ἔγωγ', εἰ μὴ μέλλοιμι δόξειν  
παίζειν, φαίην ἂν δεῖν καὶ τὰς φερούσας ἐν γαστρὶ πασῶν  
τῶν γυναικῶν μάλιστα θεραπεύειν ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν,  
ὅπως μήτε ἡδοναῖς τισι πολλαῖς ἅμα καὶ μάργοις προσχρή- 5  
σεται ἢ κύουσα μήτε αὖ λύπαις, τὸ δὲ λείον καὶ εὖμενές  
πρᾶόν τε τιμῶσα διαζήσει τὸν τότε χρόνον.

ΚΛ. Οὐδὲν δεῖ σε, ὦ ξένε, Μέγυλλον ἀνερωτᾶν πότερος 793  
ἡμῶν ὀρθότερον εἴρηκεν· ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτός σοι συγχωρῶ τὸν  
λύπης τε καὶ ἡδονῆς ἀκράτου βίον φεύγειν δεῖν πάντας,  
μέσον δέ τινα τέμνειν αἰεὶ. καλῶς τοίνυν εἴρηκάς τε καὶ  
ἀκήκοας ἅμα. 5

ΑΘ. Μάλα μὲν οὖν ὀρθῶς, ὦ Κλεινία. τόδε τοίνυν ἐπὶ  
τούτοις τρεῖς ὄντες διανοηθῶμεν.

ΚΛ. Τὸ ποῖον;

ΑΘ. Ὅτι ταῦτ' ἔστιν πάντα, ὅσα νῦν διεξερχόμεθα, τὰ  
καλούμενα ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἄγραφα νόμιμα· καὶ οὓς πατρίους 10  
νόμους ἐπονομάζουσιν, οὐκ ἄλλα ἐστὶν ἢ τὰ τοιαῦτα σύμ- b  
παντα. καὶ ἔτι γε ὁ νυνδὴ λόγος ἡμῖν ἐπιχυθείς, ὥς οὔτε  
νόμους δεῖ προσαγορεύειν αὐτὰ οὔτε ἄρρητα ἑὰν, εἴρηται  
καλῶς· δεσμοὶ γὰρ οὗτοι πάσης εἰσὶν πολιτείας, μεταξὺ  
πάντων ὄντες τῶν ἐν γράμμασιν τεθέντων τε καὶ κειμένων 5  
καὶ τῶν ἔτι τεθησομένων, ἀτεχνῶς οἷον πάτρια καὶ παντά-  
πασιν ἀρχαῖα νόμιμα, ἃ καλῶς μὲν τεθέντα καὶ ἐθισθέντα  
πάσῃ σωτηρίᾳ περικαλύψαντα ἔχει τοὺς τότε γραφέντας  
νόμους, ἂν δ' ἐκτὸς τοῦ καλοῦ βαίνειν πλημμελῶς, οἷον c  
τεκτόνων ἐν οἰκοδομήμασιν ἐρείσματα ἐκ μέσου ὑπορρέοντα,  
συμπίπτειν εἰς ταυτόν ποιεῖ τὰ σύμπαντα, κεῖσθαι τε ἄλλα  
ὑφ' ἐτέρων, αὐτὰ τε καὶ τὰ καλῶς ὕστερον ἐποικοδομηθέντα,  
τῶν ἀρχαίων ὑποπεσόντων. ἃ δὲ διανοομένους ἡμᾶς, ὦ 5  
Κλεινία, σοὶ δεῖ τὴν πόλιν καινὴν οὖσαν πάντῃ συνδεῖν,  
μήτε μέγα μήτε σμικρὸν παραλιπόντας εἰς δύναμιν ὅσα  
νόμους ἢ ἔθνη τις ἢ ἐπιτηδεύματα καλεῖ· πᾶσι γὰρ τοῖς d  
τοιούτοις πόλεις συνδεῖται, ἄνευ δὲ ἀλλήλων ἐκάτερα τούτων

οὐκ ἔστιν μόνιμα, ὥστε οὐ χρή θαυμάζειν ἂν ἡμῖν πολλὰ  
 ἅμα καὶ σμικρὰ δοκούντων εἶναι νόμιμα ἢ καὶ ἐθίσματα  
 5 ἐπιρρέοντα μακροτέρους ποιῇ τοὺς νόμους.

ΚΛ. Ἀλλ' ὀρθῶς σύ γε λέγεις, ἡμεῖς τεοῦτω διανοησόμεθα.

ΑΘ. Εἰς μὲν τοίνυν τὴν [τοῦ] τριετῆ γεγονότος ἡλικίαν  
 e κόρου καὶ κόρης ταῦτα εἴ τις ἀκριβῶς ἀποτελοῖ καὶ μὴ  
 παρέργως τοῖς εἰρημένοις χρώτο, οὐ σμικρὰ εἰς ὠφελίαν  
 γίγνεται ἂν τοῖς νεωστὶ τρεφομένοις· τριετὶ δὲ δὴ καὶ  
 5 τετραετὶ καὶ πενταετὶ καὶ ἔτι ἐξέτεϊ ἦθει ψυχῆς παιδιῶν  
 δέον ἂν εἶη, τρυφῆς δ' ἤδη παραλυτέον κολάζοντα, μὴ ἀτι-  
 μως, ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἐπὶ τῶν δούλων γ' ἐλέγομεν, τὸ μὴ μεθ'  
 ὕβρεως κολάζοντας ὀργὴν ἐμποιῆσαι δεῖν τοῖς κολασθεῖσιν  
 794 μηδ' ἀκολάστους ἐὼντας τρυφῇ, ταῦτόν δραστέον τοῦτό γε  
 καὶ ἐπ' ἐλευθέροισι. παιδιαὶ δ' εἰσὶν τοῖς τηλικούτοις αὐτο-  
 φνεῖς τινες, ἃς ἐπειδὰν συνέλθωσιν αὐτοὶ σχεδὸν ἀνευρί-  
 σκουσι. συνίεναι δὲ εἰς τὰ κατὰ κώμας ἱερὰ δεῖ πάντα ἤδη  
 5 τὰ τηλικαῦτα παιδιά, ἀπὸ τριετοῦς μέχρι τῶν ἐξ ἑτῶν, κοινῇ  
 τὰ τῶν κωμητῶν εἰς ταῦτόν ἕκαστα· τὰς δὲ τροφούς ἔτι  
 τῶν τηλικούτων κοσμιότητός τε καὶ ἀκολασίας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι,  
 τῶν δὲ τροφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς ἀγέλης συμπάσης, τῶν δώ-  
 10 δεκα γυναικῶν μίαν ἐφ' ἐκάστη τετάχθαι κοσμοῦσαν κατ'  
 ἐνιαυτὸν τῶν προηρημένων ἃς ἂν τάξωσιν οἱ νομοφύλακες.  
 ταύτας δὲ αἰρεῖσθωσαν μὲν αἱ τῶν γάμων κύριαι τῆς ἐπι-  
 μελείας, ἐξ ἐκάστης τῆς φυλῆς μίαν, ἡλικας αὐταῖς· ἡ δὲ  
 5 καταστάσα ἀρχέτω φοιτῶσα εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐκάστης ἡμέρας  
 καὶ κολάζουσα αἰετὸν τὸν ἀδικοῦντα, δοῦλον μὲν καὶ δούλην καὶ  
 ξένον καὶ ξένην αὐτὴ διὰ τινων τῆς πόλεως οἰκετῶν, πολίτην  
 c δὲ ἀμφισβητοῦντα μὲν τῇ κολάσει πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυνόμους  
 ἐπὶ δίκην ἄγουσα, ἀναμφισβήτητον δὲ ὄντα καὶ τὸν πολίτην  
 αὐτὴ κολάζετω. μετὰ δὲ τὸν ἐξέτη καὶ τὴν ἐξέτιν διακρι-  
 5 νέσθω μὲν ἤδη τὸ γένος ἐκατέρων· κόροι μὲν μετὰ κόρων,  
 παρθένοι δὲ ὡσαύτως μετ' ἀλλήλων τὴν διατριβὴν ποιεί-  
 σθωσαν· πρὸς δὲ τὰ μαθήματα τρέπεσθαι χρεῶν ἐκατέρους,  
 τοὺς μὲν ἄρρενας ἐφ' ἵππων διδασκάλους καὶ τόξων καὶ  
 ἀκοντίων καὶ σφενδονήσεως, ἂν δὲ πη συγχωρῶσιν, μέχρι  
 d γε μαθήσεως καὶ τὰ θήλεα, καὶ δὴ τά γε μάλιστα πρὸς τὴν  
 τῶν ὄπλων χρεῖαν. τὸ γὰρ δὴ νῦν καθεστὸς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα  
 ἀγνοεῖται παρὰ τοῖς πᾶσιν ὀλίγου.

ΚΛ. Τὸ ποῖον;



ΑΘ. Ὡς ἄρα τὰ δεξιὰ καὶ τὰ ἀριστερὰ διαφέροντά ἐσθ' 5  
 ἡμῶν φύσει πρὸς τὰς χρείας εἰς ἐκάστας τῶν πράξεων τὰ  
 περὶ τὰς χεῖρας· ἐπεὶ τὰ γε περὶ πόδας τε καὶ τὰ κάτω τῶν  
 μελῶν οὐδὲν διαφέροντα εἰς τοὺς πόνους φαίνεται, τὰ δὲ  
 κατὰ χεῖρας ἀνοίᾳ τροφῶν καὶ μητέρων οἶον χωλοὶ γεγόνα- e  
 μεν ἕκαστοι. τῆς φύσεως γὰρ ἐκατέρων τῶν μελῶν σχεδὸν  
 ἰσορροπούσης, αὐτοὶ διὰ τὰ ἔθη διάφορα αὐτὰ πεποιήκαμεν  
 οὐκ ὀρθῶς χρώμενοι. ἐν ὅσοις μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἔργων μὴ μέγα  
 διαφέρει, λύρα μὲν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ χρώμενον, πλήκτρῳ δὲ ἐν 5  
 δεξιᾷ, πρᾶγμα οὐδέν, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα· τούτοις δὲ παρα-  
 δείγμασι χρώμενον καὶ εἰς ἄλλα μὴ δέον οὕτω χρῆσθαι  
 σχεδὸν ἄνοια. ἔδειξεν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ τῶν Σκυθῶν νόμος, οὐκ 795  
 ἐν ἀριστερᾷ μὲν τόξον ἀπάγων, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ οἰστὸν προσαγό-  
 μενος μόνον, ἀλλ' ὁμοίως ἐκατέροις ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα χρώμενος·  
 πάμπολλα δ' ἕτερα τοιαῦτα παραδείγματα ἐν ἡνιοχείαις τέ  
 ἐστί καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις, ἐν οἷσιν μαθεῖν δυνατόν ὅτι παρὰ φύσιν 5  
 κατασκευάζουσιν οἱ ἀριστερὰ δεξιῶν ἀσθενέστερα κατασκευά-  
 ζοντες. ταῦτα δ', ὅπερ εἵπομεν, ἐν μὲν κερατίνοις πλήκτροις  
 καὶ ἐν ὀργάνοις τοιούτοις οὐδὲν μέγα· σιδηροῖς δ' εἰς τὸν b  
 πόλεμον ὅταν δέῃ χρῆσθαι, μέγα διαφέρει, καὶ τόξοις καὶ  
 ἀκοντίοις καὶ ἐκάστοις τούτων, πολὺ δὲ μέγιστον, ὅταν ὅπλοις  
 δέῃ πρὸς ὅπλα χρῆσθαι. διαφέρει δὲ πάμπολυ μαθῶν μὴ  
 μαθόντος καὶ ὁ γυμνασάμενος τοῦ μὴ γεγυμνασμένου. καθά- 5  
 περ γὰρ ὁ τελέως παγκράτιον ἡσκηκὼς ἢ πυγμῇ ἢ πάλην  
 οὐκ ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἀδύνατός ἐστι μάχεσθαι,  
 χωλαίνει δὲ καὶ ἐφέλκεται πλημμελῶν, ὁπότεν αὐτόν τις  
 μεταβιβάζων ἐπὶ θάτερα ἀναγκάζῃ διαπονεῖν, ταῦτόν δὲ c  
 τοῦτ', οἶμαι, καὶ ἐν ὅπλοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι χρῆ  
 προσδοκᾶν ὀρθόν, ὅτι τὸν διττὰ δεῖ κεκτημένον, οἷς ἀμύ-  
 νοιτό τ' ἂν καὶ ἐπιτιθεῖτο ἄλλοις, μηδὲν ἀργὸν τούτων μηδὲ  
 ἀνεπιστήμον ἔαν εἶναι κατὰ δύναμιν· Γηρυόνου δὲ γε εἴ τις 5  
 φύσιν ἔχων ἢ καὶ τὴν Βριάρεω φύοιτο, ταῖς ἐκατὸν χερσὶν  
 ἐκατὸν δεῖ βέλη ρίπτειν δυνατόν εἶναι. τούτων δὲ πάντων  
 τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἀρχούσαις τε καὶ ἄρχουσι δεῖ γίνεσθαι, ταῖς d  
 μὲν ἐν παιδιαῖς τε καὶ τροφαῖς ἐπισκόποις γιγνομέναις, τοῖς  
 δὲ περὶ μαθήματα, ὅπως ἀρτίποδες τε καὶ ἀρτίχειρες πάντες  
 τε καὶ πᾶσαι γιγνόμενοι, μηδὲν τοῖς ἔθεσιν ἀποβλάπτωσι  
 τὰς φύσεις εἰς τὸ δυνατόν. 5

Τὰ δὲ μαθήματά που διττά, ὥς γ' εἰπεῖν, χρῆσασθαι

συμβαίνοι ἄν, τὰ μὲν ὅσα περὶ τὸ σῶμα γυμναστικῆς, τὰ  
 δ' εὐψυχίας χάριν μουσικῆς. τὰ δὲ γυμναστικῆς αὖ δύο,  
 e τὸ μὲν ὄρχησις, τὸ δὲ πάλη. τῆς ὄρχήσεως δὲ ἄλλη μὲν  
 Μούσης λέξι μιμουμένων, τό τε μεγαλοπρεπὲς φυλάττοντας  
 ἅμα καὶ ἐλεύθερον, ἄλλη δέ, εὐξίας ἐλαφρότητός τε ἔνεκα  
 καὶ κάλλους, τῶν τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ μελῶν καὶ μερῶν τὸ  
 5 προσήκον καμπῆς τε καὶ ἐκτάσεως, καὶ ἀποδιομένης ἐκά-  
 στοις αὐτοῖς αὐτῶν εὐρύθμου κινήσεως, διασπειρομένης ἅμα  
 καὶ συνακολουθούσης εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν ὄρχησιν ἱκανῶς. καὶ  
 796 δὴ τά γε κατὰ πάλην ἃ μὲν Ἀνταῖος ἢ Κερκύων ἐν τέχναις  
 ἑαυτῶν συνεστήσαντο φιλονικίας ἀχρήστου χάριν, ἢ πυγμῆς  
 Ἐπειὸς ἢ Ἄμυκος, οὐδὲν χρήσιμα ἐπὶ πολέμου κοινωνίαν  
 ὄντα, οὐκ ἄξια λόγῳ κοσμεῖν· τὰ δὲ ἀπ' ὀρθῆς πάλης, ἀπ'  
 5 αὐχένων καὶ χειρῶν καὶ πλευρῶν ἐξειλίσεως, μετὰ φιλο-  
 νικίας τε καὶ καταστάσεως διαπονούμενα μετ' εὐσχήμενος,  
 ῥώμης τε καὶ ὑγιείας ἔνεκα, ταῦτ' εἰς πάντα ὄντα χρήσιμα  
 οὐ παρετέον, ἀλλὰ προστακτέον μαθηταῖς τε ἅμα καὶ τοῖς  
 b διδάξουσιν, ὅταν ἐνταῦθ' ὤμεν τῶν νόμων, τοῖς μὲν πάντα  
 τὰ τοιαῦτα εὐμενῶς δωρεῖσθαι, τοῖς δὲ παραλαμβάνειν ἐν  
 χάρισιν. οὐδ' ὅσα ἐν τοῖς χοροῖς ἐστὶν αὖ μιμήματα προσή-  
 κοντα μιμεῖσθαι παρετέον, κατὰ μὲν τὸν τόπον τόνδε Κου-  
 5 ρήτων ἐνόπλια παίγνια, κατὰ δὲ Λακεδαίμονα Διοσκόρων.  
 ἢ δὲ αὖ πού παρ' ἡμῖν κόρη καὶ δέσποινα, εὐφρανθεῖσα τῇ  
 τῆς χορείας παιδιᾷ, κεναῖς χερσὶν οὐκ ὠήθη δεῖν ἀθύρειν,  
 c πανοπλίᾳ δὲ παντελεῖ κοσμηθεῖσα, οὕτω τὴν ὄρχησιν δια-  
 περαίνειν· ἃ δὴ πάντως μιμεῖσθαι πρέπον ἂν εἴη κόρους τε  
 ἅμα καὶ κόρας, τὴν τῆς θεοῦ χάριν τιμῶντας, πολέμου τ' ἐν  
 χρεῖα καὶ ἑορτῶν ἔνεκα. τοῖς δὲ πού παισιν εὐθύς τε καὶ  
 5 ὅσον ἂν χρόνον μήπω εἰς πόλεμον ἴωσιν, πᾶσι θεοῖς προσ-  
 ὄδους τε καὶ πομπὰς ποιουμένους μεθ' ὅπλων τε καὶ ἵππων  
 αἰεὶ κοσμεῖσθαι δεόν ἂν εἴη, θάττους τε καὶ βραδυτέρας ἐν  
 ὄρχήσεσι καὶ ἐν πορείᾳ τὰς ἱκετείας ποιουμένους πρὸς θεοὺς  
 d τε καὶ θεῶν παῖδας. καὶ ἀγῶνας δὴ καὶ προαγῶνας, εἴ-  
 τινων, οὐκ ἄλλων ἢ τούτων ἔνεκα προαγωνιστέον· οὗτοι γὰρ  
 καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ κατὰ πόλεμον χρήσιμοι εἰς τε πολιτείαν καὶ  
 ἰδίους οἴκους, οἳ δὲ ἄλλοι πόνοι τε καὶ παιδιαὶ καὶ σπουδαί  
 5 κατὰ σώματα οὐκ ἐλευθέρων, ὧ Μένιλλέ τε καὶ Κλεινία.

Ἦν εἶπον γυμναστικὴν ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις λόγοις ὅτι δέοι  
 διεξελθεῖν, σχεδὸν δὴ διελέλυθα τὰ νῦν, καὶ ἔσθ' αὕτη

παντελής· εἰ δέ τινα ταύτης ὑμεῖς ἔχετε βελτίω, θέντες εἰς κοινὸν λέγετε.

e

ΚΛ. Οὐ ράδιον, ὦ ξένε, παρέντας ταῦτα ἄλλα ἔχειν βελτίω τούτων περὶ γυμναστικῆς ἅμα καὶ ἀγωνίας εἰπεῖν.

ΑΘ. Τὸ τοῖνυν τούτοις ἐξῆς περὶ τὰ τῶν Μουσῶν τε καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος δῶρα, τότε μὲν, ὡς ἅπαντα εἰρηκότες, ὥόμεθα καταλείπειν μόνα τὰ περὶ γυμναστικῆς· νῦν δ' ἔστιν δῆλα ἅ τ' ἔστιν καὶ ὅτι πρῶτα πᾶσιν ῥητέα. λέγωμεν τοῖνυν ἐξῆς αὐτά.

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ΚΛ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν λεκτέον.

ΑΘ. Ἀκούσατε δὴ μου, προακηκοότες μὲν καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν· ὅμως δέ τό γε σφόδρα ἄτοπον καὶ ἄηθες διεν- 797  
λαβεῖσθαι δεῖ λέγοντα καὶ ἀκούοντα, καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν. ἐρῶ μὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ λόγον οὐκ ἄφοβον εἰπεῖν, ὅμως δέ πη θαρρήσας οὐκ ἀποστήσομαι.

5

ΚΛ. Τίνα δὴ τοῦτον, ὦ ξένε, λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Φημὶ κατὰ πάσας πόλεις τὸ τῶν παιδιῶν γένος ἡγνοῆσθαι σύμπασιν ὅτι κυριώτατόν ἐστι περὶ θέσεως νό-  
μων, ἢ μονίμους εἶναι τοὺς τεθέντας ἢ μὴ. ταχθὲν μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸ καὶ μετασχὼν τοῦ τὰ αὐτὰ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως αἰεὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς παίζειν τε καὶ εὐθυμεῖσθαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς παιγνίοις, ἐὰ καὶ τὰ σπουδῇ κείμενα νόμιμα μένειν ἡσυχῇ, κινούμενα δὲ ταῦτα καὶ καινοτομούμενα, μετα-  
βολαῖς τε ἄλλαις αἰεὶ χρώμενα, καὶ μηδέποτε ταῦτα φίλα  
προσαγορευόντων τῶν νέων, μήτ' ἐν σχήμασιν τοῖς τῶν αὐ-  
τῶν σωμάτων μήτε ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις σκεύεσιν ὁμολογουμένως αὐτοῖς αἰεὶ κεῖσθαι τό τ' εὐσχημον καὶ ἄσχημον, ἀλλὰ τόν  
τι νέον αἰεὶ καινοτομοῦντα καὶ εἰσφέροντα τῶν εἰωθότων ἕτερον κατὰ τε σχήματα καὶ χρώματα καὶ πάντα ὅσα τοιαῦτα, τοῦτον τιμᾶσθαι διαφερόντως, τούτου πόλει λώβην οὐκ εἶναι  
μείζω φαῖμεν ἢν ὀρθότατα λέγοντες· λανθάνειν γὰρ τῶν νέων τὰ ἥθη μεθιστάντα καὶ ποιεῖν τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον παρ' αὐτοῖς ἄτιμον, τὸ δὲ νέον ἔντιμον. τούτου δὲ πάλιν αὖ  
λέγω τοῦ τε ῥήματος καὶ τοῦ δόγματος οὐκ εἶναι ζημίαν μείζω πάσαις πόλεσιν· ἀκούσατε δὲ ὅσον φημὶ αὐτ' εἶναι κακόν.

b

5

c

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ΚΛ. Ἡ τὸ ψέγεσθαι τὴν ἀρχαιότητα λέγεις ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν;

d

ΑΘ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.



ΚΛ. Οὐ φαύλους τοίνυν ἡμᾶς ἂν ἀκροατὰς πρὸς αὐτὸν  
 5 τὸν λόγον ἔχοις ἂν τοῦτον, ἀλλ' ὥς δυνατὸν εὐμενεστάτους.

ΑΘ. Εἰκὸς γοῦν.

ΚΛ. Λέγε μόνον.

ΑΘ. Ἴτε δὴ, μειζόνως αὐτὸν ἀκούσωμέν τε ἡμῶν αὐτῶν  
 καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὕτως εἴπωμεν. μεταβολὴν γὰρ δὴ  
 10 πάντων πλὴν κακῶν πολὺ σφαλερώτατον εὐρήσομεν ἐν ὥραις  
 πάσαις, ἐν πνεύμασιν, ἐν διαίταις σωμάτων, ἐν τρόποις  
 ψυχῶν, ἐν ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν οὐ τοῖς μὲν, τοῖς δ' οὐ, πλήν,  
 e ὅτιπερ εἶπον νυνδὴ, κακοῖς· ὥστε, εἴ τις ἀποβλέψειε πρὸς  
 σώματα, ὥς πᾶσι μὲν σιτίοις, πᾶσι δ' αὖ ποτοῖς καὶ πόνοις  
 συνήθη γιγνόμενα, καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ταραχθέντα ὑπ' αὐτῶν,  
 ἔπειτ' ἐξ αὐτῶν τούτων ὑπὸ χρόνου σάρκας φύσαντα οἰκείας  
 798 τούτοις, φίλα τε καὶ συνήθη καὶ γνώριμα γενόμενα ἀπάσῃ  
 ταύτῃ τῇ διαίτῃ πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ ὑγίειαν ἄριστα διάγει, καὶ  
 ἂν ποτ' ἄρα ἀναγκασθῇ μεταβάλλειν αὐθις ἡντινοῦν τῶν  
 εὐδοκίμων διαιτῶν, τό γε κατ' ἀρχὰς συνταραχθεῖς ὑπὸ  
 5 νόσων μόγις ποτὲ κατέστη, τὴν συνήθειαν τῇ τροφῇ πάλιν  
 ἀπολαβών, ταῦτόν δὴ δεῖ νομίζειν τοῦτο γίνεσθαι καὶ περὶ  
 τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων διανοίας τε ἅμα καὶ τὰς τῶν ψυχῶν  
 φύσεις. οἷς γὰρ ἂν ἐντραφῶσιν νόμοις καὶ κατὰ τινα θείαν  
 b εὐτυχίαν ἀκίνητοι γένωνται μακρῶν καὶ πολλῶν χρόνων, ὥς  
 μηδένα ἔχειν μνειάν μηδὲ ἀκοὴν τοῦ ποτε ἄλλως αὐτὰ σχεῖν  
 ἢ καθάπερ νῦν ἔχει, σέβεται καὶ φοβεῖται πᾶσα ἡ ψυχὴ  
 τό τι κινεῖν τῶν τότε καθεστῶτων. μηχανὴν δὴ δεῖ τὸν  
 5 νομοθέτην ἐννοεῖν ἀμόθεν γέ ποθεν ὄντινα τρόπον τοῦτ'  
 ἔσται τῇ πόλει. τῇδ' οὖν ἔγωγε εὐρίσκω. τὰς παιδιας  
 πάντες διανοοῦνται κινουμένας τῶν νέων, ὅπερ ἔμπροσθεν  
 ἐλέγομεν, παιδιας ὄντως εἶναι καὶ οὐ τὴν μεγίστην ἐξ αὐτῶν  
 c σπουδὴν καὶ βλάβην συμβαίνειν, ὥστε οὐκ ἀποτρέπουσιν  
 ἀλλὰ συνέπονται ὑπείκοντες, καὶ οὐ λογίζονται τότε, ὅτι  
 τούτους ἀνάγκη τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐν ταῖς παιδιαῖς νεωτερί-  
 ζοντας ἐτέρους ἀνδρας τῶν ἔμπροσθεν γενέσθαι [παίδων],  
 5 γενομένους δὲ ἄλλους, ἄλλον βίον ζητεῖν, ζητήσαντας δέ,  
 ἐτέρων ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ νόμων ἐπιθυμῆσαι, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο  
 ὥς ἥξοντος τοῦ νυνδὴ λεγομένου μεγίστου κακοῦ πόλεσιν  
 d οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν φοβεῖται. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα ἐλάττω μετα-  
 βαλλόμενα κακὰ διεξεργάζοιτ' ἂν, ὅσα περὶ σχήματα πάσχει  
 τὸ τοιοῦτον· ὅσα δὲ περὶ τὰ τῶν ἡθῶν ἐπαίνου τε καὶ ψόγου



πὲρι πυκνὰ μεταπίπτει, πάντων, οἷομαι, μέγιστα τε καὶ πλείστης εὐλαβείας δεόμενα ἂν εἴη.

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ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

ΑΘ. Τί οὖν; τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις πιστεύομεν; οἷς ἐλέγομεν ὡς τὰ περὶ τοὺς ῥυθμοὺς καὶ πᾶσαν μουσικὴν ἐστὶν τρόπων μιμήματα βελτιόνων καὶ χειρόνων ἀνθρώπων; ἢ πῶς;

e

ΚΛ. Οὐδαμῶς ἄλλως πως τό γε παρ' ἡμῖν δόγμα ἔχον ἂν εἴη.

ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν, φαμέν, ἅπασαν μηχανητέον μηχανὴν ὅπως ἂν ἡμῖν οἱ παῖδες μήτε ἐπιθυμῶσιν ἄλλων μιμημάτων ἄπτεσθαι κατὰ ὀρχήσεις ἢ κατὰ μελωδίας, μήτε τις αὐτοὺς πείσῃ προσάγων παντοίας ἡδονάς;

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ΚΛ. Ὅρθότατα λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Ἐχει τις οὖν ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα βελτίω τινα τέχνην τῆς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων;

799

ΚΛ. Ποίας δὴ λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Τοῦ καθιερῶσαι πᾶσαν μὲν ὀρχησιν, πάντα δὲ μέλη, τάξαντας πρῶτον μὲν τὰς ἐορτάς, συλλογισαμένους εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἄστινας ἐν οἷς χρόνοις καὶ οἷσιν ἐκάστοις τῶν θεῶν καὶ παισὶ τούτων [καὶ δαίμοσι] γίνεσθαι χρεῶν, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν θεῶν θύμασιν ἐκάστοις ἦν ὥδην δεῖ ἐφυννέισθαι, καὶ χορεῖαις ποίαισιν γεραίρειν τὴν τότε θυσίαν, τάξαι μὲν πρῶτόν τινας, αἱ δ' ἂν ταχθῇ, Μοίραις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι θεοῖς θύσαντας κοινῇ πάντας τοὺς πολίτας, σπένδοντας καθιεροῦν ἐκάστας τὰς ὥδὰς ἐκάστοις τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων· ἂν δὲ παρ' αὐτά τις τῶν θεῶν ἄλλους ὕμνους ἢ χορείας προσάγῃ, τοὺς ἱερέας τε καὶ τὰς ἱερείας μετὰ νομοφυλάκων ἐξείργοντας ὁσίως ἐξείργειν καὶ κατὰ νόμον, τὸν δὲ ἐξείργόμενον, ἂν μὴ ἐκὼν ἐξείργηται, δίκας ἀσεβείας διὰ βίου παντὸς τῷ ἐθελήσαντι παρέχειν.

5

b

5

ΚΛ. Ὅρθως.

ΑΘ. Πρὸς τούτῳ δὴ νῦν γενόμενοι τῷ λόγῳ, πάθωμεν τὸ πρέπον ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς.

c

ΚΛ. Τοῦ πέρι λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Πᾶς που νέος, μὴ ὅτι πρεσβύτης, ἰδὼν ἂν ἢ καὶ ἀκούσας ὅτιοῦν τῶν ἐκτόπων καὶ μηδαμῇ πως συνήθων, οὐκ ἂν ποτέ που τὸ ἀπορηθὲν περὶ αὐτῶν συγχωρήσειεν ἐπιδραμὼν οὕτως εὐθύς, στὰς δ' ἂν, καθάπερ ἐν τριόδῳ γενό-

5

μενος καὶ μὴ σφόδρα κατειδὼς ὁδόν, εἴτε μόνος εἴτε μετ'  
 d ἄλλων τύχοι πορευόμενος, ἀνέροιτ' ἂν αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους  
 τὸ ἀπορούμενον, καὶ οὐκ ἂν πρότερον ὀρμήσειεν, πρὶν πη  
 βεβαιώσαιο τὴν σκέψιν τῆς πορείας ὅπῃ ποτὲ φέροι. καὶ  
 δὴ καὶ τὸ παρὸν ἡμῖν ὡσαύτως ποιητέον· ἀτόπου γὰρ τὰ  
 5 νῦν ἐμπεπτωκότος λόγου περὶ νόμων, ἀνάγκη που σκέψιν  
 πᾶσαν ποιήσασθαι, καὶ μὴ ῥαδίως οὕτως περὶ τοσούτων  
 τηλικούτους ὄντας φάναι δισχυριζομένους ἐν τῷ παραχρήμά  
 τι σαφές ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχειν.

ΚΛ. Ἀληθέστατα λέγεις.

e ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν τούτῳ μὲν χρόνον δώσομεν, βεβαιώσομεν  
 δὲ τότε αὐτό, ὅποταν σκεψώμεθα ἱκανῶς· ἵνα δὲ μὴ τὴν  
 ἐπομένην τάξιν τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς νῦν ἡμῖν παροῦσι διαπερά-  
 νασθαι κωλυθῶμεν μάτην, ἴωμεν πρὸς τὸ τέλος αὐτῶν.  
 5 τάχα γὰρ ἴσως, εἰ θεὸς ἐθέλοι, καὶ ἡ διέξοδος αὕτη ὅλη  
 σχοῦσα τέλος ἱκανῶς ἂν μηνύσειε καὶ τὸ νῦν διαπορού-  
 μενον.

ΚΛ. Ἀριστ', ὦ ξένε, λέγεις, καὶ ποιῶμεν οὕτως ὥς εἴ-  
 ρηκας.

10 ΑΘ. Δεδόχθω μὲν δὴ, φαμέν, τὸ ἄτοπον τοῦτο, νόμους  
 τὰς ὥδὰς ἡμῖν γεγονέναι, καὶ καθάπερ οἱ παλαιοὶ τό γε περὶ  
 κιθαρῳδίαν οὕτω πως, ὥς ἔοικεν, ὠνόμασαν—ὥστε τάχ'  
 800 ἂν οὐδ' ἐκεῖνοι παντάπασί γ' ἂν ἀφεστῶτες εἶεν τοῦ νῦν  
 λεγομένου, καθ' ὕπνον δὲ οἷόν πού τις ἦ καὶ ὕπαρ ἐγρη-  
 γορῶς ὠνεύρωξεν μαντευόμενος αὐτό—τὸ δ' οὖν δόγμα περὶ  
 αὐτοῦ τοῦτ' ἔστω· παρὰ τὰ δημόσια μέλη τε καὶ ἱερὰ καὶ  
 5 τὴν τῶν νέων σύμπασαν χορείαν μηδεὶς μᾶλλον ἢ παρ'  
 ὄντινούν ἄλλον τῶν νόμων φθειγγέσθω μηδ' ἐν ὀρχήσει  
 κινεῖσθω. καὶ ὁ μὲν τοιοῦτος ἀζήμιος ἀπαλλαττέσθω, τὸν  
 δὲ μὴ πειθόμενον, καθάπερ ἐρρήθη νυνδὴ, νομοφύλακές τε  
 b καὶ ἱερεῖαι καὶ ἱερῆς κολαζόντων. κείσθω δὲ νῦν ἡμῖν  
 ταῦτα τῷ λόγῳ;

ΚΛ. Κείσθω.

ΑΘ. Τίνα δὴ τρόπον αὐτὰ νομοθετῶν τις μὴ παντάπασιν  
 5 καταγέλαστος γίγνοιτ' ἂν; ἴδωμεν δὴ τὸ τοιόνδ' ἔτι περὶ  
 αὐτά. ἀσφαλέστατον καθάπερ ἐκμαγεῖ' ἄττ' αὐτοῖσιν πρῶτον  
 πλάσασθαι τῷ λόγῳ, λέγω δὲ ἐν μὲν τῶν ἐκμαγεῖων εἶναι  
 τοιόνδε τι· θυσίας γενομένης καὶ ἱερῶν καυθέντων κατὰ  
 νόμον, εἴ τῃ τις, φαμέν, ἰδία παραστάς τοῖς βωμοῖς τε καὶ

ἱεροῖς, ὅς ἢ καὶ ἀδελφός, βλασφημοῖ πᾶσαν βλασφημίαν, c  
ἄρ' οὐκ, ἂν φαῖμεν, ἀθυμίαν καὶ κακὴν ὄτταν καὶ μαντείαν  
πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἂν οἰκείοις φθέγγοιτο ἐντιθεῖς;

ΚΛ. Τί μὴν;

ΑΘ. Ἐν τοίνυν τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν τόποις τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ταῖς 5  
πόλεσι γιγνόμενον ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν σχεδὸν ὀλίγου πάσαις·  
δημοσίᾳ γάρ τινα θυσίαν ὅταν ἀρχή τις θύσῃ, μετὰ ταῦτα  
χορὸς οὐχ εἰς ἀλλὰ πλῆθος χορῶν ἦκει, καὶ στάντες οὐ  
πόρῳ τῶν βωμῶν ἀλλὰ παρ' αὐτοὺς ἐνίοτε, πᾶσαν βλασ- d  
φημίαν τῶν ἱερῶν καταχέουσιν, ῥήμασί τε καὶ ῥυθμοῖς καὶ  
γῳδεστάταις ἁρμονίαις συντείνοντες τὰς τῶν ἀκροωμένων  
ψυχὰς, καὶ ὅς ἂν δακρῦσαι μάλιστα τὴν θύσασαν παρα-  
χρῆμα ποιήσῃ πόλιν, οὗτος τὰ νικητήρια φέρει. τοῦτον δὲ 5  
τὸν νόμον ἄρ' οὐκ ἀποψηφίζομεθα; καὶ εἴ ποτ' ἄρα δεῖ  
τοιούτων οἰκτων γίγνεσθαι τοὺς πολίτας ἐπηκόους, ὅποταν  
ἡμέραι μὴ καθαραὶ τινες ἀλλὰ ἀποφράδες ὦσιν, τότε ἦκειν  
δέον ἂν εἶη μᾶλλον χοροὺς τινὰς ἐξῶθεν μεμισθωμένους e  
ῳδοὺς, οἷον οἱ περὶ τοὺς τελευτήσαντας μισθούμενοι Καρικῇ  
τινι μούσῃ προπέμπουσι [τοὺς τελευτήσαντας]; τοιούτον  
που πρέπον ἂν εἶη καὶ περὶ τὰς τοιαύτας ῳδαῖς γιγνόμενον,  
καὶ δὴ καὶ στολή γέ που ταῖς ἐπικηδείαις ῳδαῖς οὐ στέφανοι 5  
πρέποιν ἂν οὐδ' ἐπίχρυσοι κόσμοι, πᾶν δὲ τοῦναντίον, ἵν'  
ὅτι τάχιστα περὶ αὐτῶν λέγων ἀπαλλάττωμαι. τὸ δὲ το-  
σοῦτον ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπανερωτῶ πάλιν, τῶν ἐκμαγείων ταῖς  
ῳδαῖς εἰ πρῶτον ἐν τοῦθ' ἡμῖν ἀρέσκον κείσθω.

ΚΛ. Τὸ ποῖον;

10

ΑΘ. Εὐφημία, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ τῆς ῳδῆς γένος εὐφημον  
ἡμῖν πάντῃ πάντως ὑπαρχέτω; ἢ μηδὲν ἐπανερωτῶ, τιθῶ 801  
δὲ τοῦτο οὕτως;

ΚΛ. Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν τίθει· νικᾷ γὰρ πάσαισι ταῖς  
ψήφοις οὗτος ὁ νόμος.

ΑΘ. Τίς δὴ μετ' εὐφημίαν δεύτερος ἂν εἶη νόμος μου- 5  
σικῆς; ἄρ' οὐκ εὐχὰς εἶναι τοῖς θεοῖς οἷς θύομεν ἐκάστοτε;

ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

ΑΘ. Τρίτος δ' οἶμαι νόμος, ὅτι γνόντας δεῖ τοὺς ποιητὰς  
ὡς εὐχαὶ παρὰ θεῶν αἰτήσεις εἰσὶν, δεῖ δὴ τὸν νοῦν αὐτοὺς  
σφόδρα προσέχειν μή ποτε λάθωσιν κακὸν ὡς ἀγαθὸν αἰτού- b  
μενοι· γελοῖον γὰρ δὴ τὸ πάθος οἶμαι τοῦτ' ἂν γίγνοιτο,  
εὐχῆς τοιαύτης γενομένης.

ΚΛ. Τί μήν;

- 5 ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν ἡμεῖς ἔμπροσθεν σμικρὸν τῷ λόγῳ ἐπέ-  
σθημεν ὥς οὔτε ἀργυροῦν δεῖ πλοῦτον οὔτε χρυσοῦν ἐν  
πόλει ἰδρυμένον ἐνοικεῖν;

ΚΛ. Πάνν μὲν οὖν.

- ΑΘ. Τίνος οὖν ποτε παράδειγμα εἰρήσθαι φῶμεν τοῦτον  
10 τὸν λόγον; ἀρ' οὐ τοῦδε, ὅτι τὸ τῶν ποιητῶν γένος οὐ πᾶν  
c ἱκανόν ἐστι γιννώσκειν σφόδρα τὰ τε ἀγαθὰ καὶ μῆ; ποιήσας  
οὖν δήπου τίς ποιητῆς ῥήμασιν ἢ καὶ κατὰ μέλος τοῦτο <τὸ>  
ἡμαρτημένον εὐχὰς οὐκ ὀρθάς, ἡμῖν τοὺς πολίτας περὶ τῶν  
μεγίστων εὐχεσθαι τᾶναντία ποιήσει· καίτοι τούτου, καθάπερ  
5 ἐλέγομεν, οὐ πολλὰ ἁμαρτήματα ἀνευρήσομεν μείζω. θῶμεν  
δὴ καὶ τοῦτον τῶν περὶ μούσαν νόμων καὶ τύπων ἓνα;

ΚΛ. Τίνα; σαφέστερον εἰπέ ἡμῖν.

- ΑΘ. Τὸν ποιητὴν παρὰ τὰ τῆς πόλεως νόμιμα καὶ δίκαια  
d ἢ καλὰ ἢ ἀγαθὰ μηδὲν ποιεῖν ἄλλο, τὰ δὲ ποιηθέντα μὴ  
ἐξεῖναι τῶν ἰδιωτῶν μηδενὶ πρότερον δεικνύναι, πρὶν ἂν  
αὐτοῖς τοῖς περὶ ταῦτα ἀποδεδειγμένοις κριταῖς καὶ τοῖς  
νομοφύλαξιν δειχθῇ καὶ ἀρέσῃ· σχεδὸν δὲ ἀποδεδειγμένοι  
5 εἰσὶν ἡμῖν οὓς εἰλόμεθα νομοθέτας περὶ τὰ μουσικὰ καὶ τὸν  
τῆς παιδείας ἐπιμελητήν. τί οὖν; ὃ πολλάκις ἐρωτῶ, κείσθω  
νόμος ἡμῖν καὶ τύπος ἐκμαγεῖόν τε τρίτον τοῦτο; ἢ πῶς  
δοκεῖ;

ΚΛ. Κείσθω· τί μήν;

- e ΑΘ. Μετά γε μὴν ταῦτα ὕμνοι θεῶν καὶ ἐγκώμια κεκοι-  
νωνημένα εὐχαῖς ᾄδοιτ' ἂν ὀρθότατα, καὶ μετὰ θεοὺς ὡσαύτως  
περὶ δαίμονάς τε καὶ ἥρωας μετ' ἐγκωμίων εὐχαὶ γίνονται  
ἂν τοῦτοισι πᾶσιν πρέπουσαι.

- 5 ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

- ΑΘ. Μετά γε μὴν ταῦτ' ἤδη νόμος ἄνευ φθόνων εὐθὺς  
γίνονται ἂν ὁδε· τῶν πολιτῶν ὅποσοι τέλος ἔχουσιν τοῦ  
βίου, κατὰ σώματα ἢ κατὰ ψυχὰς ἔργα ἐξεργασμένοι καλὰ  
καὶ ἐπίπονα καὶ τοῖς νόμοις εὐπειθεῖς γεγονότες, ἐγκωμίων  
10 αὐτοὺς τυγχάνειν πρέπον ἂν εἴη.

ΚΛ. Πῶς δ' οὐ;

- 802 ΑΘ. Τοὺς γε μὴν ἔτι ζῶντας ἐγκωμίοις τε καὶ ὕμνοις  
τιμᾶν οὐκ ἀσφαλές, πρὶν ἂν ἅπαντά τις τὸν βίον διαδραμῶν  
τέλος ἐπιστήσῃται καλόν· ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἡμῖν ἔστω κοινὰ  
ἀνδράσιν τε καὶ γυναιξὶν ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἀγαθαῖς διαφανῶς



γενομένοις. τὰς δὲ ὥδὰς τε καὶ ὀρχήσεις οὕτωςι χρῆ 5  
καθίστασθαι. πολλὰ ἔστιν παλαιῶν παλαιὰ περὶ μουσικὴν  
καὶ καλὰ ποιήματα, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ὀρχήσεις  
ὡσαύτως, ὧν οὐδεὶς φθόνος ἐκλέξασθαι τῇ καθισταμένῃ  
πολιτείᾳ τὸ πρέπον καὶ ἀρμόττον· δοκιμαστὰς δὲ τούτων b  
ἐλομένους τὴν ἐκλογὴν ποιεῖσθαι μὴ νεωτέρους πεντήκοντα  
ἐτῶν, καὶ ὅτι μὲν ἂν ἰκανὸν εἶναι δόξῃ τῶν παλαιῶν ποιη-  
μάτων, ἐγκρίνειν, ὅτι δ' ἂν ἐνδεὲς ἢ τὸ παράπαν ἀνεπιτή-  
δειον, τὸ μὲν ἀποβάλλεσθαι παντάπασι, τὸ δ' ἐπαναιρόμενον 5  
ἐπιρρυθμίζειν, ποιητικούς ἅμα καὶ μουσικούς ἀνδρας παρα-  
λαβόντας, χρωμένους αὐτῶν ταῖς δυνάμεσιν τῆς ποιήσεως,  
ταῖς δὲ ἡδοναῖς καὶ ἐπιθυμίαις μὴ ἐπιτρέποντας ἀλλ' ἢ τισιν c  
ὀλίγοις, ἐξηγουμένους δὲ τὰ τοῦ νομοθέτου βουλήματα, ὅτι  
μάλιστα ὀρχησίν τε καὶ ὥδην καὶ πᾶσαν χορείαν συστή-  
σασθαι κατὰ τὸν αὐτῶν νοῦν. πᾶσα δ' ἄτακτός γε τάξιν  
λαβοῦσα περὶ μοῦσαν διατριβὴ καὶ μὴ παρατιθεμένης τῆς 5  
γλυκείας μουσῆς ἀμείνων μυρίῳ· τὸ δ' ἡδὺ κοινὸν πάσαις.  
ἐν ᾗ γὰρ ἂν ἐκ παίδων τις μέχρι τῆς ἐστηκυίας τε καὶ  
ἔμφρονος ἡλικίας διαβίῃ, σῶφρονι μὲν μουσῇ καὶ τεταγμένη,  
ἀκούων αἰετὶ τῆς ἐναντίας, μισεῖ καὶ ἀνελεύθερον αὐτὴν προσ- d  
αγορεύει, τραφεῖς δ' ἐν τῇ κοινῇ καὶ γλυκεῖᾳ, ψυχρὰν καὶ  
ἀηδὴ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐναντίαν εἶναί φησιν· ὥστε, ὅπερ ἐρρήθη  
νυνδὴ, τό γε τῆς ἡδονῆς ἢ ἀηδίας περὶ ἑκατέρας οὐδὲν πε-  
πλεονέκτηκεν, ἐκ περιττοῦ δὲ ἢ μὲν βελτίους, ἢ δὲ χείρους 5  
τούς ἐν αὐτῇ τραφέντας ἐκάστοτε παρέχεται.

ΚΛ. Καλῶς εἴρηκας.

ΑΘ. Ἐτι δὲ θηλείαις τε πρεπούσας ὥδὰς ἄρρεσί τε  
χωρίσαι που δέον ἂν εἴη τύπῳ τινὶ διορισάμενον, καὶ ἀρ- e  
μονίαισιν δὴ καὶ ρυθμοῖς προσαρμόττειν ἀναγκαῖον· δεινὸν  
γὰρ ὅλη γε ἀρμονία ἀπάδειν ἢ ρυθμῷ ἀρρυθμεῖν, μηδὲν  
προσῆκοντα τούτων ἐκάστοις ἀποδιδόντα τοῖς μέλεσιν.  
ἀναγκαῖον δὴ καὶ τούτων τὰ σχήματά γε νομοθετεῖν. ἔστιν 5  
δὲ ἀμφοτέροις μὲν ἀμφοτέρα ἀνάγκη κατεχόμενα ἀποδιδόναι,  
τὰ δὲ τῶν θηλειῶν αὐτῷ τῷ τῆς φύσεως ἑκατέρου διαφέροντι·  
τούτῳ <δὲ> δεῖ καὶ διασαφεῖν. τὸ δὴ μεγαλοπρεπὲς οὖν  
καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἀνδρείαν ῥέπον ἀρρενωπὸν φατέον εἶναι, τὸ  
δὲ πρὸς τὸ κόσμιον καὶ σῶφρον μᾶλλον ἀποκλίνον θηλυγενέ- 10  
στερον ὥς ὃν παραδοτέον ἐν τε τῷ νόμῳ καὶ λόγῳ. τάξις  
μὲν δὴ τις αὕτη· τούτων δὲ αὐτῶν διδασκαλία καὶ παράδοσις 803

λεγέσθω τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο, τίνα τρόπον χρή καὶ οἰσισιν καὶ  
 πότε πράττειν ἕκαστα αὐτῶν. οἷον δὴ τις ναυπηγὸς τὴν τῆς  
 ναυπηγίας ἀρχὴν καταβαλλόμενος τὰ τροπιδεῖα ὑπογράφεται  
 5 τῶν πλοίων σχήματα, ταῦτόν δὴ μοι ἀγὼ φαίνομαι ἐμαντῶ  
 δρᾶν, τὰ τῶν βίων πειρώμενος σχήματα διαστήσασθαι κατὰ  
 τρόπους τοὺς τῶν ψυχῶν, ὥντως αὐτῶν τὰ τροπιδεῖα κατα-  
 βάλλεσθαι, ποῖα μηχανῇ καὶ τίσιν ποτὲ τρόποις συνόντες  
 τὸν βίον ἄριστα διὰ τοῦ πλοῦ τούτου τῆς ζωῆς διακομι-  
 σθησόμεθα, τοῦτο σκοπῶν ὀρθῶς. ἔστι δὴ τοίνυν τὰ τῶν  
 10 ἀνθρώπων πράγματα μεγάλης μὲν σπουδῆς οὐκ ἄξια, ἀνα-  
 γκαίον γε μὴν σπουδάζειν· τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ εὐτυχές. ἐπειδὴ  
 δὲ ἐνταυθὰ ἔσμεν, εἴ πως διὰ προσήκοντός τινος αὐτὸ πρᾶτ-  
 τοιμεν, ἴσως ἂν ἡμῖν σύμμετρον ἂν εἴη. λέγω δὲ δὴ τί ποτε;  
 ἴσως μεντὰν τίς μοι τοῦτ' αὐτὸ ὑπολαβὼν ὀρθῶς ὑπολάβοι.

c ΚΛ. Πάνν μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Φημὶ χρῆναι τὸ μὲν σπουδαῖον σπουδάζειν, τὸ δὲ  
 μὴ σπουδαῖον μὴ, φύσει δὲ εἶναι θεὸν μὲν πάσης μακαρίου  
 σπουδῆς ἄξιον, ἄνθρωπον δέ, ὅπερ εἵπομεν ἔμπροσθεν, θεοῦ  
 5 τι παίγνιον εἶναι μεμηχανημένον, καὶ ὥντως τοῦτο αὐτοῦ τὸ  
 βέλτιστον γεγονέναι· τούτῳ δὴ δεῖν τῷ τρόπῳ συνεπόμενον  
 καὶ παίζοντα ὅτι καλλίστας παιδιὰς πάντ' ἄνδρα καὶ γυναῖκα  
 οὕτω διαβιῶναι, τοῦναντίον ἢ νῦν διανοηθέντας.

d ΚΛ. Πῶς;

ΑΘ. Νῦν μὲν που τὰς σπουδὰς οἴονται δεῖν ἔνεκα τῶν  
 παιδιῶν γίνεσθαι· τὰ γὰρ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἡγούνται  
 σπουδαῖα ὄντα τῆς εἰρήνης ἔνεκα δεῖν εὖ τίθεσθαι. τὸ δ'  
 5 ἦν ἐν πολέμῳ μὲν ἄρα οὐτ' οὖν παιδιὰ πεφυκυῖα οὐτ' αὖ  
 παιδεῖα ποτὲ ἡμῖν ἀξιόλογος, οὔτε οὔσα οὐτ' ἐσομένη, ὃ δὴ  
 φαμεν ἡμῖν γε εἶναι σπουδαιότατον· δεῖ δὴ τὸν κατ' εἰρήνην  
 βίον ἕκαστον πλείστον τε καὶ ἄριστον διεξελθεῖν. τίς οὖν  
 e ὀρθότης; παίζοντά ἐστιν διαβιωτέον τινὰς δὴ παιδιὰς,  
 θύοντα καὶ ἄδοντα καὶ ὀρχούμενον, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν θεοὺς  
 ἱλεῶς αὐτῷ παρασκευάζειν δυνατόν εἶναι, τοὺς δ' ἐχθροὺς  
 ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ νικᾶν μαχόμενον· ὅποια δὲ ἄδων ἂν τις καὶ  
 10 ὀρχούμενος ἀμφοτέρω ταῦτα πράττοι, τὸ μὲν τῶν τύπων  
 εἴρηται καὶ καθάπερ ὁδοὶ τέτμηνται καθ' ἃς ἵτεον, προσ-  
 δοκῶντα καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν εὖ λέγειν τὸ—

ἄλλα δὲ καὶ δαίμων ὑποθήσεται· οὐ γὰρ οἶω  
οὐ σε θεῶν ἀέκητι γενέσθαι τε τραφέμεν τε.

ταῦτόν δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους τροφίμους δεῖ διανοουμένους τὰ  
μὲν εἰρημένα ἀποχρώντως νομίζειν εἰρῆσθαι, τὰ δὲ καὶ τὸν 5  
δαίμονά τε καὶ θεὸν αὐτοῖσιν ὑποθήσεσθαι θυσιῶν τε πέρι  
καὶ χορειῶν, οἰσισί τε καὶ ὁπότε ἕκαστα ἐκάστοις προσπαί- b  
ζοντές τε καὶ ἰλεούμενοι κατὰ τὸν τρόπον τῆς φύσεως δια-  
βιώσονται, θαύματα ὄντες τὸ πολὺ, σμικρὰ δὲ ἀληθείας ἅττα  
μετέχοντες.

ΜΕ. Παντάπασι τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος ἡμῖν, ὦ ξένε, 5  
διαφαιλίζεις.

ΑΘ. Μὴ θαυμάσης, ὦ Μέγилле, ἀλλὰ σύγγνωθί μοι· πρὸς  
γὰρ τὸν θεὸν ἀπιδὼν καὶ παθὼν εἶπον ὅπερ εἶρηκα νῦν. ἔστω  
δ' οὖν τὸ γένος ἡμῶν μὴ φαῦλον, εἴ σοι φίλον, σπουδῆς δέ 6  
τινος ἄξιον.

Τὸ δ' ἐξῆς τούτοις, οἰκοδομιαί μὲν εἴρηνται γυμνασίων  
ἅμα καὶ διδασκαλείων κοινῶν τριχῇ κατὰ μέσσην τὴν πόλιν,  
ἔξωθεν δὲ ἵππων αὖ τριχῇ περὶ τὸ ἄστν γυμνάσιά τε καὶ  
εὐρυχώρια, τοξικῆς τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀκροβολισμῶν ἔνεκα 5  
διακεκοσμημένα, μαθήσεώς τε ἅμα καὶ μελέτης τῶν νέων· εἰ  
δ' ἄρα μὴ τότε ἱκανῶς ἐρρήθησαν, νῦν εἰρήσθω τῷ λόγῳ μετὰ  
νόμων. ἐν δὲ τούτοις πᾶσιν διδασκάλους ἐκάστων πεπει- d  
σμένους μισθοῖς οἰκοῦντας ξένους διδάσκειν τε πάντα ὅσα  
πρὸς τὸν πόλεμόν ἐστιν μαθήματα τοὺς φοιτῶντας ὅσα τε  
πρὸς μουσικὴν, οὐχ ὃν μὲν ἂν ὁ πατὴρ βούληται, φοιτῶντα,  
ὃν δ' ἂν μὴ, ἐῶντα τὰς παιδείας, ἀλλὰ τὸ λεγόμενον πάντ' 5  
ἄνδρα καὶ παῖδα κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, ὡς τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἢ  
τῶν γεννητόρων ὄντας, παιδευτέον ἐξ ἀνάγκης. τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ  
δὴ καὶ περὶ θηλειῶν ὁ μὲν ἐμὸς νόμος ἂν εἴποι πάντα ὅσαπερ  
καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀρρένων, ἴσα καὶ τὰς θηλείας ἀσκεῖν δεῖν· καὶ e  
οὐδὲν φοβηθεὶς εἴποιμ' ἂν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον οὔτε ἱππικῆς  
οὔτε γυμναστικῆς, ὡς ἀνδράσι μὲν πρέπον ἂν εἶη, γυναιξὶ  
δὲ οὐκ ἂν πρέπον. ἀκούων μὲν γὰρ δὴ μύθους παλαιούς  
πέπεισμαι, τὰ δὲ νῦν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν οἶδα ὅτι μυριάδες 5  
ἀναρίθμητοι γυναικῶν εἰσι τῶν περὶ τὸν Πόντον, ἃς Σαυρο-  
μάτιδας καλοῦσιν, αἷς οὐχ ἵππων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τόξων καὶ 805  
τῶν ἄλλων ὅπλων κοινωνία καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἴση προσ-  
τεταγμένη ἴσως ἀσκεῖται. λογισμὸν δὲ πρὸς τούτοις περὶ



τούτων τοιόνδε τινὰ ἔχω· φημί, εἴπερ ταῦτα οὕτω συμ-  
 5 βαίνειν ἐστὶν δυνατά, πάντων ἀνοητότατα τὰ νῦν ἐν τοῖς  
 παρ' ἡμῖν τόποις γίνεσθαι τὸ μὴ πάσῃ ῥώμῃ πάντας  
 ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐπιτηδεύειν ἄνδρας γυναῖξιν ταῦτά. σχεδὸν  
 γὰρ ὀλίγου πᾶσα ἡμίσεια πόλις ἀντὶ διπλασίας οὕτως ἐστὶν  
 b τε καὶ γίγνεται ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν τελῶν καὶ πόνων· καίτοι  
 θαυμαστὸν ἂν ἁμάρτημα νομοθέτῃ τοῦτ' αὐτὸ γίγνοιτο.

ΚΛ. Ἐοικέν γε· ἔστι μέντοι πάμπολλα ἡμῖν, ὦ ξένε,  
 παρὰ τὰς εἰωθυίας πολιτείας τῶν νῦν λεγομένων. ἀλλὰ γὰρ  
 5 εἰπὼν τὸν μὲν λόγον εἶσαι διεξελθεῖν, εὖ διελθόντος δέ, οὕτω  
 τὸ δοκοῦν αἰρεῖσθαι δεῖν, μάλα εἰπές τε ἐμμελῶς, πεποίηκας  
 τέ με τὰ νῦν αὐτὸν ἐμαυτῷ ἐπιπλήττειν ὅτι ταῦτα εἴρηκα·  
 c λέγε οὖν τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα ὅτι σοι κεχαρισμένον ἐστίν.

ΑΘ. Τόδε ἔμοιγε, ὦ Κλεινία, ὃ καὶ πρόσθεν εἶπον, ὥς,  
 εἰ μὲν ταῦτα ἦν μὴ ἱκανῶς ἔργοις ἐληλεγμένα ὅτι δυνατά  
 ἐστὶ γίνεσθαι, τάχα ἦν ἂν τι καὶ ἀντειπεῖν τῷ λόγῳ, νῦν  
 5 δὲ ἄλλο τί που ζητητέον ἐκείνῳ τῷ τούτον τὸν νόμον μηδαμῇ  
 δεχομένῳ, τὸ δ' ἡμέτερον διακέλευμα ἐν τούτοις οὐκ ἀποσβή-  
 σεται τὸ μὴ οὐ λέγειν ὥς δεῖ παιδείας τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅτι  
 d μάλιστα κοινωνεῖν τὸ θῆλυ γένος ἡμῖν τῷ τῶν ἀρρένων γένει.  
 καὶ γὰρ οὖν οὕτωσί πως δεῖ περὶ αὐτῶν διανοηθῆναι. φέρε,  
 μὴ μετεχουσῶν ἀνδράσι γυναικῶν κοινῇ τῆς ζωῆς πάσης,  
 μὴν οὐκ ἀνάγκη γενέσθαι γέ τινα τάξιν ἑτέραν αὐταῖς;

5 ΚΛ. Ἀνάγκη μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Τίνα οὖν ἐμπροσθεν τῶν νῦν ἀποδεδειγμένων θεῖμεν  
 ἂν τῆς κοινωνίας ταύτης ἦν νῦν αὐταῖς ἡμεῖς προστάττομεν;  
 πότερον ἦν Θρᾶκες ταῖς γυναῖξιν χρῶνται καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα  
 e γένη, γεωργεῖν τε καὶ βουκολεῖν καὶ ποιμαίνειν καὶ διακονεῖν  
 μηδὲν διαφερόντως τῶν δούλων; ἢ καθάπερ ἡμεῖς ἅπαντές  
 τε οἱ περὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκείνον; νῦν γὰρ δὴ τό γε παρ' ἡμῖν  
 ὧδέ ἐστιν περὶ τούτων γιγνόμενον· εἰς τινα μίαν οἴκησιν  
 5 συμφορήσαντες, τὸ λεγόμενον, πάντα χρήματα, παρέδομεν  
 ταῖς γυναῖξιν διαταμιεύειν τε καὶ κερκίδων ἄρχειν καὶ πάσης  
 806 ταλασίας. ἢ τὸ τούτων δὴ διὰ μέσου φῶμεν, ὦ Μέγилле,  
 τὸ Λακωνικόν; κόρας μὲν γυμνασιῶν μετόχους οὔσας ἅμα  
 καὶ μουσικῆς ζῆν δεῖν, γυναῖκας δὲ ἀργοὺς μὲν ταλασίας,  
 ἀσκητικὸν δὲ τινα βίον καὶ οὐδαμῶς φαῦλον οὐδ' εὐτελεῇ  
 διαπλέκειν, θεραπείας δὲ καὶ ταμιείας αὐ καὶ παιδοτροφίας  
 5 εἰς τι μέσον ἀφικνεῖσθαι, τῶν δ' εἰς τὸν πόλεμον μὴ κοινω-



νούσας, ὥστε οὐδ' εἴ τις ποτε διαμάχεσθαι περὶ πόλεώς τε  
καὶ παίδων ἀναγκαῖα τύχη γίγνοιτο, οὐτ' ἂν τόξων, ὥς τινες  
Ἀμαζόνες, οὐτ' ἄλλης κοινωνῆσαι ποτε βολῆς μετὰ τέχνης b  
δυνάμεναι, οὐδὲ ἀσπίδα καὶ δόρυ λαβοῦσαι μιμήσασθαι  
τὴν θεόν, ὥς πορθουμένης αὐταῖς τῆς πατρίδος γενναίως  
ἀντιστάσας, φόβον γε, εἰ μηδὲν μείζον, πολεμίοισι δύνασθαι  
παρασχεῖν ἐν τάξει τινὶ κατοφθείσας; Σαυρομάτιδας δὲ οὐδ' 5  
ἂν τὸ παράπαν τολμήσειαν μιμήσασθαι τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον  
διαβιοῦσαι, παρὰ γυναικας δὲ αὐτὰς ἄνδρες ἂν αἱ ἐκείνων  
γυναῖκες φανεῖεν. ταῦτ' οὖν ὑμῶν τοὺς νομοθέτας ὁ μὲν c  
βουλόμενος ἐπαινεῖν ἐπαινείτω, τὸ δ' ἐμὸν οὐκ ἄλλως ἂν  
λεχθεῖν· τέλεον γὰρ καὶ οὐ διήμισυν δεῖν τὸν νομοθέτην  
εἶναι, τὸ θῆλυ μὲν ἀφιέντα τρυφᾶν καὶ ἀναλίσκειν διαίταις  
ἀτάκτως χρώμενον, τοῦ δὲ ἄρρενος ἐπιμεληθέντα, τελέως 5  
σχεδὸν εὐδαίμονος ἥμισυ βίου καταλείπειν ἀντὶ διπλασίου  
τῇ πόλει.

ΜΕ. Τί δράσομεν, ὦ Κλεινία; τὸν ξένον ἐάσομεν τὴν  
Σπάρτην ἡμῖν οὕτω καταδραμεῖν;

ΚΛ. Ναί· δεδομένης γὰρ αὐτῷ παρρησίας ἐατέον, ἕως ἂν d  
διεξέλθωμεν πάντα ἱκανῶς τοὺς νόμους.

ΜΕ. Ὅρθῶς λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα ἤδη σχεδὸν ἐμὸν πειρᾶσθαι  
φράζειν; 5

ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ οὔ;

ΑΘ. Τίς δὴ τρόπος ἀνθρώποις γίγνοιτ' ἂν τοῦ βίου,  
οἷσιν τὰ μὲν ἀναγκαῖα εἶη κατεσκευασμένα μέτρια, τὰ δὲ  
τῶν τεχνῶν ἄλλοις παραδεδομένα, γεωργαίαι δὲ ἐκδεδομέναι  
δούλοις ἀπαρχὴν τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀποτελοῦσιν ἱκανὴν ἀνθρώ- e  
ποις ζῶσι κοσμίως, συσσίτια δὲ κατεσκευασμένα εἶη χωρὶς  
μὲν τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἐγγὺς δ' ἐχόμενα τὰ τῶν αὐτοῖς οἰκείων,  
παίδων τε ἅμα θηλειῶν καὶ τῶν μητέρων αὐταῖς, ἄρχουσιν  
δὲ καὶ ἀρχούσαις εἶη προστεταγμένα λύειν ταῦτα ἐκάστοις 5  
τὰ συσσίτια πάντα, καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν θεασαμένους καὶ  
ιδόντας τὴν διαγωγὴν τὴν τῶν συσσίτων, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα  
σπείσαντας τὸν τε ἄρχοντα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οἷς ἂν τυγχάνη 807  
θεοῖς ἢ τότε νύξ τε καὶ ἡμέρα καθιερωμένη, κατὰ ταῦτα  
οὕτως οἶκαδε πορεύεσθαι; τοῖς δὴ ταύτῃ κεκοσμημένοις ἄρα  
οὐδὲν λειπόμενόν ἐστιν ἀναγκαῖόν τε ἔργον καὶ παντάπασι  
προσῆκον, ἀλλ' ἐν τρόπῳ βοσκήματος ἕκαστον πιαινόμενον 5

- αὐτῶν δεῖ ζῆν; οὐκ οὐν τό γε δίκαιόν φαμεν οὐδὲ καλόν, οὐδ' οἶόν τε τὸν ζῶντα οὕτως ἀτυχῆσαι τοῦ προσήκοντος, προσήκει  
b δὲ ἀργῶ καὶ ραθύμως καταπεπιασμένῳ ζῶνι σχεδὸν ὑπ' ἄλλου διαρπασθῆναι ζῶντος τῶν σφόδρα τετρυνωμένων μετὰ ἀνδρείας τε ἅμα καὶ τῶν πόνων. ταῦτα οὖν δὴ δι' ἀκριβείας μὲν  
5 ἱκανῆς, ὥς καὶ νυνὶ ζητοῖμεν ἄν, ἴσως οὐκ ἂν ποτε γένοιτο, μέχριπερ ἂν γυναικές τε καὶ παῖδες οἰκήσεις τε ἴδιαι καὶ ἰδίως ἅπαντ' ἢ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐκάστοις ἡμῶν κατεσκευασμένα. τὰ δὲ μετ' ἐκεῖν' αὖ δεῦτερα τὰ νῦν λεγόμενα εἰ  
c γίγνοιτο ἡμῖν, γίγνοιτο ἂν καὶ μάλα μετρίως. ἔργον δὲ δὴ τοῖς οὕτω ζῶσιν φαμεν οὐ τὸ σμικρότατον οὐδὲ τὸ φαυλότατον λείπεσθαι, μέγιστον δὲ πάντων εἶναι προστεταγμένον ὑπὸ δικαίου νόμου. τοῦ γὰρ πᾶσαν τῶν ἄλλων πάντων  
5 ἔργων βίου ἀσχολίαν παρασκευάζοντος, τοῦ Πυθιάδος τε καὶ Ὀλυμπιάδος νίκης ὀρεγομένου, διπλασίας τε καὶ ἔτι πολλῶ πλέονος ἀσχολίας ἐστὶν γέμων ὁ περὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος πάντως καὶ ψυχῆς εἰς ἀρετὴν ἐπιμέλειαν βίος εἰρημένος  
d ὀρθότατα. πάρεργον γὰρ οὐδὲν δεῖ τῶν ἄλλων ἔργων διακώλυμα γίγνεσθαι τῶν τῷ σώματι προσηκόντων εἰς ἀπόδοσιν πόνων καὶ τροφῆς, οὐδ' αὖ ψυχῇ μαθημάτων τε καὶ ἐθῶν, πᾶσα δὲ νύξ τε καὶ ἡμέρα σχεδὸν οὐκ ἔστιν ἱκανὴ τοῦτ'  
5 αὐτὸ πράττοντι τὸ τέλος τε καὶ ἱκανὸν αὐτῶν ἐκλαμβάνειν. οὕτω δὴ τούτων πεφυκότων, τάξιν δεῖ γίγνεσθαι πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐλευθέροις τῆς διατριβῆς περὶ τὸν χρόνον ἅπαντα, σχεδὸν  
e ἀρξάμενον ἐξ ἑῶ μέχρι τῆς ἐτέρας αἰεὶ συνεχῶς ἑῶ τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολῆς. πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ πυκνὰ καὶ σμικρὰ λέγων ἂν τις νομοθέτης ἀσχήμων φαίνοιτο περὶ τῶν κατ' οἰκίαν διοικήσεων, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ ὅσα νύκτωρ ἀνπνίας πέρι πρέπει  
5 τοῖς μέλλουσιν διὰ τέλους φυλάξειν πᾶσαν πόλιν ἀκριβῶς. τὸ γὰρ ὅλην διατελεῖν ἡντινοῦν νύκτα εὐδοντα καὶ ὄντινοῦν τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ μὴ φανερόν εἶναι πᾶσι τοῖς οἰκέταις ἐγειρόμενόν τε καὶ ἐξανιστάμενον αἰεὶ πρῶτον, τοῦτο αἰσχρὸν δεῖ  
808 δεδόχθαι πᾶσι καὶ οὐκ ἐλευθέρου, εἴτ' οὖν νόμον εἴτ' ἐπιτήδευμα τὸ τοιοῦτον καλεῖν ἐστὶν χρεῶν. καὶ δὴ καὶ δέσποιναν ἐν οἰκίᾳ ὑπὸ θεραπαινίδων ἐγείρεσθαι τινων καὶ μὴ πρῶτην  
5 αὐτὴν ἐγείρειν τὰς ἄλλας, αἰσχρὸν λέγειν χρὴ πρὸς αὐτοὺς δούλόν τε καὶ δούλην καὶ παῖδα, καὶ εἴ πως ἦν οἶόν τε, ὅλην καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκίαν. ἐγειρομένους δὲ νύκτωρ δεῖ πάντως  
b πράττειν τῶν τε πολιτικῶν μέρη πολλὰ καὶ τῶν οἰκονομικῶν,

ἄρχοντας μὲν κατὰ πόλιν, δεσποίνας δὲ καὶ δεσπότης ἐν  
 ἰδίαις οἰκίαις. ὕπνος γὰρ δὴ πολὺς οὔτε τοῖς σώμασιν οὔτε  
 ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν οὐδ' αὖ ταῖς πράξεσιν ταῖς περὶ ταῦτα  
 πάντα ἀρμόττων ἐστὶν κατὰ φύσιν. καθεύδων γὰρ οὐδεὶς 5  
 οὐδενὸς ἄξιος, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον τοῦ μὴ ζῶντος· ἀλλ' ὅστις τοῦ  
 ζῆν ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ φρονεῖν μάλιστα ἐστὶ κηδεμών, ἐγρήγορε  
 χρόνον ὡς πλείστον, τὸ πρὸς ὑγίειαν αὐτοῦ μόνον φυλάττων c  
 χρήσιμον, ἐστὶν δὲ οὐ πολὺ, καλῶς εἰς ἔθος ἰόν. ἐγρηγορότες  
 δὲ ἄρχοντες ἐν πόλεσιν νύκτωρ φοβεροὶ μὲν κακοῖς, πολε-  
 μίοις τε ἅμα καὶ πολίταις, ἀγαστοὶ δὲ καὶ τίμιοι τοῖς δικαίοις  
 τε καὶ σώφροσιν, ὠφέλιμοι δὲ αὐτοῖς τε καὶ συμπάσῃ τῇ 5  
 πόλει.

Νῦξ μὲν δὴ διαγομένη τοιαύτη τις πρὸς πᾶσι τοῖς εἰρη-  
 μένοις ἀνδρείαν ἂν τινα προσπαρέχοιτο ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐκάστων  
 τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν· ἡμέρας δὲ ὄρθρου τε ἐπανιόντων παῖδας d  
 μὲν πρὸς διδασκάλους που τρέπεσθαι χρεῶν, ἄνευ ποιμένους  
 δὲ οὔτε πρόβατα οὔτ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν πῶν βιωτέον, οὐδὲ δὴ παῖδας  
 ἄνευ τινῶν παιδαγωγῶν οὐδὲ δούλους ἄνευ δεσποτῶν. ὁ δὲ  
 παῖς πάντων θηρίων ἐστὶ δυσμεταχειριστότατον· ὅσῳ γὰρ 5  
 μάλιστα ἔχει πηγὴν τοῦ φρονεῖν μήπω κατηρτυμένην, ἐπί-  
 βουλον καὶ δριμὺ καὶ ὑβριστότατον θηρίων γίννεται. διὸ δὴ  
 πολλοῖς αὐτὸ οἶον χαλινοῖς τισιν δεῖ δεσμεύειν, πρῶτον μὲν, e  
 τροφῶν καὶ μητέρων ὅταν ἀπαλλάττηται, παιδαγωγοῖς  
 παιδίας καὶ νηπιότητος χάριν, ἔτι δ' αὖ τοῖς διδάσκουσιν  
 καὶ ὅτιοῦν καὶ μαθήμασιν ὡς ἐλεύθερον· ὡς δ' αὖ δούλον,  
 πᾶς ὁ προστυγχάνων τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἀνδρῶν κολαζέτω τόν τε 5  
 παῖδα αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν παιδαγωγόν καὶ διδάσκαλον, ἐὰν  
 ἐξαμαρτάνῃ τίς τι τούτων. ἂν δ' αὖ προστυγχάνων τις μὴ  
 κολάζῃ τῇ δίκῃ, ὀνειδίζει μὲν ἐνεχέσθω πρῶτον τῷ μεγίστῳ,  
 ὁ δὲ τῶν νομοφυλάκων ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν παίδων ἀρχὴν ἡρημένος 809  
 ἐπισκοπεῖτω τοῦτον τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα οἷς λέγομεν καὶ μὴ  
 κολάζοντα δέον κολάζειν, ἢ κολάζοντα μὴ κατὰ τρόπον,  
 βλέπων δὲ ἡμῖν ὅξυ καὶ διαφερόντως ἐπιμελούμενος τῆς τῶν  
 παίδων τροφῆς κατευθυνέτω τὰς φύσεις αὐτῶν, ἀεὶ τρέπων 5  
 πρὸς τἀγαθὸν κατὰ νόμους. τοῦτον δὲ αὐτὸν αὖ πῶς ἂν  
 ἡμῖν ὁ νόμος αὐτὸς παιδεύσειεν ἱκανῶς; νῦν μὲν γὰρ δὴ  
 εἴρηκεν οὐδὲν πω σαφὲς οὐδὲ ἱκανόν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν, τὰ δ' οὐ· b  
 δεῖ δὲ εἰς δύναμιν μηδὲν παραλείπειν αὐτῷ, πάντα δὲ λόγον  
 ἀφέρμηνεῦεν, ἵνα οὗτος τοῖς ἄλλοις μνηστῆς τε ἅμα καὶ



- τροφεὺς γίνονται. τὰ μὲν οὖν δὴ χορείας πέρι μελῶν τε καὶ  
 5 ὀρχήσεως ἐρρήθη, τίνα τύπον ἔχοντα ἐκλεκτέα τέ ἐστίν καὶ  
 ἐπανορθωτέα καὶ καθιερωτέα· τὰ δὲ ἐν γράμμασι μὲν ὄντα,  
 ἄνευ δὲ μέτρων, ποῖα καὶ τίνα μεταχειρίζεσθαι χρή σοι  
 τρόπον, ὧ ἄριστε τῶν παίδων ἐπιμελητά, τοὺς ὑπὸ σοῦ  
 c τρεφομένους, οὐκ εἰρήκαμεν, καίτοι τὰ μὲν περὶ τὸν πόλεμον  
 ἂ δεῖ μαθάνειν τε αὐτοὺς καὶ μελετᾶν ἔχεις τῷ λόγῳ, τὰ  
 δὲ περὶ τὰ γράμματα πρῶτον, καὶ δεύτερον λύρας πέρι καὶ  
 λογισμῶν, ὧν ἔφαμεν δεῖν ὅσα τε πρὸς πόλεμον καὶ οἰκο-  
 5 νομίαν καὶ τὴν κατὰ πόλιν διοίκησιν χρήναι ἐκάστους λαβεῖν,  
 καὶ πρὸς τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἔτι τὰ χρήσιμα τῶν ἐν ταῖς περιόδοις  
 τῶν θείων, ἄστρον τε πέρι καὶ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης, ὅσα  
 d διοικεῖν ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν περὶ ταῦτα πάσῃ πόλει—τίνων δὴ  
 πέρι λέγομεν; ἡμερῶν τάξεως εἰς μηνῶν περιόδους καὶ  
 μηνῶν εἰς ἕκαστον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, ἵνα ὦραι καὶ θυσίαι καὶ  
 ἑορταὶ τὰ προσήκοντ' ἀπολαμβάνουσαι ἑαυταῖς ἕκασται τῷ  
 5 κατὰ φύσιν ἄγεσθαι, ζώσαν τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἐργηγορυῖαν  
 παρεχόμεναι, θεοῖς μὲν τὰς τιμὰς ἀποδιδῶσιν, τοὺς δὲ  
 ἀνθρώπους περὶ αὐτὰ μᾶλλον ἔμφρονας ἀπεργάζωνται—  
 ταῦτα οὐπω σοι πάντα ἱκανῶς, ὧ φίλε, παρὰ τοῦ νομοθέτου  
 e διείρηται· πρόσεχε δὴ τὸν νοῦν τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα μέλλουσιν  
 ῥηθήσεσθαι. γραμμάτων εἵπομεν ὥς οὐχ ἱκανῶς ἔχεις  
 πέρι τὸ πρῶτον, ἐπικαλοῦντες τί τῇ λέξει; τόδε, ὥς οὐπω  
 διείρηκέ σοι πότερον εἰς ἀκρίβειαν τοῦ μαθήματος ἱτέον  
 5 τὸν μέλλοντα πολίτην ἔσεσθαι μέτριον ἢ τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲ  
 προσοιστέον· ὥς δ' αὐτως καὶ περὶ λύραν. προσοιστέον  
 μὲν τοῖνυν φαμεν. εἰς μὲν γράμματα παιδὶ δεκετεῖ σχεδὸν  
 ἐνιαυτοὶ τρεῖς, λύρας δὲ ἄψασθαι τρία μὲν ἔτη καὶ δέκα  
 810 γεγονόσιν ἄρχεσθαι μέτριος ὁ χρόνος, ἐμμεῖναι δὲ ἔτερα  
 τρία. καὶ μήτε πλείω τούτων μήτ' ἐλάττω πατρὶ μηδ' αὐτῷ,  
 φιλομαθοῦντι μηδὲ μισοῦντι, περὶ ταῦτα ἐξέστω μείζω μηδὲ  
 ἐλάττω διατριβὴν ποιεῖσθαι παράνομον· ὁ δὲ μὴ πειθόμενος  
 5 ἄτιμος τῶν παιδείων ἔστω τιμῶν, ἃς ὀλίγον ὕστερον ῥητέον.  
 μαθάνειν δὲ ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χρόνοις δὴ τί ποτε δεῖ τοὺς  
 νέους καὶ διδάσκειν αὐ τοὺς διδασκάλους, τοῦτο αὐτὸς  
 b πρῶτον μάθανε. γράμματα μὲν τοῖνυν χρή τὸ μέχρι τοῦ  
 γράψαι τε καὶ ἀναγνῶναι δυνατόν εἶναι διαπονεῖν· πρὸς  
 τάχος δὲ ἢ κάλλος ἀπηκριβῶσθαί τισιν, οἷς μὴ φύσις  
 ἐπέσπευσεν ἐν τοῖς τεταγμένοις ἔτεσιν, χαίρειν ἔαν. πρὸς



δὲ δὴ μαθήματα ἄλυρα ποιητῶν κείμενα ἐν γράμμασι, τοῖς 5  
μὲν μετὰ μέτρων, τοῖς δ' ἄνευ ῥυθμῶν τμημάτων, ἃ δὴ  
συγγράμματα κατὰ λόγον εἰρημένα μόνον, τητῶμενα  
ῥυθμοῦ τε καὶ ἁρμονίας, σφαλερὰ γράμμαθ' ἡμῖν ἐστίν 5  
παρά τινων τῶν πολλῶν τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων καταλελειμμένα·  
οἷς, ὧ πάντων βέλτιστοι νομοφύλακες, τί χρήσεσθε; ἢ τί  
ποθ' ὑμῖν ὁ νομοθέτης χρήσθαι προστάξας ὀρθῶς ἂν τάξειε;  
καὶ μάλα ἀπορήσειν αὐτὸν προσδοκῶ.

ΚΛ. Τί ποτε τοῦτο, ὦ ξένε, φαίνῃ πρὸς σαντὸν ὄντως 5  
ἡπορηκὼς λέγειν;

ΑΘ. Ὅρθῶς ὑπέλαβες, ὦ Κλεινία. πρὸς δὲ δὴ κοινωνοὺς  
ὑμᾶς ὄντας περὶ νόμων ἀνάγκη τό τε φαινόμενον εὖπορον καὶ  
τὸ μὴ φράζειν.

ΚΛ. Τί οὖν; τί περὶ τούτων νῦν καὶ ποῖόν τι πεπονθὼς d  
λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Ἐρῶ δὴ· στόμασι γὰρ πολλάκις μυρίοις ἐναντία  
λέγειν οὐδαμῶς εὖπορον.

ΚΛ. Τί δέ; σμικρὰ καὶ ὀλίγα δοκεῖ σοι τὰ ἔμπροσθεν 5  
ἡμῖν εἰρημένα περὶ νόμων κεῖσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς ὑπεναντία;

ΑΘ. Καὶ μάλα ἀληθὲς τοῦτό γε λέγεις· κελεύεις γὰρ δὴ  
με, ὡς ἐμοὶ φαίνεται, τῆς αὐτῆς ὁδοῦ ἐχθοδοποῦ γεγонуίας  
πολλοῖς, ἴσως δ' οὐκ ἐλάττωσιν ἑτέροις προσφιλοῦς—εἰ δὲ  
ἐλάττωσιν, οὐκουν χείροσί γε—μεθ' ὧν διακελεύῃ με παρα- e  
κινδυνεύοντά τε καὶ θαρροῦντα τὴν νῦν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων  
λόγων τετμημένην ὁδὸν τῆς νομοθεσίας πορεύεσθαι μηδὲν  
ἀνιέντα.

ΚΛ. Τί μήν; 5

ΑΘ. Οὐ τοῖνυν ἀνίημι. λέγω μὴν ὅτι ποιηταί τε ἡμῖν  
εἰσὶν τινες ἐπῶν ἐξαμέτρων πάμπολλοι καὶ τριμέτρων καὶ  
πάντων δὴ τῶν λεγομένων μέτρων, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ σπουδῇ, οἱ δ'  
ἐπὶ γέλωτα ὠρμηκότες, ἐν οἷς φασὶ δεῖν οἱ πολλάκις μυρίοι  
τοὺς ὀρθῶς παιδευομένους τῶν νέων τρέφειν καὶ διακορεῖς 10  
ποιεῖν, πολυηκόους τ' ἐν ταῖς ἀναγνώσεσιν ποιοῦντας καὶ  
πολυμαθεῖς, ὅλους ποιητὰς ἐκμανθάνοντας· οἱ δὲ ἐκ πάντων 811  
κεφάλαια ἐκλέξαντες καὶ τινὰς ὅλας ῥήσεις εἰς ταὐτὸν  
συναγαγόντες, ἐκμανθάνειν φασὶ δεῖν εἰς μνήμην τιθεμένους,  
εἰ μέλλει τις ἀγαθὸς ἡμῖν καὶ σοφὸς ἐκ πολυπειρίας καὶ  
πολυμαθείας γενέσθαι. τούτοις δὴ σὺ κελεύεις ἐμὲ τὰ νῦν 5  
παρρησιαζόμενον ἀποφαίνεσθαι τί τε καλῶς λέγουσι καὶ

τί μή;

ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

ΑΘ. Τί δὴ ποτ' ἂν οὖν περὶ ἀπάντων τούτων ἐνὶ λόγῳ  
b φράζων εἴποιμ' ἂν ἱκανόν; οἶμαι μὲν τὸ τοιόνδε σχεδόν, ὃ  
καὶ πᾶς ἂν μοι συγχωρήσειεν, πολλὰ μὲν ἕκαστον τούτων  
εἰρηκέναι καλῶς, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τούναντίον· εἰ δ' οὕτω  
τοῦτ' ἔχει, κίνδυνόν φημι εἶναι φέρουσιν τοῖς παισὶν τὴν  
5 πολυμαθίαν.

ΚΛ. Πῶς οὖν καὶ τί παραινοίης ἂν τῷ νομοφύλακι;

ΑΘ. Τοῦ πέρι λέγεις;

ΚΛ. Τοῦ πρὸς τί παράδειγμά ποτε ἀποβλέψας ἂν τὸ μὲν  
c ἐᾷ πάντας μαθάνειν τοὺς νέους, τὸ δ' ἀποκωλύει. λέγε καὶ  
μηδὲν ἀπόκνει λέγων.

ΑΘ. Ὁγαθὲ Κλεινία, κινδυνεύω κατὰ γέ τινα τρόπον  
ἡτύχηκέναι.

5 ΚΛ. Τοῦ δὴ πέρι;

ΑΘ. Τοῦ μὴ παντάπασι παραδείγματος ἀπορεῖν. νῦν  
γὰρ ἀποβλέψας πρὸς τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἐξ ἔω μέχρι δεῦρ' αἰεὶ  
διεληλύθαμεν ἡμεῖς—ὥς μὲν ἐμοὶ φαινόμεθα, οὐκ ἄνευ τινὸς  
ἐπιπνοίας θεῶν—ἔδοξαν δ' οὖν μοι παντάπασι ποιήσειεν τινὲ  
10 προσομοίως εἰρῆσθαι. καὶ μοι ἴσως οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν πάθος  
d ἐπῆλθε, λόγους οἰκείους οἶον ἀθρόους ἐπιβλέψαντι μάλα  
ἡσθῆναι· τῶν γὰρ δὴ πλείστων λόγων οὓς ἐν ποιήμασιν ἢ  
χῦδην οὕτως εἰρημένους μεμάθηκα καὶ ἀκήκοα, πάντων μοι  
μετριώτατοί γε εἶναι κατεφάνησαν καὶ προσήκοντες τὰ  
5 μάλιστα ἀκούειν νέοις. τῷ δὴ νομοφύλακί τε καὶ παιδευτῇ  
παράδειγμα οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιμι, ὥς οἶμαι, τούτου βέλτιον φράζειν,  
ἢ ταῦτά τε διδάσκειν παρακελεύεσθαι τοῖσι διδασκάλοις  
e τοὺς παῖδας, τά τε τούτων ἐχόμενα καὶ ὅμοια, ἂν ἄρα πού  
περιτυγχάνῃ ποιητῶν τε ποιήματα διεξιὼν καὶ γεγραμμένα  
καταλογάδην ἢ καὶ ψιλῶς οὕτως ἄνευ τοῦ γεγράφθαι λεγόμενα,  
ἀδελφά που τούτων τῶν λόγων, μὴ μεθιέναι τρόπῳ  
5 μηδενί, γράφεσθαι δέ· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς διδασκάλους  
αὐτοὺς ἀναγκάζειν μαθάνειν καὶ ἐπαινεῖν, οὓς δ' ἂν μὴ  
ἀρέσκη τῶν διδασκάλων, μὴ χρῆσθαι τούτοις συνεργοῖς, οὓς  
δ' ἂν τῷ ἐπαίνῳ συμψήφους ἔχῃ, τούτοις χρώμενον, τοὺς  
812 νέους αὐτοῖς παραδιδόναι διδάσκειν τε καὶ παιδεύειν. οὗτός  
μοι μῦθος ἐνταῦθα καὶ οὕτω τελευτάτω, περὶ γραμματιστῶν  
τε εἰρημένος ἅμα καὶ γραμμάτων.

ΚΛ. Κατὰ μὲν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, ὧ ξένε, ἔμοιγε οὐ φαινό-  
μεθα ἐκτὸς πορεύεσθαι τῶν ὑποτεθέντων λόγων· εἰ δὲ τὸ 5  
ὅλον κατορθοῦμεν ἢ μή, χαλεπὸν ἴσως δισχυρίζεσθαι.

ΑΘ. Τότε γάρ, ὦ Κλεινία, τοῦτό γ' αὐτὸ ἔσται κατα-  
φανέστερον, ὡς εἰκός, ὅταν, ὃ πολλάκις εἰρήκαμεν, ἐπὶ  
τέλος ἀφικώμεθα πάσης τῆς διεξόδου περὶ νόμων.

ΚΛ. Ὅρθῶς.

ΑΘ. Ἄρ' οὖν οὐ μετὰ τὸν γραμματιστὴν ὁ κιθαριστῆς  
ἡμῖν προσρητέος;

ΚΛ. Τί μὴν;

ΑΘ. Τοῖς κιθαρισταῖς μὲν τοίνυν ἡμᾶς δοκῶ τῶν ἔμ- 5  
προσθεν λόγων ἀναμνησθέντας τὸ προσῆκον νεῖμαι τῆς τε  
διδασκαλίας ἅμα καὶ πάσης τῆς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα παιδεύσεως.

ΚΛ. Ποίων δὴ πέρι λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Ἐφαιμεν, οἶμαι, τοὺς τοῦ Διονύσου τοὺς ἐξηκον-  
τούτας ᾠδοὺς διαφερόντως εὐαισθήτους δεῖν γεγονέναι περὶ 10  
τε τοὺς ῥυθμοὺς καὶ τὰς τῶν ἁρμονιῶν συστάσεις, ἵνα τὴν c  
τῶν μελῶν μίμησιν τὴν εὖ καὶ τὴν κακῶς μεμιμημένην, ἐν  
τοῖς παθήμασιν ὅταν ψυχὴ γίγνηται, τὰ τε τῆς ἀγαθῆς  
ὁμοιώματα καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐναντίας ἐκλέξασθαι δυνατός ὢν τις,  
τὰ μὲν ἀποβάλλῃ, τὰ δὲ προφέρων εἰς μέσον ὑμνῇ καὶ 5  
ἐπάδῃ ταῖς τῶν νέων ψυχαῖς, προκαλούμενος ἐκάστους εἰς  
ἀρετῆς ἔπασθαι κτῆσιν συνακολουθοῦντας διὰ τῶν μιμήσεων.

ΚΛ. Ἀληθέστατα λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Τούτων τοίνυν δεῖ χάριν τοῖς φθόγγοις τῆς λύρας d  
προσchrῆσθαι, σαφηνείας ἔνεκα τῶν χορδῶν, τόν τε κιθα-  
ριστὴν καὶ τὸν παιδευόμενον, ἀποδιδόντας πρόσχορδα τὰ  
φθέγματα τοῖς φθέγμασι· τὴν δ' ἑτεροφωνίαν καὶ ποικιλίαν  
τῆς λύρας, ἅλλα μὲν μέλη τῶν χορδῶν ἰεῖσῶν, ἅλλα δὲ τοῦ 5  
τὴν μελωδίαν συνθέντος ποιητοῦ, καὶ δὴ καὶ πυκνότητα  
μανότητι καὶ τάχος βραδυτῇτι καὶ ὀξύτητα βαρύτητι σύμ-  
φωνον [καὶ ἀντίφωνον] παρεχομένους, καὶ τῶν ῥυθμῶν e  
ὡσαύτως παντοδαπὰ ποικίλματα προσαρμόττοντας τοῖσι  
φθόγγοις τῆς λύρας, πάντα οὖν τὰ τοιαῦτα μὴ προσφέρειν  
τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἐν τρισὶν ἔτεσιν τὸ τῆς μουσικῆς χρήσιμον  
ἐκλήψεσθαι διὰ τάχους. τὰ γὰρ ἐναντία ἄλληλα ταράττοντα 5  
δυσμάθειαν παρέχει, δεῖ δὲ ὅτι μάλιστα εὐμαθεῖς εἶναι τοὺς  
νέους· τὰ γὰρ ἀναγκαῖα οὐ μικρὰ οὐδ' ὀλίγα αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ  
προσ τεταγμένα μαθήματα, δείξει δὲ αὐτὰ προῖων ὁ λόγος

ἅμα τῷ χρόνῳ. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω περὶ τῆς μουσικῆς  
 10 ἡμῖν ὁ παιδευτῆς ἐπιμελείσθω· τὰ δὲ μελῶν αὐτῶν αὖ καὶ  
 813 ταῦτα ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν διείρηται πάντα, ἃ δὴ καθιερω-  
 θέντα ἔφαμεν δεῖν, ταῖς ἐορταῖς ἕκαστα ἀρμόττοντα, ἡδονὴν  
 εὐτυχίῃ ταῖς πόλεσιν παραδιδόντα ὠφελεῖν.

ΚΛ. Ἀληθῆ καὶ ταῦτα διείρηκας.

5 ΑΘ. Ἀληθέστατα τοῖνυν. καὶ ταῦθ' ἡμῖν παραλαβὼν  
 ὁ περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν ἀρχὴν αἰρεθεὶς ἐπιμελείσθω μετὰ τύχης  
 εὖμενοῦς, ἡμεῖς δὲ ὀρχήσεώς τε πέρι καὶ ὅλης τῆς περὶ τὸ  
 σῶμα γυμναστικῆς πρὸς τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν εἰρημένοις ἀπο-  
 10 δώμεν· καθάπερ μουσικῆς τὸ διδασκαλικὸν ὑπόλοιπον ὃν  
 ἀπέδομεν, ὡσαύτως ποιῶμεν καὶ γυμναστικῆς. τοὺς γὰρ  
 παῖδας τε καὶ τὰς παῖδας ὀρχεῖσθαι δὴ δεῖ καὶ γυμνάζεσθαι  
 μανθάνειν· ἢ γάρ;

5 ΚΛ. Ναί.

ΑΘ. Τοῖς μὲν τοῖνυν παισὶν ὀρχησταί, ταῖς δὲ ὀρχη-  
 στρίδες ἂν εἰεν πρὸς τὸ διαπονεῖν οὐκ ἀνεπιτηδεϊότερον.

ΚΛ. Ἔστω δὴ ταύτη.

ΑΘ. Πάλιν δὴ τὸν τὰ πλεῖστα ἔξοντα πράγματα καλῶ-  
 10 μεν, τὸν τῶν παίδων ἐπιμελητὴν, ὃς τῶν τε περὶ μουσικὴν  
 τῶν τε περὶ γυμναστικὴν ἐπιμελούμενος οὐ πολλὴν ἔξει  
 σχολήν.

ΚΛ. Πῶς οὖν δυνατὸς ἔσται πρεσβύτερος ὢν τοσούτων  
 5 ἐπιμελεῖσθαι;

ΑΘ. Ῥαδίως, ὦ φίλε. ὁ νόμος γὰρ αὐτῷ δέδωκεν καὶ  
 δώσει προσλαμβάνειν εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν πο-  
 λιτῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν οὓς ἂν ἐθέλῃ, γινώσεται δὲ οὓς  
 δεῖ, καὶ βουλήσεται μὴ πλημμελεῖν εἰς ταῦτα, αἰδούμενος  
 10 ἐμφρόνως καὶ γινώσκων τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ μέγεθος, λογισμῷ  
 τε συνὼν ὥς εὖ μὲν τραφέντων καὶ τρεφομένων τῶν νέων  
 πάντα ἡμῖν κατ' ὀρθὸν πλεῖ, μὴ δέ—οὔτ' εἰπεῖν ἄξιον οὔθ'  
 ἡμεῖς λέγομεν ἐπὶ καινῇ πόλει τοὺς σφόδρα φιλομαντευτὰς  
 5 σεβόμενοι. πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν καὶ περὶ τούτων εἴρηται,  
 τῶν περὶ τὰς ὀρχήσεις καὶ περὶ πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν γυμνασίων  
 κίνησιν· γυμνάσια γὰρ τίθεμεν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον  
 ἅπαντα τοῖς σώμασι διαπονήματα τοξικῆς τε καὶ πάσης  
 10 ῥύψεως καὶ πελταστικῆς καὶ πάσης ὀπλομαχίας καὶ διεξόδων  
 τακτικῶν καὶ ἀπάσης πορείας στρατοπέδων καὶ στρατοπε-



δεύσεως καὶ ὅσα εἰς ἵππικὴν μαθήματα συντείνει. πάντων  
 γὰρ τούτων διδασκάλους τε εἶναι δεῖ κοινούς, ἀρτυμένους  
 μισθὸν παρὰ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τούτων μαθητὰς τοὺς ἐν τῇ 5  
 πόλει παῖδας τε καὶ ἄνδρας, καὶ κόρας καὶ γυναῖκας πάντων  
 τούτων ἐπιστήμονας, κόρας μὲν οὖσας ἔτι πᾶσαν τὴν ἐν  
 ὅπλοις ὄρχησιν καὶ μάχην μεμελετηκυίας, γυναῖκας δέ, διεξ-  
 ὁδῶν καὶ τάξεων καὶ θέσεως καὶ ἀναιρέσεως ὅπλων ἡμμένας, 814  
 εἰ μηδενὸς ἔνεκα, ἀλλ' εἴ ποτε δεήσῃε πανδημὶ [πάσῃ τῇ  
 δυνάμει] καταλείποντας τὴν πόλιν ἔξω στρατεύεσθαι τοὺς  
 φυλάξαντας παῖδας τε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν, ἱκανοὺς εἶναι  
 τό γε τοσοῦτον, ἢ καὶ τὸνναντίον, ὧν οὐδὲν ἀπώμοτον, 5  
 ἔξωθεν πολεμίους εἰσπεσόντας ῥώμῃ τινὶ μεγάλη καὶ βία,  
 βαρβάρους εἴτε Ἑλλήνας, ἀνάγκην παρασχεῖν περὶ αὐτῆς  
 τῆς πόλεως τὴν διαμάχην γίνεσθαι, πολλή που κακία  
 πολιτείας οὕτως αἰσχροῦς τὰς γυναῖκας εἶναι τεθραμμένας, b  
 ὥς μηδ' ὥσπερ ὄρνιθας περὶ τέκνων μαχομένας πρὸς ὁτιοῦν  
 τῶν ἰσχυροτάτων θηρίων ἐθέλειν ἀποθνήσκειν τε καὶ πάντας  
 κινδύνους κινδυνεύειν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς πρὸς ἱερὰ φερομένας,  
 πάντας βωμούς τε καὶ ναοὺς ἐμπιμπλάναι, καὶ δόξαν τοῦ τῶν 5  
 ἀνθρώπων γένους καταχεῖν ὥς πάντων δειλότατον φύσει  
 θηρίων ἐστί.

ΚΛ. Οὐ μὰ τὸν Δία, ὦ ξένε, οὐδαμῶς εὖσχημον γίγνοιτ'  
 ἄν, τοῦ κακοῦ χωρίς, τοῦτο ἐν πόλει ὅπου γίγνοιτο. c

ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν τιθῶμεν τὸν νόμον τοῦτον, μέχρι γε το-  
 σούτου μὴ ἀμελεῖσθαι τὰ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον γυναῖξιν δεῖν,  
 ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δὲ πάντας τοὺς πολίτας καὶ τὰς πολίτιδας;

ΚΛ. Ἐγὼ γοῦν συγχωρῶ.

ΑΘ. Πάλῃς τοίνυν τὰ μὲν εἵπομεν, ὃ δ' ἐστὶ μέγιστον,  
 ὥς ἐγὼ φαίην ἄν, οὐκ εἰρήκαμεν, οὐδ' ἔστι ῥάδιον ἄνευ τοῦ  
 τῷ σώματι δεικνύντα ἅμα καὶ τῷ λόγῳ φράζειν. τοῦτ' οὖν  
 τότε κρινοῦμεν, ὅταν ἔργῳ λόγος ἀκολουθήσας μηνύσῃ τι d  
 σαφὲς τῶν τε ἄλλων ὧν εἴρηκεν πέρι, καὶ ὅτι τῇ πολεμικῇ  
 μάχῃ πασῶν κινήσεων ὄντως ἐστὶ συγγενὴς πολὺ μάλισθ'  
 ἡμῖν ἢ τοιαύτη πάλη, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὅτι δεῖ ταύτην ἐκείνης  
 χάριν ἐπιτηδεύειν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνην ταύτης ἔνεκα μανθάνειν. 5

ΚΛ. Καλῶς τοῦτό γε λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Νῦν δὴ τῆς μὲν περὶ παλαιστράν δυνάμεως τὸ μέχρι  
 δευρ' ἡμῖν εἰρήσθω· περὶ δὲ τῆς ἄλλης κινήσεως παντὸς  
 τοῦ σώματος ἧς τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος ὄρχησιν τινά τις προσ- e

αγορεύων ὀρθῶς ἂν φθέγγοιτο, δύο μὲν αὐτῆς εἶδη χρή  
 νομίζειν εἶναι, τὴν μὲν τῶν καλλιόνων σωμάτων ἐπὶ τὸ  
 σεμνὸν μιμουμένην, τὴν δὲ τῶν αἰσχιόνων ἐπὶ τὸ φαῦλον,  
 5 καὶ πάλιν τοῦ φαύλου τε δύο καὶ τοῦ σπουδαίου δύο ἕτερα.  
 τοῦ δὴ σπουδαίου τὴν μὲν κατὰ πόλεμον καὶ ἐν βιαίοις ἐμ-  
 πλεκέντων πόνοις σωμάτων μὲν καλῶν, ψυχῆς δ' ἀνδρικῆς,  
 τὴν δ' ἐν εὐπραγίαις τε οὐσης ψυχῆς σῶφρονος ἐν ἡδοναῖς  
 τε ἐμμέτροις· εἰρηνικὴν ἂν τις λέγων κατὰ φύσιν τὴν τοιαύ-  
 815 τὴν ὄρχησιν λέγοι. τὴν πολεμικὴν δὴ τούτων, ἄλλην οὖσαν  
 τῆς εἰρηνικῆς, πυρρίχην ἂν τις ὀρθῶς προσαγορεύοι, τὰς τε  
 εὐλαβείας πασῶν πληγῶν καὶ βολῶν ἐκνεύσει καὶ ὑπείξει  
 πάσῃ καὶ ἐκπηδήσῃ ἐν ὕψει καὶ σὺν ταπεινώσει μιμου-  
 5 μένην, καὶ τὰς ταύταις ἐναντίας, τὰς ἐπὶ τὰ δραστικὰ φερο-  
 μένας αὖ σχήματα, ἐν τε ταῖς τῶν τόξων βολαῖς καὶ ἀκοντίων  
 καὶ πασῶν πληγῶν μιμήματα ἐπιχειρούσας μιμείσθαι· τό  
 τε ὀρθὸν ἐν τούτοις καὶ τὸ εὐτόνον· τῶν ἀγαθῶν σωμάτων  
 b καὶ ψυχῶν ὁπόταν γίγνηται μίμημα, εὐθυφερὲς ὡς τὸ πολὺ  
 τῶν τοῦ σώματος μελῶν γιγνόμενον, ὀρθὸν μὲν τὸ τοιοῦτον,  
 τὸ δὲ τούτοις τοῦναντίον οὐκ ὀρθὸν ἀποδεχόμενον. τὴν δὲ  
 εἰρηνικὴν ὄρχησιν τῇδ' αὖ θεωρητέον ἐκάστων, εἴτε ὀρθῶς  
 5 εἴτε μὴ κατὰ φύσιν τις τῆς καλῆς ὀρχήσεως ἀντιλαμβα-  
 νόμενος ἐν χορείαις πρεπόντως εὐνόμων ἀνδρῶν διατελεῖ.  
 τὴν τοίνυν ἀμφισβητουμένην ὄρχησιν δεῖ πρῶτον χωρὶς τῆς  
 c ἀναμφισβητήτου διατεμεῖν. τίς οὖν αὕτη, καὶ πῇ δεῖ χωρὶς  
 τέμνειν ἐκατέραν; ὅση μὲν βακχεία τ' ἐστὶν καὶ τῶν ταύταις  
 ἐπομένων αἰς Νύμφας τε καὶ Πᾶνας καὶ Σειληνοὺς καὶ Σα-  
 τύρους ἐπονομάζοντες, ὥς φασιν, μιμοῦνται κατωνωμένους,  
 5 περικαθαρμοὺς τε καὶ τελετάς τινας ἀποτελούντων, σύμπαν  
 τοῦτο [τῆς ὀρχήσεως] τὸ γένος οὐθ' ὡς εἰρηνικὸν οὐθ' ὡς  
 πολεμικὸν οὐθ' ὅτι ποτὲ βούλεται ράδιον ἀφορίσασθαι· διο-  
 ρίσασθαι μὴν μοι ταύτη δοκεῖ σχεδὸν ὀρθότατον αὐτὸ εἶναι,  
 d χωρὶς μὲν πολεμικοῦ, χωρὶς δὲ εἰρηνικοῦ θέντας, εἰπεῖν ὡς  
 οὐκ ἔστι πολιτικὸν τοῦτο [τῆς ὀρχήσεως τὸ γένος], ἐνταῦθα  
 δὲ κείμενον ἑάσαντας κεῖσθαι, νῦν ἐπὶ τὸ πολεμικὸν ἅμα καὶ  
 εἰρηνικὸν ὡς ἀναμφισβητήτως ἡμέτερον ὄν ἐπανιέναι. τὸ  
 5 δὲ τῆς ἀπολέμου μούσης, ἐν ὀρχήσεσιν δὲ τοὺς τε θεοὺς  
 καὶ τοὺς τῶν θεῶν παῖδας τιμώντων, ἐν μὲν σύμπαν γίγνοιτ'  
 ἂν γένος ἐν δόξῃ τοῦ πράττειν εὖ γιγνόμενον, τοῦτο δὲ διχῇ  
 e διαιροῖμεν ἂν, τὸ μὲν ἐκ πόνων τινῶν αὖ καὶ κινδύνων

διαπεφευγότων εἰς ἀγαθὰ, μείζους ἡδονὰς ἔχον, τὸ δὲ τῶν  
 ἔμπροσθεν ἀγαθῶν σωτηρίας οὐσης καὶ ἐπαύξεως, πρατοτέρας  
 τὰς ἡδονὰς κεκτημένων ἐκείνων. ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς τοιούτοις  
 5 που πᾶς ἄνθρωπος τὰς κινήσεις τοῦ σώματος μειζόνων μὲν  
 τῶν ἡδονῶν οὐσῶν μείζους, ἐλαττόνων δὲ ἐλαττοὺς κινεῖται,  
 καὶ κοσμιώτερος μὲν ὢν πρὸς τε ἀνδρείαν μᾶλλον γεγυ-  
 μνασμένος ἐλαττοὺς αὖ, δειλὸς δὲ καὶ ἀγύμναστος γεγονὼς 816  
 πρὸς τὸ σωφρονεῖν μείζους καὶ σφοδροτέρας παρέχεται  
 μεταβολὰς τῆς κινήσεως· ὅλως δὲ φθεγγόμενος, εἴτ' ἐν  
 ᾧδαῖς εἴτ' ἐν λόγοις, ἡσυχίαν οὐ πάννυ δυνατὸς τῷ σώματι  
 παρέχεσθαι πᾶς. διὸ μίμησις τῶν λεγομένων σχήμασι γενο- 5  
 μένη τὴν ὀρχηστικὴν ἐξηργάσατο τέχνην σύμπασαν. ὁ μὲν  
 οὖν ἐμμελῶς ἡμῶν, ὁ δὲ πλημμελῶς ἐν τούτοις πᾶσι κινεῖται.  
 πολλὰ μὲν δὴ τοῖνυν ἄλλα ἡμῖν τῶν παλαιῶν ὀνομάτων b  
 ὥς εὖ καὶ κατὰ φύσιν κείμενα δεῖ διανοοῦμενον ἐπαινεῖν,  
 τούτων δὲ ἐν καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς ὀρχήσεις τὰς τῶν εὖ πρατ-  
 τόντων, ὄντων τε μετρίων αὐτῶν πρὸς τὰς ἡδονάς, ὥς ὀρθῶς  
 ἅμα καὶ μουσικῶς ὠνόμασεν ὅστις ποτ' ἦν, καὶ κατὰ λόγον 5  
 αὐταῖς θέμενος ὄνομα συμπάσαις ἐμμελείας ἐπωνόμασε, καὶ  
 δύο δὴ τῶν ὀρχήσεων τῶν καλῶν εἶδη κατεστήσατο, τὸ μὲν  
 πολεμικὸν πυρρίχην, τὸ δὲ εἰρηνικὸν ἐμμέλειαν, ἐκατέρῳ τὸ  
 πρέπον τε καὶ ἀρμόττον ἐπιθείς ὄνομα. ἃ δὴ δεῖ τὸν μὲν c  
 νομοθέτην ἐξηγεῖσθαι τύποις, τὸν δὲ νομοφύλακα ζητεῖν τε,  
 καὶ ἀνερυνησάμενον, μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης μουσικῆς τὴν ὀρχησιν  
 συνθέντα καὶ νείμαντα ἐπὶ πάσαις ἐορταῖς τῶν θυσιῶν ἐκάστη  
 τὸ πρόσφορον, οὕτω καθιερώσαντα αὐτὰ πάντα ἐν τάξει, 5  
 τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ κινεῖν μηδὲν μήτε ὀρχήσεως ἐχόμενον μήτε  
 ᾧδῆς, ἐν ταῖς δ' αὐταῖς ἡδοναῖς ὡσαύτως τὴν αὐτὴν πόλιν  
 καὶ πολίτας διάγοντας, ὁμοίους εἰς δύναμιν ὄντας, ζῆν d  
 τε καὶ εὐδαιμόνως.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν καλῶν σωμάτων καὶ γενναίων ψυχῶν  
 εἰς τὰς χορείας, οἷας εἴρηται δεῖν αὐτὰς εἶναι, διαπεπέρανται,  
 τὰ δὲ τῶν αἰσchrῶν σωμάτων καὶ διανοημάτων καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ 5  
 τὰ τοῦ γέλωτος κωμωδήματα τετραμμένων, κατὰ λέξιν τε  
 καὶ ᾧδῆν καὶ κατὰ ὀρχησιν καὶ κατὰ τὰ τούτων πάντων  
 μιμήματα κεκωμωδημένα, ἀνάγκη μὲν θεάσασθαι καὶ γνωρί-  
 ζειν· ἄνευ γὰρ γελοίων τὰ σπουδαῖα καὶ πάντων τῶν  
 ἐναντίων τὰ ἐναντία μαθεῖν μὲν οὐ δυνατόν, εἰ μέλλει τις e  
 φρόνιμος ἔσεσθαι, ποιεῖν δὲ οὐκ αὖ δυνατόν ἀμφοτέρα, εἰ



- τις αὖ μέλλει καὶ σμικρὸν ἀρετῆς μεθέξειν, ἀλλὰ αὐτῶν  
 ἔνεκα τούτων καὶ μανθάνειν αὐτὰ δεῖ, τοῦ μή ποτε δι'  
 5 ἄγνοιαν δρᾶν ἢ λέγειν ὅσα γελοῖα, μηδὲν δέον, δούλοις δὲ τὰ  
 τοιαῦτα καὶ ξένοις ἐμπίστοις προστάττειν μιμῆσθαι, σπουδὴν  
 δὲ περὶ αὐτὰ εἶναι μηδέποτε μηδ' ἡντινοῦν, μηδέ τινα μανθά-  
 νοντα αὐτὰ γίνεσθαι φανερόν τῶν ἐλευθέρων, μήτε γυναῖκα  
 μήτε ἄνδρα, καινὸν δὲ αἰεὶ τι περὶ αὐτὰ φαίνεσθαι τῶν μι-  
 10 μνημάτων. ὅσα μὲν οὖν περὶ γέλωτά ἐστιν παίγνια, ἃ δὴ  
 817 κωμωδίαν πάντες λέγομεν, οὕτως τῷ νόμῳ καὶ λόγῳ κείσθω·  
 τῶν δὲ σπουδαίων, ὥς φασι, τῶν περὶ τραγωδίαν ἡμῖν  
 ποιητῶν, ἐάν ποτέ τινες αὐτῶν ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντες ἐπανερωτή-  
 σωσιν οὕτωςί πως· “ὦ ξένοι, πότερον φοιτῶμεν ὑμῖν εἰς  
 5 τὴν πόλιν τε καὶ χώραν ἢ μή, καὶ τὴν ποιήσιν φέρωμέν τε  
 καὶ ἄγωμεν, ἢ πῶς ὑμῖν δέδοκται περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα δρᾶν;”—  
 τί οὖν ἂν πρὸς ταῦτα ὀρθῶς ἀποκριναίμεθα τοῖς θεοῖς ἀνδρά-  
 b σιν; ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ δοκεῖ τάδε· “ὦ ἄριστοι,” φάναι, “τῶν  
 ξένων, ἡμεῖς ἐσμέν τραγωδίας αὐτοὶ ποιηταὶ κατὰ δύναμιν  
 ὅτι καλλίστης ἅμα καὶ ἀρίστης· πᾶσα γοῦν ἡμῖν ἡ πολιτεία  
 5 συνέστηκε μίμησις τοῦ καλλίστου καὶ ἀρίστου βίου, ὃ δὴ  
 φαμεν ἡμεῖς γε ὄντως εἶναι τραγωδίαν τὴν ἀληθεστάτην.  
 ποιηταὶ μὲν οὖν ὑμεῖς, ποιηταὶ δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐσμέν τῶν  
 αὐτῶν, ὑμῖν ἀντίτεχνοί τε καὶ ἀνταγωνισταὶ τοῦ καλλίστου  
 δράματος, ὃ δὴ νόμος ἀληθῆς μόνος ἀποτελεῖν πέφυκεν, ὥς  
 c ἢ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ἐλπίς· μὴ δὴ δόξητε ἡμᾶς ῥαδίως γε  
 οὕτως ὑμᾶς ποτε παρ' ἡμῖν εἶσιν σκηνὰς τε πῆξαντας κατ'  
 ἀγορὰν καὶ καλλιφώνους ὑποκριτὰς εἰσαγαγομένους, μεῖζον  
 5 φθεγγομένους ἡμῶν, ἐπιτρέψειν ὑμῖν δημηγορεῖν πρὸς παῖδάς  
 τε καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὸν πάντα ὄχλον, τῶν αὐτῶν λέγοντας  
 ἐπιτηδευμάτων πέρι μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ ἅπερ ἡμεῖς, ἀλλ' ὥς τὸ  
 πολὺ καὶ ἐναντία τὰ πλεῖστα. σχεδὸν γάρ τοι καὶ μαινοί-  
 d μεθα τελέως ἡμεῖς τε καὶ ἅπανα ἡ πόλις, ἥτις οὖν ὑμῖν  
 ἐπιτρέποι δρᾶν τὰ νῦν λεγόμενα, πρὶν κρῖναι τὰς ἀρχὰς εἴτε  
 ῥητὰ καὶ ἐπιτήδεια πεποιήκατε λέγειν εἰς τὸ μέσον εἴτε μή.  
 νῦν οὖν, ὦ παῖδες μαλακῶν Μουσῶν ἔκγονοι, ἐπιδείξαντες  
 5 τοῖς ἀρχουσι πρῶτον τὰς ὑμετέρας παρὰ τὰς ἡμετέρας ψδὰς,  
 ἂν μὲν τὰ αὐτὰ γε ἢ καὶ βελτίω τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν φαίνηται  
 λεγόμενα, δώσομεν ὑμῖν χορόν, εἰ δὲ μή, ὦ φίλοι, οὐκ ἂν  
 ποτε δυνάίμεθα.”  
 e Ταῦτ' οὖν ἔστω περὶ πᾶσαν χορείαν καὶ μάθησιν τούτων



πὲρι συντεταγμένα νόμοις ἔθῃ, χωρὶς μὲν τὰ τῶν δούλων, χωρὶς δὲ τὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν, εἰ συνδοκεῖ.

ΚΛ. Πῶς δ' οὐ συνδοκεῖ νῦν γε οὕτως;

ΑΘ. Ἐτι δὴ τοίνυν τοῖς ἐλευθέροις ἔστιν τρία μαθήματα, 5  
λογισμοὶ μὲν καὶ τὰ περὶ ἀριθμοὺς ἐν μάθημα, μετρητικὴ  
δὲ μήκους καὶ ἐπιπέδου καὶ βάθους ὡς ἐν αὐτῷ δεύτερον,  
τρίτον δὲ τῆς τῶν ἀστρων περιόδου πρὸς ἄλληλα ὡς πέ- 818  
φυκεν πορεύεσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ σύμπαντα οὐχ ὡς ἀκριβείας  
ἐχόμενα δεῖ διαπονεῖν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀλλὰ τινὰς ὀλίγους·  
οὓς δέ, προϊόντες ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει φράσομεν· οὕτω γὰρ πρέπον  
ἂν εἴη· τῷ πλήθει δὲ ὅσα αὐτῶν ἀναγκαῖα καὶ πῶς ὀρθό-  
τατα λέγεται μὴ ἐπίστασθαι μὲν τοῖς πολλοῖς αἰσχρόν, δι' 5  
ἀκριβείας δὲ ζητεῖν πάντα οὔτε ῥάδιον οὔτε τὸ παράπαν  
δυνατόν. τὸ δὲ ἀναγκαῖον αὐτῶν οὐχ οἷόν τε ἀποβάλλειν,  
ἀλλ' ἔοικεν ὁ τὸν θεὸν πρῶτον παροιμιασάμενος εἰς ταῦτα b  
ἀποβλέψας εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐδὲ θεὸς ἀνάγκη μὴ ποτε φανῇ μαχό-  
μενος, ὅσαι θεαῖαι γε, οἶμαι, τῶν γε ἀναγκῶν εἰσὶν· ἐπεὶ  
τῶν γε ἀνθρωπίνων, εἰς ἃς οἱ πολλοὶ βλέποντες λέγουσι  
τὸ τοιοῦτον, οὗτος πάντων τῶν λόγων εὐηθέστατός ἐστιν 5  
μακρῶ.

ΚΛ. Τίνες οὖν, ὦ ξένε, αἱ μὴ τοιαῦται ἀνάγκαι τῶν  
μαθημάτων, θεαῖαι δέ;

ΑΘ. Δοκῶ μὲν, ἃς μὴ τις πράξας μηδὲ αὐτὸ μαθὼν τὸ  
παράπαν οὐκ ἂν ποτε γένοιτο ἀνθρώποις θεὸς οὐδὲ δαίμων c  
οὐδὲ ἥρως οἷος δυνατός ἀνθρώπων ἐπιμέλειαν σὺν σπουδῇ  
ποιεῖσθαι· πολλοῦ δ' ἂν δεήσειεν ἀνθρωπὸς γε θεῖος  
γενέσθαι μῆτε ἐν μῆτε δύο μῆτε τρία μῆθ' ὅλως ἄρτια καὶ  
περιττὰ δυνάμενος γινώσκειν, μηδὲ ἀριθμεῖν τὸ παράπαν 5  
εἰδώς, μηδὲ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν διαριθμεῖσθαι δυνατός ὢν,  
σελήνης δὲ καὶ ἡλίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστρων περιφορᾶς  
ἀπείρως ἔχων. ταῦτ' οὖν δὴ πάντα ὡς μὲν οὐκ ἀναγκαῖά d  
ἐστὶ μαθήματα τῷ μέλλοντι σχεδὸν ὅτιοῦν τῶν καλλίστων  
μαθημάτων εἶσεσθαι, πολλὴ καὶ μωρία τοῦ διανοήματος·  
ποῖα δὲ ἕκαστα τούτων καὶ πόσα καὶ πότε μαθητέον,  
καὶ τί μετὰ τίνος καὶ τί χωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ πᾶσαν 5  
τὴν τούτων κρᾶσιν, ταῦτά ἐστιν ἃ δεῖ λαβόντα ὀρθῶς  
πρῶτα, ἐπὶ τὰλλα ἰόντα τούτων ἡγουμένων τῶν μαθημάτων  
μανθάνειν. οὕτω γὰρ ἀνάγκη φύσει κατείληφεν, ἥ φαμεν  
οὐδένα θεῶν οὔτε μάχεσθαι τὰ νῦν οὔτε μαχεῖσθαι ποτε. e

ΚΛ. Ἐοικέν γε, ὦ ξέने, νῦν οὕτω πως ῥηθέντα ὀρθῶς εἰρησθαι καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ἃ λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Ἐχει μὲν γὰρ οὕτως, ὦ Κλεινία, χαλεπὸν δὲ αὐτὰ  
5 προταξάμενον τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ νομοθετεῖν· ἀλλ' εἰς ἄλλον,  
εἰ δοκεῖ, χρόνον ἀκριβέστερον ἢ νομοθετησαίμεθα.

ΚΛ. Δοκεῖς ἡμῖν, ὦ ξέने, φοβεῖσθαι τὸ τῆς ἡμε-  
τέρας περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀπειρίας ἔθος. οὐκ οὖν ὀρθῶς  
φοβῆ· πειρῶ δὴ λέγειν μηδὲν ἀποκαμπτόμενος ἐνεκα  
10 τούτων.

819 ΑΘ. Φοβοῦμαι μὲν καὶ ταῦτα ἃ σὺ νῦν λέγεις, μᾶλλον  
δ' ἔτι δέδοικα τοὺς ἡμμένους μὲν αὐτῶν τούτων τῶν μαθη-  
μάτων, κακῶς δ' ἡμμένους. οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ δεινὸν οὐδὲ  
σφοδρὸν ἀπειρία τῶν πάντων οὐδὲ μέγιστον κακόν, ἀλλ'  
5 ἢ πολυπειρία καὶ πολυμαθία μετὰ κακῆς ἀγωγῆς γίγνεται  
πολὺ τούτων μείζων ζημία.

ΚΛ. Ἀληθῆ λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Τοσαύτε τοίνυν ἐκάστων χρή φάναι μανθάνειν δεῖν  
b τοὺς ἐλευθέρους, ὅσα καὶ πάμπολυς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ παίδων  
ὄχλος ἅμα γράμμασι μανθάνει. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ περὶ λογι-  
σμοὺς ἀτεχνῶς παισὶν ἐξηρηγμένα μαθήματα μετὰ παιδιᾶς τε  
καὶ ἡδονῆς μανθάνειν, μήλων τέ τινων διανομαὶ καὶ στεφάνων  
5 πλείοσιν ἅμα καὶ ἐλάττωσιν ἀρμοττόντων ἀριθμῶν τῶν αὐτῶν,  
καὶ πυκτῶν καὶ παλαιστῶν ἐφεδρείας τε καὶ συλλήξεως ἐν  
μέρει καὶ ἐφεξῆς καὶ ὥς πεφύκασιν γίνεσθαι. καὶ δὴ καὶ  
παίζοντες, φιάλας ἅμα χρυσοῦ καὶ χαλκοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου  
c καὶ τοιούτων τινῶν ἄλλων κεραυνύντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὅλας πῶς  
διαδιδόντες, ὅπερ εἶπον, εἰς παιδιὰν ἐναρμόττοντες τὰς τῶν  
ἀναγκαίων ἀριθμῶν χρήσεις, ὠφελοῦσι τοὺς μανθάνοντας  
εἰς τε τὰς τῶν στρατοπέδων τάξεις καὶ ἀγωγὰς καὶ στρα-  
5 τείας καὶ εἰς οἰκονομίας αὖ, καὶ πάντως χρησιμωτέρους  
αὐτοὺς αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐγρηγορότας μᾶλλον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους  
ἀπεργάζονται· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν ταῖς μετρήσεσιν, ὅσα ἔχει  
d μήκη καὶ πλάτη καὶ βάθη, περὶ ἅπαντα ταῦτα ἐνοῦσάν τινα  
φύσει γελοῖαν τε καὶ αἰσχρὰν ἄγνοϊαν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις  
πᾶσιν, ταύτης ἀπαλλάττουσιν.

ΚΛ. Ποίαν δὴ καὶ τίνα λέγεις ταύτην;

5 ΑΘ. ὦ φίλε Κλεινία, παντάπασί γε μὴν καὶ αὐτὸς  
ἀκούσας ὀψέ ποτε τὸ περὶ ταῦτα ἡμῶν πάθος ἐθαύμασα,  
καὶ ἔδοξέ μοι τοῦτο οὐκ ἀνθρώπινον ἀλλὰ ὑγνῶν τινῶν εἶναι

μᾶλλον θρεμμάτων, ἡσχύνηθη τε οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἑμαυτοῦ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

e

ΚΛ. Τοῦ περί; λέγ' ὅτι καὶ φῆς, ὦ ξένε.

ΑΘ. Λέγω δὴ· μᾶλλον δὲ ἐρωτῶν σοι δείξω. καὶ μοι σμικρὸν ἀπόκριναι· γινώσκεις που μῆκος;

ΚΛ. Τί μῆν;

5

ΑΘ. Τί δέ; πλάτος;

ΚΛ. Πάντως.

ΑΘ. Ἡ καὶ ταῦτα ὅτι δὴ ἐστόν, καὶ τρίτον τούτων βάθος;

ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

ΑΘ. Ἄρ' οὖν οὐ δοκεῖ σοι ταῦτα εἶναι πάντα μετρητὰ πρὸς ἄλληλα;

10

ΚΛ. Ναί.

ΑΘ. Μῆκός τε οἶμαι πρὸς μῆκος, καὶ πλάτος πρὸς πλάτος, καὶ βάθος ὡσαύτως δυνατόν εἶναι μετρεῖν φύσει;

820

ΚΛ. Σφόδρα γε.

ΑΘ. Εἰ δ' ἔστι μήτε σφόδρα μήτε ἡρέμα δυνατὰ ἔνια, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν, τὰ δὲ μή, σὺ δὲ πάντα ἡγῇ, πῶς οἶε πρὸς ταῦτα διακεῖσθαι;

5

ΚΛ. Δῆλον ὅτι φαύλως.

ΑΘ. Τί δ' αὖ μῆκός τε καὶ πλάτος πρὸς βάθος, ἢ πλάτος τε καὶ μῆκος πρὸς ἄλληλα; [ὥστε πῶς] ἄρ' οὐ διανοούμεθα περὶ ταῦτα οὕτως Ἕλληνες πάντες, ὡς δυνατὰ ἔστι μετρεῖσθαι πρὸς ἄλληλα ἁμῶς γέ πως;

10

ΚΛ. Παντάπασιν μὲν οὖν.

b

ΑΘ. Εἰ δ' ἔστιν αὖ μηδαμῶς μηδαμῇ δυνατά, πάντες δ', ὅπερ εἶπον, Ἕλληνες διανοούμεθα ὡς δυνατά, μὴν οὐκ ἄξιον ὑπὲρ πάντων αἰσχυνθέντα εἰπεῖν πρὸς αὐτούς· Ὡ βέλτιστοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐν ἐκείνων τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὧν [εἴ] φημεν αἰσχυρὸν μὲν γεγονέναι τὸ μὴ ἐπίστασθαι, τὸ δ' ἐπίστασθαι τὰναγκαῖα οὐδὲν πάνυ καλόν;

5

ΚΛ. Πῶς δ' οὐ;

ΑΘ. Καὶ πρὸς τούτοις γε ἄλλα ἔστιν τούτων συγγενῇ, ἐν οἷς αὖ πολλὰ ἁμαρτήματα ἐκείνων ἀδελφὰ ἡμῖν ἐγγίγνεται τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων.

c

ΚΛ. Ποῖα δὴ;

ΑΘ. Τὰ τῶν μετρητῶν τε καὶ ἀμέτρων πρὸς ἄλληλα ἥτινι φύσει γέγονεν. ταῦτα γὰρ δὴ σκοποῦντα διαγιγνώσκειν ἀναγκαῖον ἢ παντάπασιν εἶναι φαῦλον, προβάλλοντά τε

5

ἀλλήλοις αἰεί, διατριβὴν τῆς πεττείας πολὺ χαριεστέραν  
πρεσβυτῶν διατρίβοντα, φιλονικεῖν ἐν ταῖς τούτων ἀξίαισι  
σχολαῖς.

d ΚΛ. Ἴσως· ἔοικεν γοῦν ἢ τε πεττεία καὶ ταῦτα ἀλλήλων  
τὰ μαθήματα οὐ πάμπολυ κεχωρίσθαι.

ΑΘ. Ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐγὼ μὲν, ὦ Κλεινία, φημι τοὺς νέους  
δεῖν μανθάνειν· καὶ γὰρ οὔτε βλαβερά οὔτε χαλεπά ἐστίν,  
5 μετὰ δὲ παιδιᾶς ἅμα μανθανόμενα ὠφελήσεται μὲν, βλάψει δὲ  
ἡμῖν τὴν πόλιν οὐδέν. εἰ δέ τις ἄλλως λέγει, ἀκουστέον.

ΚΛ. Πῶς δ' οὐ;

ΑΘ. Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἂν οὕτω ταῦτα ἔχοντα φαίνηται, δηλον  
ὥς ἐγκρινοῦμεν αὐτά, μὴ ταύτῃ δὲ φαινόμενα ἔχειν ἀποκρι-  
10 θήσεται.

e ΚΛ. Δηλον· τί μὴν;

ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν νῦν, ὦ ξέने, κείσθω ταῦτα ὥς ὄντα τῶν  
δεόντων μαθημάτων, ἵνα μὴ διάκενα ἡμῖν ἢ τὰ τῶν νόμων;  
κείσθω μέντοι καθάπερ ἐνέχυρα λύσιμα [ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης πολι-  
5 τείας], ἐὰν ἢ τοὺς θέντας ἡμᾶς ἢ καὶ τοὺς θεμένους ὑμᾶς  
μηδαμῶς φιλοφρονῇται.

ΚΛ. Δικαίαν λέγεις τὴν θέσιν.

ΑΘ. Ἄστρων δὴ τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα ὄρα τὴν μάθησιν τοῖς  
νέοις ἂν ἡμᾶς ἀρέσκη λεχθεῖσα ἢ καὶ τοῦναντίον.

10 ΚΛ. Λέγε μόνον.

ΑΘ. Καὶ μὴν θαυμά γε περὶ αὐτά ἐστιν μέγα καὶ οὐδαμῶς  
οὐδαμῇ ἀνεκτόν.

821 ΚΛ. Τὸ ποῖον δὴ;

ΑΘ. Τὸν μέγιστον θεὸν καὶ ὅλον τὸν κόσμον φάμεν οὔτε  
ζητεῖν δεῖν οὔτε πολυπραγμονεῖν τὰς αἰτίας ἐρευνῶντας—οὐ  
γὰρ οὐδ' ὅσιον εἶναι—τὸ δὲ ἔοικεν πᾶν τούτου τοῦναντίον  
5 γιγνόμενον ὀρθῶς ἂν γίγνεσθαι.

ΚΛ. Πῶς εἶπες;

ΑΘ. Παράδοξον μὲν τὸ λεγόμενον, καὶ οὐκ ἂν πρεσβύταις  
τις οἰηθείη πρέπειν· τὸ δὲ ἐπειδὴν τίς τι καλόν τε οἰηθῇ  
καὶ ἀληθὲς μάθημα εἶναι καὶ πόλει συμφέρον καὶ τῷ θεῷ  
b παντάπασι φίλον, οὐδενὶ δὴ τρόπῳ δυνατόν ἐστιν ἔτι μὴ  
φράζειν.

ΚΛ. Εἰκότα λέγεις· ἀλλ' ἄστρων πέρι μάθημα τί τοιοῦτον  
ἀνευρήσομεν;

5 ΑΘ. ὦ ἀγαθοί, καταψευδόμεθα νῦν ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν



Ἕλληνες πάντες μεγάλων θεῶν, Ἡλίου τε ἅμα καὶ Σελήνης.

ΚΛ. Τὸ ποῖον δὴ ψεῦδος;

ΑΘ. Φαμέν αὐτὰ οὐδέποτε τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἰέναι, καὶ ἄλλ' ἅττα ἄστρο μετὰ τούτων, ἐπονομάζοντες πλανητὰ αὐτά.

ΚΛ. Νῆ τὸν Δία, ὦ ξένε, ἀληθὲς τοῦτο λέγεις· ἐν γὰρ δὴ τῷ βίῳ πολλάκις ἐώρακα καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν τε Ἑωσφόρον καὶ τὸν Ἑσπερον καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς οὐδέποτε ἰόντας εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν δρόμον ἀλλὰ πάντῃ πλανωμένους, τὸν δὲ ἥλιόν που καὶ σελήνην δρῶντας ταῦτα αἰεὶ πάντες συνεπιστάμεθα.

ΑΘ. Ταῦτ' ἔστι τοίνυν, ὦ Μέγίλλε τε καὶ Κλεινία, νῦν ἃ δὴ φημι δεῖν περὶ θεῶν τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν τοὺς γε ἡμετέρους πολίτας τε καὶ τοὺς νέους τὸ μέχρι τοσοῦτον μαθεῖν περὶ ἀπάντων τούτων, μέχρι τοῦ μὴ βλασφημεῖν περὶ αὐτά, εὐφημεῖν δὲ αἰεὶ θύοντάς τε καὶ ἐν εὐχαῖς εὐχομένους εὐσεβῶς.

ΚΛ. Τοῦτο μὲν ὀρθόν, εἴ γε πρῶτον μὲν δυνατόν ἐστιν ὁ λέγεις μαθεῖν· εἴτα, εἰ μὴ λέγομέν τι περὶ αὐτῶν ὀρθῶς νῦν, μαθόντες δὲ λέξομεν, συγχωρῶ καὶ γὰρ τό γε τοσοῦτον καὶ τοιοῦτον ὃν μαθητέον εἶναι. ταῦτ' οὖν ὥς ἔχοντά ἐσθ' οὕτω, πειρῶ σὺ μὲν ἐξηγεῖσθαι πάντως, ἡμεῖς δὲ συνέπεσθαί σοι μαθάνοντες.

ΑΘ. Ἄλλ' ἔστι μὲν οὐ ρᾶδιον ὁ λέγω μαθεῖν, οὐδ' αὖ παντάπασι χαλεπὸν, οὐδέ γέ τινος χρόνου παμπόλλου. τεκμήριον δέ· ἐγὼ τούτων οὔτε νέος οὔτε πάλαι ἀκηκοὺς σφῶν ἂν νῦν οὐκ ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ δηλῶσαι δυναίμην. καίτοι χαλεπά γε ὄντα οὐκ ἂν ποτε οἷός τ' ἦν δηλοῦν τηλικούτοις οὔσι τηλικούτους.

ΚΛ. Ἀληθῆ λέγεις. ἀλλὰ τί καὶ φῆς τοῦτο τὸ μάθημα ὁ θαυμαστὸν μὲν λέγεις, προσῆκον δ' αὖ μαθεῖν τοῖς νέοις, οὐ γιννώσκειν δὲ ἡμᾶς; πειρῶ περὶ αὐτοῦ τό γε τοσοῦτον φράζειν ὥς σαφέστατα.

ΑΘ. Πειρατέον. οὐ γάρ ἐστι τοῦτο, ὦ ἄριστοι, τὸ δόγμα ὀρθὸν περὶ σελήνης τε καὶ ἡλίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄστρον, ὥς ἄρα πλανᾶται ποτε, πᾶν δὲ τοῦναντίον ἔχει τούτου—τὴν αὐτὴν γὰρ αὐτῶν ὁδὸν ἕκαστον καὶ οὐ πολλὰς ἀλλὰ μίαν αἰεὶ κύκλῳ διεξέρχεται, φαίνεται δὲ πολλὰς φερόμενον—τὸ δὲ τάχιστον αὐτῶν ὃν βραδύτατον οὐκ ὀρθῶς αὖ δοξάζεται, τὸ δ' ἐναντίον ἐναντίως. ταῦτ' οὖν εἰ πέφυκεν μὲν οὕτως, ἡμεῖς δὲ μὴ ταύτῃ δοξάζομεν, εἰ μὲν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ θεόντων ἵππων οὕτως ἢ

δολιχοδρόμων ἀνδρῶν διενοοῦμεθα περί, καὶ προσηγορούμεν  
 τὸν τάχιστον μὲν ὡς βραδύτατον, τὸν δὲ βραδύτατον ὡς  
 5 τάχιστον, ἐγκώμιά τε ποιοῦντες ἥδομεν τὸν ἡττώμενον  
 νενικηκότα, οὔτε ὀρθῶς ἂν οὔτ' οἶμαι προσφιλῶς τοῖς  
 δρομεύουσιν ἡμᾶς ἂν τὰ ἐγκώμια προσάπτειν ἀνθρώποις οὔσιν.  
 c νῦν δὲ δὴ περὶ θεοὺς τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἐξαμαρτανόντων ἡμῶν,  
 ἄρ' οὐκ οἰόμεθα ὃ γελοῖόν τε καὶ οὐκ ὀρθὸν ἐκεῖ γιγνώ-  
 μενον ἦν ἂν τότε, νῦν ἐνταυθοῖ καὶ ἐν τούτοισι γίγνεσθαι  
 γελοῖον μὲν οὐδαμῶς, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ θεοφιλές γε, ψευδῇ  
 5 φήμην ἡμῶν κατὰ θεῶν ὑμνούντων.

ΚΛ. Ἀληθέστατα, εἴπερ γε οὕτω ταῦτ' ἐστίν.

ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν ἂν μὲν δείξωμεν οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχοντα, μαθητέα  
 μέχρι γε τούτου τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα, μὴ δειχθέντων δὲ ἑατέον;  
 καὶ ταῦτα ἡμῖν οὕτω συγκείσθω;

d ΚΛ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Ἦδη τοίνυν χρὴ φάναι τέλος ἔχειν τά γε παιδείας  
 μαθημάτων περί νόμιμα· περὶ δὲ θήρας ὡσαύτως διανοηθῆναι  
 χρὴ καὶ περὶ ἀπάντων ὅποσα τοιαῦτα. κινδυνεύει γὰρ δὴ  
 5 νομοθέτῃ τὸ προσταττόμενον ἔτι μείζον εἶναι τοῦ νόμους  
 θέντα ἀπηλλάχθαι, ἕτερον δέ τι πρὸς τοῖς νόμοις εἶναι  
 μεταξύ τι νουθετήσεως τε πεφυκὸς ἅμα καὶ νόμων, ὃ δὴ  
 e πολλάκις ἡμῶν ἐμπέπτωκεν τοῖς λόγοις, οἷον περὶ τὴν τῶν  
 σφόδρα νέων παίδων τροφήν· οὐ γὰρ ἄρρητά φαμεν εἶναι,  
 λέγοντές τε αὐτὰ ὡς νόμους οἶεσθαι τιθεμένους εἶναι πολλῆς  
 ἀνοίας γέμειν. γεγραμμένων δὴ ταύτῃ τῶν νόμων τε καὶ  
 5 ὅλης τῆς πολιτείας, οὐ τέλεος ὁ τοῦ διαφέροντος πολίτου πρὸς  
 ἀρετὴν γίγνεται ἔπαινος, ὅταν αὐτόν τις φῇ τὸν ὑπηρετήσαντα  
 τοῖς νόμοις ἄριστα καὶ πειθόμενον μάλιστα, τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν  
 ἀγαθόν· τελεώτερον δὲ ὧδε εἰρημένον, ὡς ἄρα ὃς ἂν τοῖς τοῦ  
 νομοθέτου νομοθετοῦντός τε καὶ ἐπαινοῦντος καὶ ψέγοντος  
 823 πειθόμενος γράμμασιν διεξέλθῃ τὸν βίον ἄκρατον. οὗτος ὃ  
 τε λόγος ὀρθότατος εἰς ἔπαινον πολίτου, τὸν τε νομοθέτην  
 ὄντως δεῖ μὴ μόνον γράφειν τοὺς νόμους, πρὸς δὲ τοῖς νόμοις,  
 ὅσα καλὰ αὐτῷ δοκεῖ καὶ μὴ καλὰ εἶναι, νόμοις ἐμπεπλεγμένα  
 5 γράφειν, τὸν δὲ ἄκρον πολίτην μηδὲν ἡττον ταῦτα ἐμπεδοῦν  
 ἢ τὰ ταῖς ζημίαις ὑπὸ νόμων κατελιγμένα. τὸ δὲ δὴ  
 παρὸν ἡμῖν τὰ νῦν <εἰ> οἷον μάρτυρα ἐπαγόμεθα, δηλοῖμεν ἂν  
 b ὃ βουλόμεθα μᾶλλον. θήρα γὰρ πάμπολύ τι πρᾶγμά ἐστι,  
 περιειλημμένον ὀνόματι νῦν σχεδὸν ἐνί. πολλῇ μὲν γὰρ ἡ

τῶν ἐνύδρων, πολλή δὲ ἡ τῶν πτηνῶν, πάμπλου δὲ καὶ τὸ  
περὶ τὰ πεζὰ θηρέματα, οὐ μόνον θηρίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τῶν  
ἀνθρώπων ἀξίαν ἐννοεῖν θήραν, τὴν τε κατὰ πόλεμον, πολλή 5  
δὲ καὶ ἡ κατὰ φιλίαν θηρεύουσα, ἡ μὲν ἔπαινον, ἡ δὲ ψόγον  
ἔχει· καὶ κλωπεῖαι [καὶ] ληστῶν καὶ στρατοπέδων στρατο-  
πέδοις θῆραι. θήρας δὲ περί τιθέντι τῷ νομοθέτῃ τοὺς c  
νόμους οὔτε μὴ δηλοῦν ταῦθ' οἷόν τε, οὔτε ἐπὶ πᾶσιν τάξεις  
καὶ ζημίας ἐπιτιθέντα ἀπειλητικὰ νόμιμα τιθέναι. τί δὴ  
δραστέον περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα; τὸν μὲν, τὸν νομοθέτην, ἐπαινέσαι  
καὶ ψέξαι χρεὼν τὰ περὶ θήρας πρὸς τοὺς τῶν νέων πόρους 5  
τε καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα, τὸν δ' αὖ νέον ἀκούσαντα πείθεσθαι,  
καὶ μῆθ' ἡδονὴν μῆτε πόνον ἐξείργειν αὐτόν, τῶν δὲ περὶ  
ἕκαστα ἀπειληθέντων μετὰ ζημίας καὶ νομοθετηθέντων τὰ  
μετ' ἐπαίνου ρηθέντα μᾶλλον τιμᾶν καὶ προσταχθέντα d  
ἀποτελεῖν.

Τούτων δὴ προρρηθέντων, ἐξῆς ἂν γίνοιτο ἔμμετρος  
ἔπαινος θήρας καὶ ψόγος, ἥτις μὲν βελτίους ἀποτελεῖ τὰς  
ψυχὰς τῶν νέων ἐπαινοῦντος, ψέγοντος δὲ ἡ τᾶναντία. 5  
λέγωμεν τοίνυν τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐξῆς προσαγορεύοντες δι'  
εὐχῆς τοὺς νέους· Ὡ φίλοι, εἴθ' ὑμᾶς μῆτε τις ἐπιθυμία μῆτ'  
ἔρως τῆς περὶ θάλατταν θήρας ποτὲ λάβοι μηδὲ ἀγκιστρεῖας  
μηδ' ὅλως τῆς τῶν ἐνύδρων ζώων, μῆτε ἐργηγορόσιν μῆτε e  
εὐδουσιν κύρτοις ἀργὸν θήραν διαπονουμένοις. μηδ' αὖ ἄγρας  
ἀνθρώπων κατὰ θάλατταν ληστείας τε ἡμερος ἐπελθὼν ὑμῖν  
θηρευτὰς ὤμους καὶ ἀνόμους ἀποτελοῖ· κλωπεῖας δ' ἐν χώρᾳ  
καὶ πόλει μηδὲ εἰς τὸν ἔσχατον ἐπέλθοι νοῦν ἄψασθαι. μηδ' 5  
αὖ πτηνῶν θήρας αἰμύλος ἔρως οὐ σφόδρα ἐλευθέριος ἐπέλθοι  
τινὶ νέων. πεζῶν δὲ μόνον θήρευσίς τε καὶ ἄγρα λοιπῇ τοῖς 824  
παρ' ἡμῖν ἀθληταῖς, ὧν ἡ μὲν τῶν εὐδόντων αὖ κατὰ μέρη,  
νυκτερεῖα κληθεῖσα, ἀργῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὐκ ἀξία ἐπαίνου,  
οὐδ' ἡ τῶν, διαπαύματα πόνων ἔχουσα, ἄρκυσίν τε καὶ  
πάγαις ἀλλ' οὐ φιλοπόνου ψυχῆς νίκη χειρουμένων τὴν 5  
ἄγριον τῶν θηρίων ῥώμην· μόνη δὲ πᾶσιν λοιπῇ καὶ ἀρίστη  
ἡ τῶν τετραπόδων ἵπποις καὶ κυσὶν καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν θήρα  
σώμασιν, ὧν ἀπάντων κρατοῦσιν δρόμοις καὶ πληγαῖς καὶ  
βολαῖς αὐτόχειρες θηρεύοντες, ὅσοις ἀνδρείας τῆς θείας  
ἐπιμελές.

10

Τούτων δὴ πάντων ἔπαινος μὲν περί καὶ ψόγος ὁ διειρη-  
μένος ἂν εἴη λόγος, νόμος δὲ ὅδε· Τούτους μηδεὶς τοὺς ἱερούς

- ὄντως θηρευτὰς κωλύέτω ὅπου καὶ ὅπηπερ ἂν ἐθέλωσιν κυνη-  
 γετεῖν, νυκτερευτὴν δὲ ἄρκυσιν καὶ πλεκταῖς πιστὸν μηδεὶς  
 15 μηδέποτε εἰσὶν μηδαμοῦ θηρεῦσαι· τὸν ὀρνιθευτὴν δὲ ἐν  
 ἀργοῖς μὲν καὶ ὄρεσιν μὴ κωλύέτω, ἐν ἐργασίμοις δὲ καὶ  
 ἱερατικοῖς [ἀγρίοις] ἐξειργέτω ὁ προστυγχάνων, ἐνυγρο-  
 θηρευτὴν δέ, πλὴν ἐν λιμέσιν καὶ ἱεροῖς ποταμοῖς τε καὶ  
 εἰσεσι καὶ λίμναις, ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις δὲ ἐξέεστω θηρεύειν, μὴ  
 20 χρώμενον ὅπῳ ἀναθολώσει μόνον.

Νῦν οὖν ἤδη πάντα χρὴ φάναι τέλος ἔχειν τὰ γε παιδείας  
 πέρι νόμιμα.

ΚΛ. Καλῶς ἂν λέγοις.



## BOOK VIII

### SHORT ANALYSIS

828-831.—The arrangement of military field-days and sham-fights on holidays :—(to be as like real fights as possible.)

831-832.—(1) The love of money, and (2) defects in the constitutions of states prevent men from giving a proper attention to military training.

832-835.—The details of military training.

835 d-841.—The proper regulation of the sexual instinct.

842-850.—The production and distribution of food.

(843-846.—Laws for farmers.

846 d-847 d.—Regulations about artizans and about foreign trade.

847 e-849 a.—Distribution of agricultural and manufactured produce.

849 a-850.—Market regulations.)

## H

ΑΘ. Τούτων μὴν ἐχόμενά ἐστιν τάξασθαι μὲν καὶ νομο- 828  
θετήσασθαι ἐορτὰς μετὰ τῶν ἐκ Δελφῶν μαντείων, αἵτινες  
θυσῖαι καὶ θεοῖς οἰσισιν ἄμεινον καὶ λῶον θουόση τῇ πόλει  
γίγνουντ' ἄν· πότε δὲ καὶ πόσαι τὸν ἀριθμόν, σχεδὸν ἴσως  
ἡμέτερον ἂν νομοθετεῖν [ἐνιά γ'] αὐτῶν εἴη. 5

ΚΛ. Τάχ' ἂν τὸν ἀριθμόν.

ΑΘ. Τὸν ἀριθμὸν δὴ λέγωμεν πρῶτον· ἔστωσαν γὰρ τῶν  
μὲν πέντε καὶ ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίων μηδὲν ἀπολείπουσαι, b  
ὅπως ἂν μία γέ τις ἀρχὴ θύῃ θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων τινὶ ἀεὶ ὑπὲρ  
πόλεώς τε καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ κτημάτων. ταῦτα δὲ συνελθόντες  
ἐξηγηταὶ καὶ ἱερεῖς ἰερεῖαι τε καὶ μάντις μετὰ νομοφυλάκων  
ταξάντων ἃ παραλείπειν ἀνάγκη τῷ νομοθέτῃ· καὶ δὴ καὶ 5  
αὐτοῦ τούτου χρὴ γίγνεσθαι ἐπιγνώμονας τοῦ παραλειπομένου  
τούτους τοὺς αὐτοὺς. ὁ μὲν γὰρ δὴ νόμος ἐρεῖ δώδεκα μὲν  
ἐορτὰς εἶναι τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς, ὧν ἂν ἡ φυλὴ ἐκάστη c

- ἐπώνυμος ἦ, θύοντας τούτων ἐκάστοις ἔμμηνα ἱερά, χορούς τε καὶ ἀγῶνας μουσικούς, τοὺς δὲ γυμνικούς, κατὰ τὸ πρέπον προσνέμοντας τοῖς θεοῖς τε αὐτοῖς ἅμα καὶ ταῖς ὥραις ἐκάσταις, γυναικείας τε ἑορτάς, ὅσαις χωρὶς ἀνδρῶν προσήκει καὶ ὅσαις μὴ, διανέμοντας. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ τῶν χθονίων καὶ ὅσους αὐθιγούς οὐρανίους ἐπονομαστέον καὶ τὸ τῶν τούτοις ἐπομένων οὐ συμμεικτέον ἀλλὰ χωριστέον, ἐν τῷ τοῦ Πλούτωνος μηνὶ τῷ δωδεκάτῳ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἀποδιδόντας, καὶ οὐ δυσχεραντέον πολεμικοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸν τοιοῦτον θεόν, ἀλλὰ τιμητέον ὡς ὄντα αἰεὶ τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένει ἄριστον· κοινωνία γὰρ ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι διαλύσεως οὐκ ἔστιν ἢ κρεῖττον, ὡς ἐγὼ φαίην ἂν σπουδῇ λέγων. πρὸς τούτοις δὲ διάνοιαν χρὴ σχεῖν τοὺς διαιρήσοντας ἱκανῶς ταῦτα τοιάνδε, ὡς ἔσθ' ἡμῖν ἢ πόλις οἶαν οὐκ ἂν τις ἐτέραν εὖροι τῶν νῦν περὶ χρόνου σχολῆς καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐξουσίας, δεῖ δὲ αὐτήν, καθάπερ ἓνα ἄνθρωπον, ζῆν εὖ· τοῖς δὲ εὐδαιμόνως ζῶσιν ὑπάρχειν ἀνάγκη πρῶτον τὸ μὴθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀδικεῖν μῆτε ὑφ' ἐτέρων αὐτοὺς ἀδικεῖσθαι. τούτοις δὲ τὸ μὲν οὐ πάνυ χαλεπόν, τοῦ δὲ μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι κτήσασθαι δύναμιν παγχαλεπόν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτὸ τελέως σχεῖν ἄλλως ἢ τελέως γενόμενον ἀγαθόν· ταῦτ' οὖν δὴ τοῦτο ἔστι καὶ πόλει ὑπάρχειν, γενομένη μὲν ἀγαθῇ, βίος εἰρηνικός, πολεμικός δὲ ἔξωθεν τε καὶ ἔνδοθεν, ἂν ἢ κακῇ. τούτων δὲ ταύτῃ σχεδὸν ἐχόντων,
- b οὐκ ἐν πολέμῳ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκάστοις γυμναστέον, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ τῆς εἰρήνης βίῳ. δεῖ τοίνυν πόλιν ἐκάστου μηνὸς νοῦν κεκτημένην στρατεύεσθαι μὴ ἔλαττον μιᾶς ἡμέρας, πλείους δέ, ὡς ἂν καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν συνδοκῇ, μηδὲν χειμῶνας ἢ καύματα διευλαβουμένους, αὐτοὺς τε ἅμα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας, ὅταν ὡς πανδημίαν ἐξάγειν δόξῃ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, τότε δὲ καὶ κατὰ μέρος· καὶ τινὰς αἰεὶ παιδιὰς μηχανᾶσθαι καλὰς ἅμα θυσίαις, ὅπως ἂν γίνωνται μάχαι τινὲς ἑορταστικάι,
- c μιμούμεναι τὰς πολεμικάς ὅτι μάλιστα ἐναργῶς μάχας· νικητήρια δὲ καὶ ἀριστεῖα ἐκάστοισι τούτων δεῖ διανέμειν ἐγκώμιά τε καὶ ψόγους ποιεῖν ἀλλήλοις, ὁποῖός τις ἂν ἕκαστος γίγνηται κατὰ τε τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐν παντί τε αὐτῷ βίῳ, τὸν τε ἄριστον δοκοῦντα εἶναι κοσμοῦντας καὶ τὸν μὴ ψέγοντας. ποιητῆς δὲ ἔστω τῶν τοιούτων μὴ ἅπας, ἀλλὰ γεγρονῶς πρῶτον μὲν μὴ ἔλαττον πεντήκοντα ἐτῶν, μηδ' αὐτῶν ὁπόσοι ποιήσιν μὲν καὶ μούσαν ἱκανῶς κεκτημένοι ἐν αὐτοῖς εἰσιν, καλὸν δὲ

ἔργον καὶ ἐπιφανὲς μηδὲν δράσαντες πώποτε· ὅσοι δὲ ἀγαθοὶ d  
 τε αὐτοὶ καὶ τίμιοι ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἔργων ὄντες δημιουργοὶ  
 καλῶν, τὰ τῶν τοιούτων ἀδέσθω ποιήματα, ἐὰν καὶ μὴ  
 μουσικὰ πεφύκη. κρίσις δὲ αὐτῶν ἔστω παρὰ τε τῷ παιδευτῇ  
 καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις νομοφύλαξι, τοῦτο ἀποδιδόντων αὐτοῖς γέρας, 5  
 παρρησίαν ἐν μούσαις εἶναι μόνοις, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις μηδεμίαν  
 ἐξουσίαν γίνεσθαι, μηδὲ τινα τολμᾶν ἄδειν ἀδόκιμον μούσαν  
 [μὴ κρινάντων τῶν νομοφυλάκων], μηδ' ἂν ἡδιῶν ἢ τῶν Θα-  
 μύρου τε καὶ Ὀρφείων ὕμνων, ἀλλ' ὅσα τε ἱερὰ κριθέντα e  
 ποιήματα ἐδόθη τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ ὅσα ἀγαθῶν ὄντων ἀνδρῶν  
 ψέγοντα ἢ ἐπαινοῦντά τινες ἐκρίθη μετρίως δρᾶν τὸ τοι-  
 οῦτον. τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ λέγω στρατείας τε περὶ καὶ τῆς ἐν ποιήσεσι  
 παρρησίας γυναιξί τε καὶ ἀνδράσιν ὁμοίως γίνεσθαι δεῖν. 5  
 χρὴ δὲ ἀναφέρειν παραδεικνύντα ἑαυτῷ τὸν νομοθέτην τῷ  
 λόγῳ· Φέρε, τίνας ποτὲ τρέφω τὴν πόλιν ὅλην παρα-  
 σκευάσας; ἄρ' οὐκ ἀθλητὰς τῶν μεγίστων ἀγῶνων, οἷς 830  
 ἀνταγωνιστὰι μυρίοι ὑπάρχουσι; Καὶ πάνν γε, φαίη τις ἂν  
 ὀρθῶς λέγων. Τί δῆτα; εἰ πύκτας ἢ παγκρατιαστὰς ἐτρέ-  
 φομεν ἢ τι τῶν τοιούτων ἕτερον ἀγωνισμάτων ἀθλοῦντας,  
 ἄρα εἰς αὐτὸν ἂν ἀπηντῶμεν τὸν ἀγῶνα, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν 5  
 χρόνῳ οὐδενὶ καθ' ἡμέραν προσμαχόμενοι; ἢ πύκται γε ὄντες  
 παμπόλλας ἂν ἡμέρας ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐμανθάνομέν  
 τε ἂν μάχεσθαι καὶ διεπονούμεθα, μιμούμενοι πάντα ἐκεῖνα b  
 ὁπόσοις ἐμέλλομεν εἰς τότε χρήσεσθαι περὶ τῆς νίκης δια-  
 μαχόμενοι, καὶ ὡς ἐγγύτατα τοῦ ὁμοίου ἰόντες, ἀντὶ ἱμάντων  
 σφαίρας ἂν περιεδούμεθα, ὅπως αἱ πληγαί τε καὶ αἱ τῶν  
 πληγῶν εὐλάβειαι διεμελετῶντο εἰς τὸ δυνατόν ἱκανῶς, εἴ 5  
 τέ τις ἡμῖν συγγυμναστῶν συνέβαινε ἀπορία πλείων, ἄρ'  
 ἂν δείσαντες τὸν τῶν ἀνοήτων γέλωτα οὐκ ἂν ἐτολμῶμεν  
 κρεμαννύντες εἶδωλον ἄψυχον γυμνάζεσθαι πρὸς αὐτό; καὶ  
 ἔτι πάντων τῶν τε ἐμψύχων καὶ τῶν ἀψύχων ἀπορήσαντές c  
 ποτε, ἐν ἐρημίᾳ συγγυμναστῶν ἄρά γε οὐκ ἐτολμήσαμεν ἂν  
 αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς σκιαμαχεῖν ὄντως; ἢ τί ποτε ἄλλο  
 τὴν τοῦ χειρονομεῖν μελέτην ἂν τις φαίη γεγενέαι;

ΚΛ. Σχεδόν, ὦ ξένε, οὐδὲν ἄλλο γε πλὴν τοῦτο αὐτὸ δ 5  
 σὺ νῦν ἔφθεγξαι.

ΑΘ. Τί οὖν; τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἡμῖν μάχιμον ἢ χειρόν τι  
 παρασκευασάμενον τῶν τοιούτων ἀγωνιστῶν εἰς τὸν μέγιστον  
 τῶν ἀγῶνων ἐκάστοτε τολμήσει παριέναι, διαμαχοῦμενον περὶ

- d ψυχῆς καὶ παίδων καὶ χρημάτων καὶ ὅλης τῆς πόλεως; καὶ ταῦτα δὴ φοβηθεὶς αὐτῶν ὁ νομοθέτης τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους γυμνάσια μὴ φαίνεται τισιν γελοῖα, οὐκ ἄρα νομοθετήσει, στρατεύεσθαι προστάττων μάλιστα μὲν ἐκάστης ἡμέρας τὰ  
 5 γε σμικρὰ χωρὶς τῶν ὅπλων, χορούς τε εἰς ταῦτα ἅμα καὶ γυμναστικὴν πᾶσαν συντείνων, τὰς δὲ οἰόν τινας μείζους [τε καὶ ἐλάττους] γυμνασίας μὴ ἔλαττον ἢ κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον ποιεῖσθαι προστάξει, ἀμίλλας τε πρὸς ἀλλήλους ποιουμένους  
 e κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν, ἐπὶ κατάληψιν χωρίων ἀμιλλωμένους καὶ ἐνέδρας, καὶ πᾶσαν μιμουμένους τὴν πολεμικὴν, ὄντως σφαιρομαχεῖν τε καὶ βολαῖς ὡς ἐγγύτατα τῶν ἀληθῶν, χρωμένους ὑποκινδύνους βέλεσιν, ὅπως μὴ παντά-  
 5 πασιν ἄφοβος ἢ πρὸς ἀλλήλους γίγνηται παιδιὰ, δείματα δὲ παρέχῃ καὶ τινα τρόπον δηλοῖ τὸν τε εὐψυχον καὶ τὸν μὴ,  
 831 καὶ τοῖς μὲν τιμάς, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἀτιμίας διανέμων ὀρθῶς, τὴν πόλιν ὅλην εἰς τὸν ἀληθινὸν ἀγῶνα διὰ βίου παρασκευάζῃ χρησίμην, καὶ δὴ καὶ τινος ἀποθανόντος οὕτως, ὡς ἀκουσίου τοῦ φόνου γενομένου, τιθῇ τὸν ἀποκτείναντα κατὰ νόμον  
 5 καθαρθέντα καθαρὸν εἶναι χεῖρας, ἡγούμενος ἀνθρώπων μὲν τελευτησάντων μὴ πολλῶν, ἐτέρους πάλιν οὐ χεῖρους φύσεσθαι, φόβου δὲ οἷον τελευτήσαντος, ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς τοιούτοις βάσανον οὐχ εὐρήσειν τῶν τε ἀμεινόνων καὶ χειρόνων, οὐ  
 b σμικρῷ πόλει μείζον κακὸν ἐκείνου;

ΚΛ. Συμφαίμεν ἂν ἡμεῖς γε, ὦ ξέने, τὰ τοιαῦτα δεῖν καὶ νομοθετεῖν καὶ ἐπιτηδεύειν πόλιν ἅπασαν.

- ΑΘ. Ἄρ' οὖν γιγνώσκομεν ἅπαντες τὴν αἰτίαν διότι ποτὲ  
 5 νῦν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἢ τοιαύτῃ χορεία καὶ ἀγωνία σχεδὸν οὐδαμῇ οὐδαμῶς ἐστίν, εἰ μὴ πάνυ τι σμικρά; ἢ φῶμεν δι' ἀμαθίαν τῶν πολλῶν καὶ τῶν τιθέντων αὐτοῖς τοὺς νόμους;

ΚΛ. Τάχ' ἄν.

- c ΑΘ. Οὐδαμῶς, ὦ μακάριε Κλεινία· δύο δὲ χρὴ φάναι τούτων αἰτίας εἶναι καὶ μάλα ἱκανάς.

ΚΛ. Ποίας;

- ΑΘ. Τὴν μὲν ὑπ' ἔρωτος πλούτου πάντα χρόνον ἄσχολον  
 5 ποιοῦντος τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι πλὴν τῶν ἰδίων κτημάτων, ἐξ ὧν κρεμαμένη πᾶσα ψυχὴ πολίτου παντὸς οὐκ ἂν ποτε δύναίτο τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιμέλειαν ἴσχειν πλὴν τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν κέρδους· καὶ ὅτι μὲν πρὸς τοῦτο φέρει μάθημα ἢ καὶ ἐπιτή-  
 δευμα, ἰδίᾳ πᾶς μανθάνειν τε καὶ ἀσκεῖν ἐτοιμότητός ἐστιν,



τῶν δὲ ἄλλων καταγελαῖ. τοῦτο μὲν ἐν καὶ ταύτην μίαν d  
αἰτίαν χρή φάναι τοῦ μήτε τοῦτο μήτ' ἄλλο μηδὲν καλὸν  
καγαθὸν ἐθέλειν ἐπιτήδευμα πόλιν σπουδάζειν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν  
τοῦ χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου ἀπληστίαν πᾶσαν μὲν τέχνην  
καὶ μηχανήν, καλλίω τε καὶ ἀσχημονεστέραν, ἐθέλειν ὑπο- 5  
μένειν πάντα ἄνδρα, εἰ μέλλει πλούσιος ἔσεσθαι, καὶ πράξιν  
πράττειν ὅσιόν τε καὶ ἀνόσιον καὶ πάντως αἰσχρὰν, μηδὲν  
δυσχεραίνοντα, ἐὰν μόνον ἔχῃ δύναμιν καθάπερ θηρίῳ τοῦ  
φαγεῖν παντοδαπὰ καὶ πιεῖν ὡσαύτως καὶ ἀφροδισίων πᾶσαν e  
πάντως παρασχεῖν πλησμονήν.

ΚΛ. Ὅρθως.

ΑΘ. Αὕτη μὲν τοίνυν, ἣν λέγω, μία κείσθω διακωλύουσα  
αἰτία τοῦ μήτε ἄλλο καλὸν μήτε τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἱκανῶς 5  
ἔωσα ἀσκεῖν τὰς πόλεις, ἀλλ' ἐμπόρους τε καὶ ναυκλήρους  
καὶ διακόνοὺς πάντως τοὺς φύσει κοσμίους τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
ἀπεργαζομένη, τοὺς δὲ ἀνδρείους ληστὰς καὶ τοιχωρύχους καὶ  
ἱεροσύλους καὶ πολεμικοὺς καὶ τυραννικοὺς ποιοῦσα, καὶ μάλ' 832  
ἐνίοτε οὐκ ἀφυεῖς ὄντας, δυστυχοῦντάς γε μὴν.

ΚΛ. Πῶς λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Πῶς μὲν οὖν αὐτοὺς οὐ λέγοιμ' ἂν τὸ παράπαν  
δυστυχεῖς, οἷς γε ἀνάγκη διὰ βίου πεινωσιν τὴν ψυχὴν αἰεὶ 5  
τὴν αὐτῶν διεξελεῖν;

ΚΛ. Αὕτη μὲν τοίνυν μία· τὴν δὲ δὴ δευτέραν αἰτίαν  
τίνα λέγεις, ὦ ξέने;

ΑΘ. Καλῶς ὑπέμνησας.

ΚΛ. Αὕτη μὲν δὴ, φῆς σύ, μία, ἣ διὰ βίου ἀπληστος 10  
ζήτησις, παρέχουσα ἀσχολὸν ἕκαστον, ἐμπόδιος γίνεταί τοῦ b  
μὴ καλῶς ἀσκεῖν τὰ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἑκάστους. ἔστω· τὴν  
δὲ δὴ δευτέραν λέγε.

ΑΘ. Μὴν οὐ λέγειν ἀλλὰ διατρίβειν δοκῶ δι' ἀπορίαν;

ΚΛ. Οὐκ, ἀλλὰ οἷον μισῶν δοκεῖς ἡμῖν κολάζειν τὸ 5  
τοιούτον ἦθος μᾶλλον τοῦ δέοντος τῷ παραπεπτωκότι λόγῳ.

ΑΘ. Κάλλιστα, ὦ ξένοι, ἐπεπλήξατε· καὶ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο  
ἀκούοιτ' ἂν, ὡς ἔοικε.

ΚΛ. Λέγε μόνον.

ΑΘ. Τὰς οὐ πολιτείας ἔγωγε αἰτίας εἶναί φημι ἃς 10  
πολλάκις εἶρηκα ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν λόγοις, δημοκρατίαν καὶ c  
ὀλιγαρχίαν καὶ τυραννίδα. τούτων γὰρ δὴ πολιτεία μὲν  
οὐδεμία, στασιωτεῖαι δὲ πᾶσαι λέγοντ' ἂν ὀρθότατα· ἐκόν-

των γὰρ ἐκοῦσα οὐδεμία, ἀλλ' ἀκόντων ἐκοῦσα ἄρχει σὺν  
 5 αἰί τινι βία, φοβούμενος δὲ ἄρχων ἀρχόμενον οὔτε καλὸν  
 οὔτε πλούσιον οὔτε ἰσχυρὸν οὔτ' ἀνδρεῖον οὔτε τὸ παράπαν  
 πολεμικὸν ἐκὼν ἑάσει γίνεσθαι ποτε. ταῦτ' οὖν ἐστὶ τὰ  
 δύο πάντων μὲν σμικροῦ διαφερόντως αἷτια, τούτων δ' οὖν  
 ὄντως διαφέρει. τὸ δὲ τῆς νῦν πολιτείας, ἣν νομοθετοῦμεν,  
 d & λέγομεν ἐκπέφευγεν ἀμφοτέρω· σχολὴν τε γὰρ ἄγει πον  
 μεγίστην, ἐλεύθεροί τε ἀπ' ἀλλήλων εἰσὶ, φιλοχρήματοι δὲ  
 ἥκιστ' ἂν, οἶμαι, γίνονται ἂν ἐκ τούτων τῶν νόμων, ὥστ'  
 εἰκότως ἅμα καὶ κατὰ λόγον ἡ τοιαύτη κατάστασις πολι-  
 5 τείας μόνῃ δέξαιτ' ἂν τῶν νῦν τὴν διαπερανθεῖσαν παιδείαν  
 τε ἅμα καὶ παιδιὰν πολεμικὴν [ἀποτελεσθεῖσαν ὀρθῶς τῷ  
 λόγῳ].

ΚΛ. Καλῶς.

ΑΘ. Ἐὰρ οὖν οὐ τούτοις ἐφεξῆς ἐστὶν μνησθῆναί ποτε  
 e περὶ ἀπάντων τῶν ἀγώνων τῶν γυμνικῶν, ὥς ὅσα μὲν  
 αὐτῶν πρὸς πόλεμόν ἐστιν ἀγωνίσματα ἐπιτηδεύτεον καὶ  
 θετέον ἄθλα νικητήρια, ὅσα δὲ μὴ, χαίρειν ἑατέον; ἃ δ'  
 ἔστιν, ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀμεινον ῥηθῆναί τε καὶ νομοθετηθῆναι.  
 5 καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὰ περὶ δρόμον καὶ τάχος ὅλως ἄρ' οὐ  
 θετέον;

ΚΛ. Θετέον.

ΑΘ. Ἐστὶ γοῦν πάντων πολεμικώτατον ἡ σώματος  
 ὀξύτης πάντως, ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ποδῶν, ἡ δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν  
 833 χειρῶν· φυγεῖν μὲν καὶ ἐλεῖν ἡ τῶν ποδῶν, ἡ δ' ἐν ταῖς  
 συμπλοκαῖς μάχῃ καὶ σύστασις ἰσχύος καὶ ῥώμης δεομένη.

ΚΛ. Τί μήν;

ΑΘ. Οὐ μὴν χωρὶς γε ὅπλων οὐδετέρα τὴν μεγίστην  
 5 ἔχει χρεῖαν.

ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ ἂν;

ΑΘ. Σταδιοδρόμον δὴ πρῶτον ὁ κῆρυξ ἡμῖν, καθάπερ  
 νῦν, ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι παρακαλεῖ, ὁ δὲ εἴσεισιν ὅπλα ἔχων·  
 ψιλῶ δὲ ἄθλα οὐ θήσομεν ἀγωνιστῇ. πρῶτος δὲ εἴσεισιν  
 10 ὁ τὸ στάδιον ἀμιλλησόμενος σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις, δεύτερος δὲ  
 b ὁ τὸν δίαυλον, καὶ τρίτος ὁ τὸν ἐφίππιον, καὶ δὴ καὶ τέ-  
 τартος ὁ τὸν δόλιχον, καὶ πέμπτος δὲ ὃν ἀφήσομεν πρῶτον  
 ὤπλισμένον, ἐξήκοντα μὲν σταδίων μῆκος πρὸς ἱερὸν Ἄρεώς  
 τι καὶ πάλιν, βαρύτερον, ὀπλίτην ἐπνομαζόντες, λειοτέρας  
 5 ὁδοῦ διαμιλλώμενον, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον, τοξότην πᾶσαν τοξικὴν

ἔχοντα στολὴν, σταδίων δὲ ἑκατὸν πρὸς Ἀπόλλωνός τε καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν τὴν δι' ὁρῶν τε καὶ παντοίας χώρας ἀμιλλω-  
μενον· καὶ τιθέντες τὸν ἀγῶνα μενοῦμεν τούτους, ἕως ἂν  
ἐλθωσι, καὶ τῷ νικῶντι τὰ νικητήρια δώσομεν ἐκάστων.

ΚΛ. Ὁρθῶς.

ΑΘ. Τριττὰ δὴ ταῦτα ἀθλήματα διανοηθῶμεν, ἐν μὲν  
παιδικόν, ἐν δὲ ἀγενείων, ἐν δὲ ἀνδρῶν· καὶ τοῖς μὲν τῶν  
ἀγενείων τὰ δύο τῶν τριῶν τοῦ μήκους τοῦ δρόμου θήσομεν,  
τοῖς δὲ παισὶ τὰ τούτων ἡμίσεα, τοξόταις τε καὶ ὀπλίταις  
ἀμιλλωμένοις, γυναιξὶν δέ, κόραις μὲν ἀνήβοις γυμναῖς  
στάδιον καὶ δίαυλον καὶ ἐφίππιον καὶ δόλιχον, ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ  
δρόμῳ ἀμιλλωμέναις, ταῖς δὲ τριακαιδεκέτεσι μέχρι γάμου  
μενούσαις κοινωνίας μὴ μακρότερον εἴκοσι ἐτῶν μηδ' ἔλαττον  
ὀκτωκαίδεκα· πρεπούση δὲ στολῇ ταύτας ἐσταλμένας κατα-  
βατέον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀμιλλαν τούτων τῶν δρόμων· καὶ τὰ μὲν  
περὶ δρόμους ἀνδράσι τε καὶ γυναιξὶ ταῦτα ἔστω· τὰ δὲ  
κατ' ἰσχύν, ἀντὶ μὲν πάλης καὶ τῶν τοιούτων, τὰ νῦν ὅσα  
βαρέα, τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις μάχην, ἓνα τε πρὸς ἓνα διαμα-  
χομένους καὶ δύο πρὸς δύο, καὶ μέχρι δέκα πρὸς δέκα δια-  
μιλλωμένους ἀλλήλοις. ἃ δὲ τὸν μὴ παθόντα ἢ ποιήσαντα δεῖ  
νικᾶν καὶ εἰς ὅποσα, καθάπερ νῦν ἐν τῇ πάλῃ διανομοθετή-  
σαντο οἱ περὶ τὴν πάλην αὐτὴν τί τοῦ καλῶς παλαίοντος  
ἔργον καὶ μὴ καλῶς, ταῦτόν δὴ καὶ τοὺς περὶ ὀπλομαχίαν  
ἄκρους παρακαλοῦντας χρὴ τούτους συννομοθετεῖν κελεύειν  
τίς νικᾶν ἄρα δίκαιος περὶ ταύτας αὐτὰς μάχας ὅτι μὴ  
παθῶν ἢ δράσας, καὶ τὸν ἡττώμενον ὡσαύτως ἥτις διακρίνει  
τάξις. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν θηλειῶν ἔστω νομοθετούμενα  
τῶν μέχρι γάμου. πελταστικὴν δὲ ὅλην ἀντιστήσαντας δεῖ  
τῇ τοῦ παγκρατίου μάχῃ, τόξοις καὶ πέλταις καὶ ἀκοντίοις  
καὶ λίθῳ ἐκ χειρός τε καὶ σφειδόναις ἀμιλλωμένων, διαθε-  
μένους αὐτὴν περὶ τούτων νόμους, τῷ κάλλιστα ἀποδιδόντι τὰ  
περὶ ταῦτα νόμιμα τὰ γέρα καὶ τὰς νίκας διανέμειν. τὸ δὲ  
μετὰ ταῦτα ἵππων δὴ περὶ ἀγῶνος γίγνοιτο ἐξῆς ἂν νομοθε-  
τούμενα· ἵππων δὲ ἡμῖν χρεῖα μὲν οὔτε τις πολλῶν οὔτε  
πολλή, κατὰ γε δὴ Κρήτην, ὥστε ἀναγκαῖον καὶ τὰς σπουδὰς  
ἐλάττους γίνεσθαι τὰς τε ἐν τῇ τροφῇ καὶ τὰ περὶ ἀγωνίαν  
αὐτῶν. ἄρματος μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸ παράπαν οὔτε τις τροφεὺς  
ἡμῖν ἐστὶν οὔτε τις φιλοτιμία πρὸς ταῦτα οὐδενὶ γίγνεται  
ἂν λόγον ἔχουσα, ὥστε τούτου μὲν ἀγωνιστὰς οὐκ ἐπιχώριον



- ἔσται τιθέντας νοῦν μήτε ἔχειν μήτε δοκεῖν κεκτῆσθαι,  
 c μονίπποις δὲ ἄθλα τιθέντες, πώλοις τε ἀβόλοις καὶ τελείων  
 τε καὶ ἀβόλων τοῖς μέσοις καὶ αὐτοῖς δὴ τοῖς τέλος ἔχουσι,  
 κατὰ φύσιν τῆς χώρας ἂν τὴν ἵππικὴν παιδιὰν ἀποδιδόμειν.  
 ἔστω δὴ τούτων τε αὐτῶν κατὰ νόμον ἄμιλλά τε καὶ φιλο-  
 5 νικία, φυλάρχους τε καὶ ἱππάρχους δεδομένη κοινὴ κρίσις  
 ἀπάντων τῶν τε δρόμων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν καταβαινόντων μεθ'  
 ὅπλων· ψιλοῖς δὲ ὅπλων οὐτ' ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς οὔτε ἐνταῦθα  
 d τιθέντες ἀγωνίας ὀρθῶς ἂν νομοθετοῖμεν. τοξότης δὲ ἀφ'  
 ἵππων Κρῆς οὐκ ἄχρηστος, οὐδ' ἀκοντιστής, ὥστε ἔστω καὶ  
 τούτων παιδιᾶς χάριν ἕρις τε καὶ ἀγωνία. θηλείας δὲ περὶ  
 τούτων νόμοις μὲν καὶ ἐπιτάξεις οὐκ ἄξια βιάζεσθαι τῆς  
 5 κοινωνίας· εἰ δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔμπροσθεν παιδευμάτων  
 εἰς ἔθος ἰόντων ἢ φύσις ἐνδέχεται καὶ μὴ δυσχεραίνει παῖδας  
 ἢ παρθένους κοινωνεῖν, εἰάν καὶ μὴ ψέγειν.  
 e Ἀγωνία δὴ νῦν ἤδη καὶ μάθησις γυμναστικῆς, ὅσα τε  
 ἐν ἀγῶσιν καὶ ὅσα καθ' ἡμέραν <ἐν> διδασκάλων ἐκπονού-  
 μεθα, πάντως ἤδη πέρας ἔχει. καὶ δὴ καὶ μουσικῆς τὰ μὲν  
 πλεῖστα ὡσαύτως διαπεπέρανται, τὰ δὲ ραψῳδῶν καὶ τῶν  
 5 τούτοις ἐπομένων, καὶ ὅσαι ἐν ἑορταῖς ἄμιλλαι χορῶν ἀνα-  
 γκαῖαι γίνεσθαι, ταχθέντων τοῖς θεοῖς τε καὶ τοῖς μετὰ  
 θεῶν μηνῶν καὶ ἡμερῶν καὶ ἐνιαυτῶν, κοσμηθήσονται τότε,  
 835 εἴτε τριετηρίδες εἴτε αὖ καὶ διὰ πέμπτων ἐτῶν, εἴθ' ὅπη καὶ  
 ὅπως ἔννοιαν διδόντων τῶν θεῶν τάξεως περὶ διανεμηθῶσιν·  
 τότε καὶ τοὺς μουσικῆς ἀγῶνας χρή προσδοκᾶν κατὰ μέρος  
 ἀγωνιεῖσθαι ταχθέντας ὑπὸ τε ἀθλοθετῶν καὶ τοῦ παιδευτοῦ  
 5 τῶν νέων καὶ τῶν νομοφυλάκων, εἰς κοινὸν περὶ αὐτῶν  
 τούτων συνελθόντων καὶ γενομένων νομοθετῶν αὐτῶν, τοῦ  
 τε πότε καὶ τίνες καὶ μετὰ τίνων τοὺς ἀγῶνας ποιήσονται  
 περὶ ἀπάντων χορῶν καὶ χορείας. οἷα δὲ ἕκαστα αὐτῶν  
 b εἶναι δεῖ κατὰ λόγον καὶ κατ' ὥδ' αὖ καὶ καθ' ἀρμονίας ρυθμοῖς  
 κραθείσας καὶ ὀρχήσεσι, πολλάκις εἴρηται τῷ πρώτῳ νομο-  
 θέτῃ, καθ' ᾧ τοὺς δευτέρους δεῖ μεταδιώκοντας νομοθετεῖν,  
 καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας πρεπόντως ἐκάστοις θύμασιν ἐν χρόνοις  
 5 προσήκουσι νείμαντας, ἑορτὰς ἀποδοῦναι τῇ πόλει ἑορτάζειν.  
 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα οὔτε χαλεπὸν γνῶναι τίνα  
 τρόπον χρή τάξεως ἐννόμου λαγχάνειν, οὐδ' αὖ μετατιθέ-  
 c μενα ἔνθα ἢ ἔνθα μέγα τῇ πόλει κέρδος ἢ ζημίαν ἂν φέροι·  
 ᾧ δὲ μὴ σμικρὸν διαφέρει, πείθειν τε χαλεπόν, θεοῦ μὲν



μάλιστα ἔργον, εἴ πως οἶόν τε ἦν ἐπιτάξεις αὐτὰς παρ' ἐκείνου γίνεσθαι, νῦν δὲ ἀνθρώπου τολμηροῦ κινδυνεύει δεῖσθαι τινος, ὃς παρρησίαν διαφερόντως τιμῶν ἐρεῖ τὰ δοκοῦντα ἄριστ' εἶναι πόλει καὶ πολίταις, ἐν ψυχαῖς 5 διεφθαρμέναις τὸ πρόπον καὶ ἐπόμενον πάσῃ τῇ πολιτείᾳ τάττων, ἐναντία λέγων ταῖς μεγίσταισιν ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ οὐκ ἔχων βοηθὸν ἀνθρωπον οὐδένα, λόγῳ ἐπόμενος μόνῳ μόνος.

ΚΛ. Τίν' αὖ νῦν, ὦ ξέने, λόγον λέγομεν; οὐ γάρ πω d μανθάνομεν.

ΑΘ. Εἰκότως γε· ἀλλὰ δὴ πειράσομαι ἐγὼ φράζειν ὑμῖν ἔτι σαφέστερον. ὥς γὰρ εἰς παιδείαν ἦλθον τῷ λόγῳ, εἶδον νέους τε καὶ νέας ὁμιλοῦντας φιλοφρόνως ἀλλήλοις, 5 εἰσηλθεν δέ με, οἷον εἰκός, φοβηθῆναι συνοήσαντα τί τις χρήσεται τῇ τοιαύτῃ πόλει ἐν ἣ δὴ νέοι μὲν νέαι τε εὐτρεφεῖς εἰσὶ, πόνων δὲ σφοδρῶν καὶ ἀνελευθέρων, οἱ μάλιστα ὕβριν σβεννύουσιν, ἀργοί, θυσίαι δὲ καὶ ἑορταὶ καὶ e χοροὶ πᾶσιν μέλουσιν διὰ βίου. τίνα δὴ ποτε τρόπον ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει ἀφέξονται τῶν πολλοὺς δὴ πολλὰ ἐπιθυμιῶν εἰς ἔσχατα βαλλουσῶν, ὧν ἂν ὁ λόγος προστάτῃ ἀπέχ- 5 χεσθαι, νόμος ἐπιχειρῶν γίνεσθαι; καὶ τῶν μὲν πολλῶν οὐ θαυμαστὸν ἐπιθυμιῶν εἰ κρατοῖ τὰ πρόσθεν νόμιμα ταχ- 836 θέντα—τὸ γὰρ μὴ πλουτεῖν τε ἐξεῖναι ὑπερβαλλόντως ἀγαθὸν πρὸς τὸ σωφρονεῖν οὐ σμικρόν, καὶ πᾶσα ἡ παιδεία μετρίους πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτ' εἴληφεν νόμους, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἡ τῶν ἀρχόντων ὄψις διηναγκασμένη μὴ ἀποβλέπειν ἄλλοσε, τηρεῖν δ' αἰεὶ, τοὺς νέους τ' αὐτούς, πρὸς μὲν τὰς ἄλλας 5 ἐπιθυμίας, ὅσα γε ἀνθρώπινα, μέτρον ἔχει—τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἐρώτων παίδων τε ἀρρένων καὶ θηλειῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν γυναικῶν ὅθεν δὴ μυρία γέγονεν ἀνθρώποις ἰδίᾳ b καὶ ὅλαις πόλεσιν, πῶς τις τοῦτο διευλαβοῖτ' ἂν, καὶ τί τεμῶν φάρμακον τούτοις ἐκάστοις τοῦ τοιοῦτου κινδύνου διαφυγὴν εὐρήσει; πάντως οὐ ράδιον, ὦ Κλεινία. καὶ γὰρ οὐν πρὸς μὲν ἄλλα οὐκ ὀλίγα ἡ Κρήτη τε ἡμῖν ὅλη καὶ ἡ 5 Λακεδαιμῶν βοήθειαν ἐπιεικῶς οὐ σμικρὰν συμβάλλονται τιθεῖσι νόμους ἀλλοίους τῶν πολλῶν τρόπων, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐρώτων—αὐτοὶ γάρ ἐσμεν—ἐναντιοῦνται παντάπασιν. εἰ γάρ τις ἀκολουθῶν τῇ φύσει θήσῃ τὸν πρὸ τοῦ Λαῖου c νόμον, λέγων ὥς ὀρθῶς εἶχεν τὸ τῶν ἀρρένων καὶ νέων μὴ κοινωνεῖν καθάπερ θηλειῶν πρὸς μεῖζιν ἀφροδισίων, μάρ-

5 τυρα παραγόμενος τὴν τῶν θηρίων φύσιν καὶ δεικνὺς πρὸς  
 τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐχ ἀπτόμενον ἄρρενα ἄρρενος διὰ τὸ μὴ φύσει  
 τοῦτο εἶναι, τάχ' ἂν χρῶτο ἀπιθάνῳ λόγῳ, καὶ ταῖς ὑμετέραις  
 πόλεσιν οὐδαμῶς συμφώνῳ. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, ὃ διὰ παντός  
 d φαμεν δεῖν τὸν νομοθέτην τηρεῖν, τοῦτο ἐν τούτοις οὐχ  
 ὁμολογεῖ. ζητοῦμεν γὰρ αἰεὶ δὴ τί τῶν τιθεμένων πρὸς  
 ἀρετὴν φέρει καὶ τί μὴ· φέρε δὴ, τοῦτο ἔαν συγχωρῶμεν  
 καλὸν ἢ μηδαμῶς αἰσχρὸν νομοθετεῖσθαι τὰ νῦν, τί μέρος  
 5 ἡμῖν συμβάλλοιτ' ἂν πρὸς ἀρετὴν; πότερον ἐν τῇ τοῦ  
 πεισθέντος ψυχῇ γιγνόμενον ἐμφύσεται τὸ τῆς ἀνδρείας  
 ἦθος, ἢ ἐν τῇ τοῦ πείσαντος τὸ τῆς σώφρονος ιδέας γένος;  
 ἢ ταῦτα μὲν οὐδεὶς ἂν πεισθείη ποτέ, μᾶλλον δέ, ἅπαν  
 τούτου τοῦναντίον, τοῦ μὲν ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ὑπέικοντος καὶ  
 e καρτερεῖν οὐ δυναμένου ψέξει πᾶς τὴν μαλακίαν, τοῦ δ' εἰς  
 μίμησιν τοῦ θήλεος ἰόντος τὴν τῆς εἰκόνης ὁμοιότητα ἄρ'  
 οὐ μέμψεται; τίς οὖν ἀνθρώπων τοῦτο ὃν τοιοῦτον νομο-  
 θετήσῃ; σχεδὸν οὐδεὶς, ἔχων γε ἐν τῷ νῷ νόμον ἀληθῆ.  
 5 πῶς οὖν φαμέν ἀληθὲς τοῦτο εἶναι; τὴν τῆς φιλίας τε καὶ  
 837 ἐπιθυμίας ἅμα καὶ τῶν λεγομένων ἐρώτων φύσιν ἰδεῖν  
 ἀναγκαῖον, εἰ μέλλει τις ταῦτα ὀρθῶς διανοηθήσεσθαι· δύο  
 γὰρ ὄντα αὐτά, καὶ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τρίτον ἄλλο εἶδος, ἐν ὀνομα  
 περιλαβὼν πᾶσαν ἀπορίαν καὶ σκότον ἀπεργάζεται.

5 ΚΛ. Πῶς;

ΑΘ. Φίλον μὲν που καλοῦμεν ὅμοιον ὁμοίῳ κατ' ἀρετὴν  
 καὶ ἴσον ἴσῳ, φίλον δ' αὖ καὶ τὸ δεόμενον τοῦ πεπλουτη-  
 κότης, ἐναντίον ὃν τῷ γένει· ὅταν δὲ ἐκάτερον γίγνηται  
 σφοδρόν, ἔρωτα ἐπονομάζομεν.

b ΚΛ. Ὅρθῶς.

ΑΘ. Φιλία τοίνυν ἢ μὲν ἀπὸ ἐναντίων δεινὴ καὶ ἀγρία  
 καὶ τὸ κοινὸν οὐ πολλάκις ἔχουσα ἐν ἡμῖν, ἢ δ' ἐκ τῶν  
 ὁμοίων ἡμερός τε καὶ κοινὴ διὰ βίου· μεικτὴ δὲ ἐκ τούτων  
 5 γενομένη πρῶτον μὲν καταμαθεῖν οὐ ῥαδία, τί ποτε βούλοιτ'  
 ἂν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τὸν τρίτον ἔρωτά τις ἔχων τοῦτον, ἔπειτα  
 εἰς τοῦναντίον ὑπ' ἀμφοῖν ἐλκόμενος ἀπορεῖ, τοῦ μὲν κελεύ-  
 οντος τῆς ὥρας ἅπτεσθαι, τοῦ δὲ ἀπαγορεύοντος. ὁ μὲν  
 c γὰρ τοῦ σώματος ἐρῶν, καὶ τῆς ὥρας καθάπερ ὀπώρας  
 πεινῶν, ἐμπλησθῆναι παρακελεύεται ἑαυτῷ, τιμὴν οὐδεμίαν  
 ἀπονέμων τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡθελῶν τοῦ ἐρωμένου· ὁ δὲ πάρεργον  
 μὲν τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἐπιθυμίαν ἔχων, ὀρῶν δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ

ἐρῶν, τῇ ψυχῇ δὲ ὄντως τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιτεθυμηκῶς, ὕβριν 5  
 ἡγῆται τὴν περὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ σώματος πλησμονήν, τὸ  
 σῶφρον δὲ καὶ ἀνδρεῖον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ τὸ φρόνιμον  
 αἰδούμενος ἅμα καὶ σεβόμενος, ἀγνεύειν αἰεὶ μεθ' ἀγνεύοντος  
 τοῦ ἐρωμένου βούλοιτ' ἄν· ὁ δὲ μειχθεὶς ἐξ ἁμφοῖν γ' d  
 ἔρως οὗτός ἐσθ' ὃν νῦν διεληλύθαμεν ὡς τρίτον. ὄντων δὲ  
 τούτων τοσούτων, πότερον ἅπαντας δεῖ κωλύειν τὸν νόμον,  
 ἀπείργοντα μὴ γίνεσθαι ἐν ἡμῖν, ἢ δῆλον ὅτι τὸν μὲν  
 ἀρετῆς ὄντα καὶ τὸν νέον ἐπιθυμοῦντα ὡς ἄριστον γίνεσθαι 5  
 βουλοίμεθ' ἄν ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐνεῖναι, τοὺς δὲ δύο,  
 εἰ δυνατόν εἴη, κωλύοιμεν ἄν; ἢ πῶς λέγομεν, ὦ φίλε  
 Μέγилле;

ME. Πάντη τοι καλῶς, ὦ ξέने, περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων  
 εἵρηκας τὰ νῦν. e

AΘ. Ἐοικά γε, ὅπερ καὶ ἐτόπαζον, τυχεῖν τῆς σῆς, ὦ  
 φίλε, συνωδίας· τὸν δὲ νόμον ὑμῶν, ὅτι νοεῖ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα,  
 οὐδέν με ἐξετάζειν δεῖ, δέχεσθαι δὲ τὴν τῷ λόγῳ συγχώ-  
 ρησιν. Κλεινία δὲ [μετὰ ταῦτα] καὶ εἰς αὐθις περὶ αὐτῶν 5  
 τούτων πειράσομαι ἐπάδων πείθειν· τὸ δέ μοι δεδομένον  
 ὑπὸ σφῶν ἵτω, καὶ διεξέλθωμεν πάντως τοὺς νόμους.

ME. Ὅρθότατα λέγεις.

AΘ. Τέχνην δὴ τιν' αὖ τούτου τοῦ νόμου τῆς θέσεως  
 ἐν τῷ νῦν παρόντι τὴν μὲν ῥαδίαν ἔχω, τὴν δ' αὖ τινα 838  
 τρόπον παντάπασι ὡς οἶόν τε χαλεπωτάτην.

ME. Πῶς δὴ λέγεις;

AΘ. Ἴσμεν που καὶ τὰ νῦν τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ἀνθρώ-  
 πων, καίπερ παρανόμους ὄντας, ὡς εὖ τε καὶ ἀκριβῶς εἴρ- 5  
 γονται τῆς τῶν καλῶν συνουσίας οὐκ ἄκοντες, ὡς οἶόν τε  
 δὲ μάλιστα ἐκόντες.

ME. Πότε λέγεις;

AΘ. Ὅταν ἀδελφὸς ἢ ἀδελφὴ τῷ γένωνται καλοί. καὶ  
 περὶ υἱὸς ἢ θυγατὶς ὁ αὐτὸς νόμος ἄγραφος ὢν ὡς οἶόν b  
 τε ἱκανώτατα φυλάττει μήτε φανερώς μήτε λάθρα συγκαθεύ-  
 δοντα ἢ πῶς ἄλλως ἀσπαζόμενον ἄπτεσθαι τούτων· ἀλλ'  
 οὐδ' ἐπιθυμία ταύτης τῆς συνουσίας τὸ παράπαν εἰσέρχεται  
 τοὺς πολλούς. 5

ME. Ἀληθῆ λέγεις.

AΘ. Οὐκοῦν σμικρὸν ῥῆμα κατασβέννυσι πάσας τὰς  
 τοιαύτας ἡδονάς;



ME. Τὸ ποῖον δὴ λέγεις;

10 AΘ. Τὸ ταῦτα εἶναι φάναι μηδαμῶς ὅσια, θεομισῇ δέ  
 c καὶ αἰσchrῶν αἰσχιστα. τὸ δ' αἴτιον ἄρ' οὐ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ, τὸ  
 μηδένα ἄλλως λέγειν αὐτά, ἀλλ' εὐθύς γενόμενον ἡμῶν  
 ἕκαστον ἀκούειν τε λεγόντων αἰεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ ταῦτα, ἐν  
 5 γελοίοις τε ἅμα ἐν πάσῃ τε σπουδῇ τραγικῇ λεγόμενα πολ-  
 λάκις, ὅταν ἢ Θυέστας ἢ τινας Οἰδίποδας εἰσάγωσιν, ἢ  
 Μακαρέας τινὰς ἀδελφαῖς μειχθέντας λαθραίως, ὀφθέντας  
 δὲ ἐτοίμως θάνατον αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιθέντας δίκην τῆς ἁμαρτίας;

d ME. Ὅρθότατα λέγεις τό γε τοσοῦτον, ὅτι τὸ τῆς φή-  
 μης θαυμαστήν τινα δύναμιν εἵληχεν, ὅταν μηδεὶς μηδαμῶς  
 ἄλλως ἀναπνεῖν ἐπιχειρήσῃ ποτέ παρὰ τὸν νόμον.

AΘ. Οὐκοῦν ὀρθόν τὸ νυνδὴ ῥηθέν, ὅτι νομοθέτῃ, βου-  
 λομένῳ τινὰ ἐπιθυμίαν δουλώσασθαι τῶν διαφερόντως τοὺς  
 5 ἀνθρώπους δουλουμένων, ῥᾶδιον γινῶναι γε ὄντινα τρόπον  
 χειρώσαιοι ἄν· ὅτι καθιερώσας ταύτην τὴν φήμην παρὰ πᾶσι,  
 δούλοις τε καὶ ἐλευθέροις καὶ παισὶ καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ ὅλῃ  
 τῇ πόλει κατὰ τὰ αὐτά, οὕτω τὸ βεβαιότατον ἀπειργασμένος  
 e ἔσται περὶ τοῦτον τὸν νόμον.

ME. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν· ὅπως δὲ αὖ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐθέλοντας  
 λέγειν πάντας δυνατὸν ἔσται ποτέ παρασχεῖν—

AΘ. Καλῶς ὑπέλαβες· αὐτὸ γὰρ τοῦτο ἦν τὸ παρ' ἐμοῦ  
 5 λεχθέν, ὅτι τέχνην ἐγὼ πρὸς τοῦτον τὸν νόμον ἔχοιμι τοῦ  
 κατὰ φύσιν χρῆσθαι τῇ τῆς παιδογονίας συνουσίᾳ, τοῦ μὲν  
 ἄρρενος ἀπεχομένους, μὴ κτείνοντάς τε ἐκ προνοίας τὸ τῶν  
 ἀνθρώπων γένος, μηδ' εἰς πέτρας τε καὶ λίθους σπεύροντας,  
 839 οὐ μήποτε φύσιν τὴν αὐτοῦ ριζωθὲν λήψεται γόνιμον, ἀπε-  
 χομένους δὲ ἀρούρας θηλείας πάσης ἐν ἣ μὴ βούλοιο ἄν  
 σοι φύεσθαι τὸ σπαρέν. ὁ δὲ νόμος οὗτος διηνεκῆς μὲν  
 γενόμενος ἅμα καὶ κρατήσας—καθάπερ νῦν περὶ τὰς τῶν  
 5 γονέων συμμείξεις κρατεῖ, ἐὰν καὶ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας νικῆσῃ  
 δικαίως—μυρία ἀγαθὰ ἔχει. κατὰ φύσιν μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον  
 κεῖται, λύττης δὲ ἐρωτικῆς καὶ μανίας καὶ μοιχειῶν πασῶν  
 καὶ πωμάτων καὶ σίτων εἶργεσθαι ποιεῖ τῶν ἀμέτρων  
 b πάντων, γυναιξὶ τε αὐτῶν οἰκείους εἶναι φίλους· ἄλλα  
 τε πάμπολλα ἀγαθὰ γίνονται ἄν, εἰ τοῦ νόμου τις τοῦτου  
 δύναιτο ἐγκρατὴς εἶναι. τάχα δ' ἄν ἡμῖν τις παραστὰς  
 ἀνὴρ σφοδρὸς καὶ νέος, πολλοῦ σπέρματος μεστός, ἀκούων  
 5 τιθεμένου τοῦ νόμου λαιδωρήσειεν ἄν ὡς ἀνόητα καὶ ἀδύνατα



τιθέντων νόμιμα, καὶ βοῆς πάντα ἐμπλήσειε· πρὸς αὐτὴν δὲ καὶ βλέψας ἐγὼ τοῦτο εἶπον τὸ ῥῆμα, ὥς τινα τέχνην κεκτημένην, τῇ μὲν ῥάστην ἀπασῶν, τῇ δὲ χαλεπωτάτην, πρὸς τὸ τοῦτον τεθέντα ἐμμεῖναι τὸν νόμον. νοῆσαι μὲν γὰρ δὴ ῥάστον ὡς δυνατόν τέ ἐστιν καὶ ὅπη—φαμέν γὰρ δὴ καθιερωθὲν τοῦτο ἱκανῶς τὸ νόμιμον πᾶσαν ψυχὴν δουλώσεσθαι καὶ παντάπασιν μετὰ φόβου ποιήσῃν πείθεσθαι τοῖς τεθείσιν νόμοις—ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰς τοῦτο προβέβηκε νῦν, ὥστ' οὐδ' ἂν τότε γενέσθαι δοκεῖ, καθάπερ τὸ τῶν συσσιτίων ἐπιτηδεύμα ἀπιστεῖται μὴ δυνατόν εἶναι δύνασθαι διὰ βίου πόλιν ὅλην ζῆν πράττουσαν τοῦτο, ἐλεγχθὲν δ' ἔργῳ καὶ γεγόμενον παρ' ὑμῖν, ὅμως ἔτι τό γε γυναικῶν οὐδὲ ἐν ταῖς ὑμετέραις πόλεσιν δοκεῖ φύσιν ἔχειν γίνεσθαι. ταύτῃ δ' αὖ, διὰ τὴν τῆς ἀπιστίας ῥώμην, εἴρηκα ἀμφοτέρωτα ταῦτα εἶναι παγχάλεπα μεῖναι κατὰ νόμον.

ΜΕ. Ὅρθως γε σὺ λέγων.

ΑΘ. Ὡς δ' οὖν οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων, οἷόν τε δὲ γενέσθαι, βούλεσθε ὑμῖν πειραθῶ τινα λόγον ἐχόμενον πιθανότητος εἰπεῖν τινος;

ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

ΑΘ. Πότερον οὖν τις ἀφροδισίων ῥᾶον ἂν ἀπέχοιτο, καὶ τὸ ταχθὲν ἐθέλοι περὶ αὐτὰ μετρίως ποιεῖν, εὖ τὸ σῶμα ἔχων καὶ μὴ ἰδιωτικῶς, ἢ φαύλως;

ΚΛ. Πολύ που μᾶλλον μὴ ἰδιωτικῶς.

ΑΘ. Ἄρ' οὖν οὐκ ἴσμεν τὸν Ταραντῖνον Ἴκκον ἀκοῇ διὰ τὸν Ὀλυμπίασιν τε ἀγῶνα καὶ τοὺς [τε] ἄλλους; ὧν διὰ φιλονικίαν, καὶ τέχνην καὶ τὸ μετὰ τοῦ σωφρονεῖν ἀνδρεῖον ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ κεκτημένος, ὥς λόγος, οὔτε τινὸς πώποτε γυναικὸς ἤψατο οὐδ' αὖ παιδὸς ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ τῆς ἀσκήσεως ἀκμῇ· καὶ δὴ καὶ Κρίσωνα καὶ Ἀστύλον καὶ Διόπομπον καὶ ἄλλους καὶ πολλοὺς ὁ αὐτός που λόγος ἔχει. καίτοι τῶν γ' ἐμῶν καὶ σῶν πολιτῶν, ὦ Κλεινία, πολὺ κάκιον ἦσαν πεπαιδευμένοι τὰς ψυχάς, τὰ δὲ σώματα πολὺ μᾶλλον σφριγῶντες.

ΚΛ. Ἀληθῇ ταῦτα λέγεις ὅτι σφόδρα ὑπὸ τῶν παιδῶν ἐστὶν εἰρημένα περὶ τούτων τῶν ἀθλητῶν ὡς ὄντως ποτὲ γεγόμενα.

ΑΘ. Τί οὖν; οἱ μὲν ἄρα νίκης ἕνεκα πάλης καὶ δρόμων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐτόλμησαν ἀπέχεσθαι λεγομένου πράγματος ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν εὐδαίμονος, οἱ δὲ ἡμέτεροι παῖδες

c ἀδυνατήσουσι καρτερεῖν πολὺ καλλίονος ἔνεκα νίκης, ἣν ἡμεῖς καλλίστην ἐκ παίδων πρὸς αὐτοὺς λέγοντες ἐν μύθοις τε καὶ ἐν ῥήμασιν καὶ ἐν μέλεσιν ᾄδοντες, ὥς εἰκός, κηλήσομεν;

ΚΛ. Ποίας;

5 ΑΘ. Τῆς τῶν ἡδονῶν νίκης· <ῆς> ἐγκρατεῖς ὄντας ἂν ζῆν εὐδαιμόνως, ἡττωμένους δὲ τούναντίον ἅπαν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἔτι φόβος ὁ τοῦ μηδαμῇ μηδαμῶς ὅσιον αὐτὸ εἶναι δύναμιν ἡμῖν οὐκ ἄρα ἔξει κρατεῖν ὧν ἄλλοι κεκρατήκασι τούτων ὄντες χεῖρονες;

10 ΚΛ. Εἰκός γοῦν.

ΑΘ. Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐνταῦθά ἐσμεν τούτου τοῦ νομίμου d πέρι, διὰ κάκην δὲ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν εἰς ἀπορίαν ἐπέσομεν, φημὶ τὸ μὲν ἡμέτερον νόμιμον ἀτεχνῶς δεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων πορεύεσθαι λέγον ὥς οὐ δεῖ χεῖρους ἡμῖν εἶναι τοὺς πολίτας ὀρνίθων καὶ ἄλλων θηρίων πολλῶν, οἳ κατὰ μεγάλας 5 ἀγέλας γεννηθέντες, μέχρι μὲν παιδογονίας ἡίθεοι καὶ ἀκήρατοι γάμων τε ἄγνοι ζῶσιν, ὅταν δ' εἰς τοῦτο ἡλικίας ἔλθωσι, συνδυσασθέντες ἄρρην θηλεία κατὰ χάριν καὶ θήλεια ἄρρενι, τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως ζῶσιν, ἐμμένοντες βεβαίως ταῖς πρώταις τῆς φιλίας ὁμολογίαις· δεῖν e δὴ θηρίων γε αὐτοὺς ἀμείνους εἶναι. ἐὰν δ' οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων τῶν πλείστων διαφθείρωνται, τὴν λεγομένην ἄτακτον Ἀφροδίτην ἐν αὐτοῖς ὀρώντες 5 τε καὶ ἀκούοντες μέγιστον δυναμένην, καὶ οὕτω δὴ μὴ δυνατοὶ γίνωνται κατακρατεῖν, δεῦτερον νόμον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς μηχανᾶσθαι χρὴ τοὺς νομοφύλακας νομοθέτας γενομένους.

841 ΚΛ. Τίνα δὴ συμβουλευεῖς αὐτοῖς τίθεσθαι νόμον, ἐὰν ὁ νῦν τιθέμενος αὐτοὺς ἐκφύγῃ;

ΑΘ. Δῆλον ὅτι τὸν ἐχόμενον τούτου δεῦτερον, ὦ Κλεινία.

5 ΚΛ. Τίνα λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Ἀγύμαστον ὅτι μάλιστα ποιεῖν τὴν τῶν ἡδονῶν ῥώμην ἦν, τὴν ἐπίχυσιν καὶ τροφήν αὐτῆς διὰ πόνων ἄλλοσε τρέποντα τοῦ σώματος. εἴη δ' ἂν τοῦτο, εἰ ἀναίδεια μὴ ἐνεῖη τῇ τῶν ἀφροδισίων χρήσει· σπανίῳ γὰρ αὖ τῷ τοιούτῳ b δι' αἰσχύνην χρώμενοι, ἀσθενεστέραν ἂν αὐτὴν δέσποιναν κτῶντο ὀλιγάκις χρώμενοι. τὸ δὴ λανθάνειν τούτων δρώντά τι καλὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔστω, νόμιμον ἔθει καὶ ἀγράφῳ νομι-

σθὲν νόμῳ, τὸ δὲ μὴ λανθάνειν αἰσχρὸν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ μὴ  
πάντως δρᾶν. οὕτω τοῦτο αἰσχρὸν αὖ καὶ καλὸν δευτέρως 5  
ἂν ἡμῖν ἐν νόμῳ γενόμενον κέοιτο, ὀρθότητα ἔχον δευτέραν,  
καὶ τοὺς τὰς φύσεις διεφθαρμένους, οὓς ἤττους αὐτῶν προσ-  
αγορεύομεν, ἐν γένος ὄν, περιλαβόντα τρία γένη βιάζοιτ' c  
ἂν μὴ παρανομεῖν.

ΚΛ. Ποῖα δὴ;

ΑΘ. Τό τε θεοσεβὲς ἅμα καὶ φιλότιμον καὶ τὸ μὴ τῶν  
σωμάτων ἀλλὰ τῶν τρόπων τῆς ψυχῆς ὄντων καλῶν γεγονὸς 5  
ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ. ταῦτα δὴ καθάπερ ἴσως ἐν μύθῳ τὰ νῦν  
λεγόμεν' ἐστὶν εὐχαί, πολὺ γε μὴν ἄριστα, εἴπερ γίγνοιτο,  
ἐν πάσαις πόλεσι γίγνοιτο ἄν. τάχα δ' ἂν, εἰ θεὸς ἐθέλοι,  
κἂν δυοῖν θάτερα βιασαίμεθα περὶ ἐρωτικῶν, ἢ μηδὲνα d  
τολμᾶν μηδεὶνός ἄπτεσθαι τῶν γενναίων ἅμα καὶ ἐλευθέρων  
πλὴν γαμετῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικός, ἄθνητα δὲ παλλακῶν σπέρ-  
ματα καὶ νόθα μὴ σπείρειν, μηδὲ ἄγονα ἀρρένων παρὰ  
φύσιν· ἢ τὸ μὲν τῶν ἀρρένων πάμπαν ἀφελοίμεθ' ἂν, τὸ 5  
δὲ γυναικῶν, εἴ τις συγγίγνοιτό τινι πλὴν ταῖς μετὰ θεῶν  
καὶ ἱερῶν γάμων ἐλθούσαις εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, ὠνηταῖς εἴτε  
ἄλλῳ ὁπωσοῦν τρόπῳ κτηταῖς, μὴ λανθάνων ἀνδρας τε καὶ e  
γυναῖκας πάσας, τάχ' ἂν ἄτιμον αὐτὸν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει  
ἐπαίνων νομοθετοῦντες ὀρθῶς ἂν δόξαιμεν νομοθετεῖν,  
ὡς ὄντως ὄντα ξενικόν. οὗτος δὴ νόμος, εἴτε εἰς εἴτε 5  
δύο αὐτοὺς χρή προσαγορεύειν, κείσθω περὶ ἀφροδισίων  
καὶ ἀπάντων τῶν ἐρωτικῶν, ὅσα πρὸς ἀλλήλους διὰ τὰς 842  
τοιαύτας ἐπιθυμίας ὀμιλοῦντες ὀρθῶς τε καὶ οὐκ ὀρθῶς  
πράττομεν.

ΜΕ. Καὶ τοίνυν, ὦ ξέने, ἐγὼ μὲν σοι σφόδρα δεχοίμην  
ἂν τοῦτον τὸν νόμον, ὁ δὲ δὴ Κλεινίας αὐτὸς φραζέτω τί 5  
ποτε περὶ αὐτῶν διανοεῖται.

ΚΛ. Ἔσται ταῦτα, ὦ Μέγилле, ὅποταν γε δὴ μοι δόξη  
τις παραπεπτωκέναι καιρός· νῦν μὴν ἐώμεν τὸν ξένον ἔτι  
εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν προΐεναι τῶν νόμων.

ΜΕ. Ὅρθῶς.

ΑΘ. Ἀλλὰ μὴν νῦν γε προΐοντες ἤδη σχεδὸν ἐσμεν 10  
ἐν τῷ κατεσκευάσθαι μὲν συσσίτια—ὃ φαμεν ἄλλοθι μὲν  
ἂν χαλεπὸν εἶναι, ἐν Κρήτῃ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἄλλως ἂν ὑπολάβοι  
δεῖν γίγνεσθαι—τὸ δὲ τίνα τρόπον, πότερον ὡς ἐνθάδε ἢ  
καθάπερ ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, ἢ παρὰ ταῦτα ἔστιν τι τρίτον εἶδος 5



- συσσιτίων ἀμφοῖν τούτοις ἄμεινον ἂν ἔχον, τοῦτο οὐτ' ἐξευ-  
 ρεῖν μοι χαλεπὸν εἶναι δοκεῖ, μέγα τε ἀγαθὸν εὐρεθὲν οὐδὲν  
 ἀπεργάσασθαι· καὶ γὰρ νῦν ἐμμελῶς ἔχειν κατεσκευασμένα.  
 c Τούτοις δ' ἐστὶν ἀκόλουθον ἢ τοῦ βίου κατασκευή, τίν'  
 αὐτοῖς ἂν τρόπον ἔποιτο. βίος δὴ ἄλλαις μὲν πόλεσιν  
 παντοδαπῶς ἂν καὶ πολλαχόθεν εἴη, μάλιστα δὲ ἐκ διπλα-  
 σίων ἢ τούτοις· ἐκ γῆς γὰρ καὶ ἐκ θαλάττης τοῖς πλείστοις  
 5 τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐστὶ κατεσκευασμένα τὰ περὶ τὴν τροφήν,  
 τούτοις δὲ μόνον ἐκ γῆς. τῷ μὲν οὖν νομοθέτῃ τοῦτο ῥᾶον·  
 d οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἡμίσεις αὖ γίνονται νόμοι μέτριοι, πολὺ δ'  
 ἐλάττους, ἔτι δ' ἐλευθέροις ἀνθρώποις μᾶλλον πρέποντες.  
 ναυκληρικῶν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐμπορικῶν καὶ καπηλευτικῶν καὶ  
 πανδοκεύσεων καὶ τελωνικῶν καὶ μεταλλειῶν καὶ δανεισμῶν  
 5 καὶ ἐπιτόκων τόκων καὶ ἄλλων μυρίων τοιούτων τὰ πολλὰ  
 ἀπήλλακται, χαίρειν αὐτοῖς εἰπὼν, ὃ περὶ ταύτην τὴν πόλιν  
 νομοθέτης, γεωργοῖς δὲ καὶ νομεῦσι καὶ μελιττουργοῖς καὶ  
 τοῖς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα φυλακτηρίοις τε καὶ ἐπιστάταις ὀργάνων  
 e νομοθετήσῃ, τὰ μέγιστα ἤδη νενομοθετηκῶς περὶ γάμους  
 ἅμα καὶ γενέσεις παίδων καὶ τροφὰς ἔτι δὲ καὶ παιδείας  
 ἀρχῶν τε καταστάσεις ἐν τῇ πόλει· νῦν δ' ἐπὶ [τούς] τὴν  
 τροφήν καὶ ὅσοι περὶ αὐτὴν ταύτην συνδιαπονοῦσιν ἀναγκαῖον  
 5 νομοθετοῦντά ἐστιν τρέπεσθαι.

- Πρῶτον δὴ νόμοι ἔστωσαν λεγόμενοι τοῦνομα γεωργικοί.  
 Διὸς ὀρίου μὲν πρῶτος νόμος ὃδε εἰρήσθω· Μὴ κινεῖτω γῆς  
 ὅρια μηδεὶς μήτε οἰκείου πολίτου γείτονος, μήτε ὁμοτέρμονος  
 ἐπ' ἐσχατιᾷς κεκτημένος ἄλλῳ ξένῳ γειτονῶν, νομίσας τὸ  
 843 τὰκίνητα κινεῖν ἀληθῶς τοῦτο εἶναι· βουλέσθω δὲ πᾶς πέ-  
 τρον ἐπιχειρῆσαι κινεῖν τὸν μέγιστον ἄλλον πλὴν ὅρον  
 μᾶλλον ἢ σμικρὸν λίθον ὀρίζοντα φιλίαν τε καὶ ἔχθραν  
 ἔνορκον παρὰ θεῶν. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ὁμόφυλος Ζεὺς μάρτυς,  
 5 τοῦ δὲ ξένιος, οἱ μετὰ πολέμων τῶν ἐχθίστων ἐγείρονται.  
 καὶ ὁ μὲν πεισθεὶς τῷ νόμῳ ἀναίσθητος τῶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ  
 κακῶν γίγνοιτ' ἂν, καταφρονήσας δὲ διτταῖς δίκαις ἔνοχός  
 ἔστω, μιᾷ μὲν παρὰ θεῶν καὶ πρώτῃ, δευτέρᾳ δὲ ὑπὸ νόμου.  
 b μηδεὶς γὰρ ἐκὼν κινεῖτω γῆς ὅρια γειτόνων· ὅς δ' ἂν κινήσῃ,  
 μηνύετω μὲν ὁ βουλόμενος τοῖς γεωργοῖς, οἱ δὲ εἰς τὸ  
 δικαστήριον ἀγόντων. ἦν δέ τις ὄφλη τὴν τοιαύτην δίκην,  
 ὥς ἀνάδαστον γῆν λάθρα καὶ βία ποιοῦντος τοῦ ὄφλοντος,  
 5 τιμάτω τὸ δικαστήριον ὅτι ἂν δέῃ πάσχειν ἢ ἀποτίνειν τὸν



ἡττηθέντα.

Τὸ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο βλάβαι πολλαὶ καὶ σμικραὶ γειτόνων  
 γιγνόμεναι, διὰ τὸ θαμίζειν ἔχθρας ὄγκον μέγαν ἐντίκτουςαι,  
 χαλεπὴν καὶ σφόδρα πικρὰν γειτονίαν ἀπεργάζονται. διὸ c  
 χρὴ πάντως εὐλαβεῖσθαι γείτονα γείτοني μηδὲν ποιεῖν διά-  
 φορον, τῶν τε ἄλλων πέρι καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐπεργασίας συμπάσης  
 σφόδρ' αἰεὶ διευλαβούμενον· τὸ μὲν γὰρ βλάπτειν οὐδὲν  
 χαλεπὸν ἀλλ' ἀνθρώπου παντός, τὸ δ' ἐπωφελεῖν οὐδαμῇ 5  
 ἄπαντος. ὅς δ' ἂν ἐπεργάζεται τὰ τοῦ γείτονος ὑπερβαίνων  
 τοὺς ὅρους, τὸ μὲν βλάβος ἀποτινέτω, τῆς δὲ ἀναιδεΐας ἅμα  
 καὶ ἀνελευθερίας ἔνεκα ἱατρευόμενος διπλάσιον τοῦ βλάβους d  
 ἄλλο ἐκτεισάτω τῷ βλαφθέντι· τούτων δὲ καὶ ἀπάντων τῶν  
 τοιούτων ἐπιγνώμονές τε καὶ δικασταὶ καὶ τιμῆται γιγνέσθων  
 ἀγρονόμοι, τῶν μὲν μειζόνων, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν  
 εἴρηται, πᾶσα ἡ τοῦ δωδεκατημορίου τάξις, τῶν ἐλαττόνων 5  
 δὲ οἱ φρούραρχοι τούτων. καὶ εἰάν τις βοσκήματα ἐπινέμῃ,  
 τὰς βλάβας ὁρῶντες κρινόντων καὶ τιμώντων. καὶ εἰάν ἐσμούς  
 ἀλλοτρίους σφετερίζῃ τις τῇ τῶν μελιττῶν ἡδονῇ συνεπό-  
 μενος καὶ κατακρούων οὕτως οἰκειῶται, τινέτω τὴν βλάβην. e  
 καὶ εἰάν πυρεύων τὴν ὕλην μὴ διευλαβηθῇ τὴν τοῦ γείτονος,  
 τὴν δόξασαν ζημίαν τοῖς ἄρχουσι ζημιούσθω. καὶ εἰάν φυ-  
 τεύων μὴ ἀπολείπῃ τὸ μέτρον τῶν τοῦ γείτονος χωρίων,  
 καθάπερ εἴρηται καὶ πολλοῖς νομοθέταις ἱκανῶς, ὧν τοῖς 5  
 νόμοις χρὴ προσχρῆσθαι καὶ μὴ πάντα ἀξιοῦν, πολλὰ καὶ  
 σμικρὰ καὶ τοῦ ἐπιτυχόντος νομοθέτου γιγνόμενα, τὸν μείζω  
 πόλεως κοσμητὴν νομοθετεῖν· ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ὑδάτων πέρι 844  
 γεωργοῖσι παλαιοὶ καὶ καλοὶ νόμοι κείμενοι οὐκ ἄξιοι παρ-  
 οχετεύειν λόγοις, ἀλλ' ὁ βουλευθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ τόπον  
 ἄγειν ὕδωρ ἀγέτω μὲν ἀρχόμενος ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ναμάτων,  
 μὴ ὑποτέμνων πηγὰς φανεράς ἰδιώτου μηδενός, ἥ δ' ἂν 5  
 βούληται ἄγειν, πλὴν δι' οἰκίας ἢ ἱερῶν τινων ἢ καὶ μνη-  
 μάτων, ἀγέτω, μὴ βλάπτων πλὴν αὐτῆς τῆς ὀχεταγωγίας.  
 ἀνδρία δὲ εἴ τισι τόποις σύμφυτος ἐκ γῆς τὰ ἐκ Διὸς ἰόντα b  
 ἀποστέγει νάματα, καὶ ἐλλείπει τῶν ἀναγκαίων πωμάτων,  
 ὀρυττέτω μὲν ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ χωρίῳ μέχρι τῆς κεραμίδος γῆς,  
 εἰάν δ' ἐν τούτῳ τῷ βάθει μηδαμῶς ὕδατι προστυγχάνῃ,  
 παρὰ τῶν γειτόνων ὕδρευέσθω μέχρι τοῦ ἀναγκαίου πώματος 5  
 ἐκάστοις τῶν οἰκετῶν· εἰάν δὲ δι' ἀκριβείας ἢ καὶ τοῖς γεί-  
 τοσι, τάξιν τῆς ὑδρείας ταξάμενος παρὰ τοῖς ἀγρονόμοις,

ταύτην ἡμέρας ἐκάστης κομιζόμενος, οὕτω κοινωνεῖτω τοῖς  
 c γείτοσιν ὕδατος. εἰ δὲ ἐκ Διὸς ὕδατα γιγνόμενα, τὸν  
 ἐπάνω γεωργοῦντα ἢ καὶ ὁμότοιχον οἰκοῦντα τῶν ὑποκάτω  
 βλάβη τις μὴ διδοὺς ἐκροήν, ἢ τούναντίον ὁ ἐπάνω μεθίεις  
 εἰκῇ τὰ ρεύματα βλάβη τὸν κάτω, καὶ περὶ ταῦτα μὴ  
 5 ἐθέλωσιν διὰ ταῦτα κοινωνεῖν ἀλλήλοις, ἐν ᾧ μὲν ἀστυ-  
 νόμον, ἐν ἀγρῷ δὲ ἀγρονόμον ἐπάγων ὁ βουλόμενος ταξάσθω  
 τί χρὴ ποιεῖν ἐκάτερον· ὁ δὲ μὴ ἐμμένων ἐν τῇ τάξει φθόνου  
 d θ' αἶμα καὶ δυσκόλου ψυχῆς ὑπεχέτω δίκην, καὶ ὀφλῶν  
 διπλάσιον τὸ βλάβος ἀποτινέτω τῷ βλαφθέντι, μὴ ἐθελήσας  
 τοῖς ἀρχουσιν πείθεσθαι.

Ὁπώρας δὲ δὴ χρὴ κοινωνίαν ποιεῖσθαι πάντας τοιάνδε  
 5 τινά. διττὰς ἡμῖν δωρεὰς ἡ θεὸς ἔχει χάριτος αὕτη, τὴν  
 μὲν παιδείαν Διονυσιάδα ἀθησαύριστον, τὴν δ' εἰς ἀπόθεσιν  
 γενομένην κατὰ φύσιν. ἔστω δὴ περὶ ὀπώρας ὅδε νόμος  
 ταχθεῖς· Ὅς ἂν ἀγροίκου ὀπώρας γεύσῃται, βοτρύνων εἴτε  
 e καὶ σύκων, πρὶν ἐλθεῖν τὴν ὥραν τὴν τοῦ τρυγᾶν ἀρκτοῦρω  
 σύνδρομον, εἴτ' ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ χωρίοις εἴτε καὶ ἐν ἄλλων,  
 ἱερὰς μὲν πεντήκοντα ὀφειλέτω τῷ Διονύσῳ δραχμάς, εἰ δὲ  
 ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ δρέπη, εἰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν γειτόνων, μνᾶν, εἰ δὲ  
 5 ἐξ ἄλλων, δύο μέρη τῆς μνᾶς. ὅς δ' ἂν τὴν γενναίαν νῦν  
 λεγομένην σταφυλὴν ἢ τὰ γενναῖα σῦκα ἐπονομαζόμενα  
 ὀπωρίζειν βούληται, εἰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων λαμβάνῃ, ὅπως  
 ἂν ἐθέλῃ καὶ ὁπόταν βούληται καρπούσθω, εἰ δὲ ἐξ ἄλλων  
 μὴ πείσας, ἐπομένως τῷ νόμῳ, τῷ μὴ κινεῖν ὅτι μὴ κατέθετο,  
 845 ἐκείνως αἰεὶ ζημιούσθω· εἰ δὲ δὴ δοῦλος μὴ πείσας τὸν  
 δεσπότην τῶν χωρίων ἄπτηταί του τῶν τοιούτων, κατὰ ῥᾶγα  
 βοτρύνων καὶ σῦκον συκῆς ἰσαρίθμους πληγὰς τούτοις μαστι-  
 γούσθω. μέτοικος δὲ ὠνούμενος τὴν γενναίαν ὀπώραν  
 5 ὀπωριζέτω, εἰ μὲν βούληται, εἰ δὲ ξένος ἐπιδημήσας ὀπώρας  
 ἐπιθυμῇ φαγεῖν διαπορευόμενος τὰς ὁδοὺς, τῆς μὲν γενναίας  
 ἀπτέσθω, εἰ μὲν βούληται, μεθ' ἐνὸς ἀκολουθούτου χωρὶς τιμῆς,  
 b ξένια δεχόμενος, τῆς δὲ ἀγροίκου λεγομένης καὶ τῶν τοι-  
 ούτων ὁ νόμος εἰργέτω μὴ κοινωνεῖν ἡμῖν τοὺς ξένους· εἰ δὲ  
 τις αἰστωρ ὢν αὐτὸς ἢ δοῦλος αἴψῃται, τὸν μὲν δοῦλον  
 πληγαῖς κολάζειν, τὸν δὲ ἐλεύθερον ἀποπέμπειν νοθετή-  
 5 σαντα καὶ διδάξαντα τῆς ἄλλης ὀπώρας ἄπτεσθαι τῆς εἰς  
 ἀπόθεσιν ἀσταφίδος οἶνου τε καὶ ξηρῶν σύκων ἀνεπιτηδείου  
 κεκτῆσθαι. ἀπίων δὲ πέρι καὶ μήλων καὶ ρῶν καὶ πάντων

τῶν τοιούτων, αἰσχροὺς μὲν μηδὲν ἔστω λάθρα λαμβάνειν, c  
 ὁ δὲ ληφθεὶς ἐντὸς τριάκοντα ἑτῶν γεγονώς τυπτέσθω καὶ  
 ἀμυνέσθω ἄνευ τραυμάτων, δίκην δ' εἶναι ἐλευθέρῳ τῶν τοι-  
 ούτων πληγῶν μηδεμίαν. ξένῳ δὲ καθάπερ ὁπώρας ἐξέστω  
 καὶ τῶν τοιούτων μέτοχον εἶναι. εἰ δὲ πρεσβύτερος ὢν 5  
 ἄπτηται τούτων, φαγῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποφέρων μηδὲν, καθάπερ  
 ὁ ξένος ταύτῃ κοινωνεῖτω τῶν τοιούτων ἀπάντων, μὴ πειθό-  
 μενος δὲ τῷ νόμῳ κινδυνεύετω ἀναγώνιστος γίγνεσθαι περὶ d  
 ἀρετῆς, εἰς τότε τὰ τοιαῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ τοὺς τότε κριτὰς  
 τις ἀναμνησκή.

Ὑδωρ δὲ πάντων μὲν τὸ περὶ τὰς κηρείας διαφερόντως  
 τρόφιμον, εὐδιάφθαρτον δέ· οὔτε γὰρ γῆν οὔτε ἥλιον οὔτε 5  
 πνεύματα, τοῖς ὕδασι σὺντροφα τῶν ἐκ γῆς ἀναβλαστανόντων,  
 ῥάδιον φθεῖρειν φαρμακεύσεσιν ἢ ἀποτροπαῖς ἢ καὶ κλοπαῖς,  
 περὶ δὲ τὴν ὕδατος φύσιν ἔστιν τὰ τοιαῦτα σύμπαντα δυνατὰ  
 γίγνεσθαι· διὸ δὴ βοηθοῦ δεῖται νόμου. ἔστω τοίνυν ὅδε e  
 περὶ αὐτοῦ· Ἄν τις διαφθεῖρῃ ἐκὼν ὕδωρ ἀλλότριον, εἴτε  
 καὶ πηγαῖον εἴτε καὶ συναγυρτόν, φαρμακείαις ἢ σκάμμασιν  
 ἢ κλοπαῖς, ὁ βλαπτόμενος δικαζέσθω πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυνόμους,  
 τὴν ἀξίαν τῆς βλάβης ἀπογραφόμενος· ἂν δὲ τις ὄφλη 5  
 φαρμακείαις τισὶν βλάπτων, πρὸς τῷ τιμήματι καθηράτω τὰς  
 πηγὰς ἢ τὰ γγείον τοῦ ὕδατος, ὅπῃ περ ἂν οἱ τῶν ἐξηγητῶν  
 νόμοι ἀφηγῶνται δεῖν γίγνεσθαι τὴν κάθαρσιν ἐκάστοτε καὶ  
 ἐκάστοις.

Περὶ δὲ συγκομιδῆς τῶν ὡραίων ἀπάντων, ἐξέστω τῷ 10  
 βουλομένῳ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ διὰ παντός τόπου κομίζεσθαι, ὅπῃ περ 846  
 ἂν ἢ μηδὲν μηδένα ζημιοῖ ἢ τριπλάσιον αὐτὸς κέρδος τῆς  
 τοῦ γείτονος ζημίας κερδαίνει, τούτων δὲ ἐπιγνώμονας τοὺς  
 ἄρχοντας γίγνεσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ὅσα τις ἂν  
 ἐκὼν ἄκοντα βλάβη βία ἢ λάθρα αὐτὸν ἢ τῶν αὐτοῦ τι, 5  
 διὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ κτημάτων, πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῖς ἄρχουσιν  
 ἐπιδεικνὺς τιμωρεῖσθω, μέχρι τριῶν μνῶν ὄντος τοῦ βλάβους·  
 εἰ δ' ἐγκλημά τω μείζων ἄλλῳ πρὸς ἄλλον γίγνηται, πρὸς  
 τὰ κοινὰ δικαστήρια φέρων τὴν δίκην τιμωρεῖσθω τὸν b  
 ἀδικοῦντα. εἰ δὲ τις τῶν ἀρχόντων δοκῇ μετ' ἀδίκου  
 γνώμης κρίνειν τὰς ζημίας, τῶν διπλασίων ὑπόδικος ἔστω  
 τῷ βλαφθέντι· τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀρχόντων ἀδικήματα εἰς τὰ  
 κοινὰ δικαστήρια ἐπανάγειν τὸν βουλόμενον ἐκάστων τῶν 5  
 ἐγκλημάτων. μυρία δὲ ταῦτα ὄντα καὶ σμικρὰ νόμιμα, καθ'



α δεῖ τὰς τιμωρίας γίνεσθαι, λήξεών τε περί δικῶν καὶ  
 c προσκλήσεων καὶ κλητήρων, εἴτ' ἐπὶ δυοῖν εἴτ' ἐφ' ὁπόσων  
 δεῖ καλεῖσθαι, καὶ πάντα ὁπόσα τοιαυτὰ ἐστίν, οὐτ' ἀνο-  
 μοθέτητα οἷόν τ' εἶναι γέροντός τε οὐκ ἄξια νομοθέτου,  
 νομοθετούντων δ' αὐτὰ οἱ νέοι πρὸς τὰ τῶν πρόσθεν νομο-  
 5 θετήματα ἀπομιμούμενοι, σμικρὰ πρὸς μεγάλα, καὶ τῆς  
 ἀναγκαίας αὐτῶν χρείας ἐμπείρως ἴσχοντες, μέχριπερ ἂν  
 πάντα ἱκανῶς δόξῃ κεῖσθαι· τότε δὲ ἀκίνητα ποιησάμενοι,  
 ζώντων τούτοις ἤδη χρώμενοι μέτρον ἔχουσι.

d Τὸ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων δημιουργῶν ποιεῖν χρή κατὰ τόδε.  
 πρῶτον μὲν ἐπιχώριος μηδεὶς ἔστω τῶν περὶ τὰ δημιουργικὰ  
 τεχνήματα διαπονούντων, μηδὲ οἰκέτης ἀνδρὸς ἐπιχωρίου.  
 τέχνην γὰρ ἱκανήν, πολλῆς ἀσκήσεως ἅμα καὶ μαθημάτων  
 5 πολλῶν δεομένην, κέκτηται πολίτης ἀνὴρ τὸν κοινὸν τῆς  
 πόλεως κόσμον σῶζων καὶ κτώμενος, οὐκ ἐν παρέργῳ δεό-  
 μενον ἐπιτηδεύειν· δύο δὲ ἐπιτηδεύματα ἢ δύο τέχνας ἀκριβῶς  
 διαπονεῖσθαι σχεδὸν οὐδεμία φύσις ἱκανὴ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων,

e οὐδ' αὖ τὴν μὲν αὐτὸς ἱκανὸς ἀσκεῖν, τὴν δὲ ἄλλον ἀσκούντα  
 ἐπιτροπεύειν. τοῦτ' οὖν ἐν πόλει ὑπάρχον δεῖ πρῶτον  
 γίνεσθαι· μηδεὶς χαλκεύων ἅμα τεκταινέσθω, μηδ' αὖ  
 τεκταινόμενος χαλκευόντων ἄλλων ἐπιμελείσθω μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς  
 5 αὐτοῦ τέχνης, πρόφασιν ἔχων ὥς πολλῶν οἰκετῶν ἐπιμελού-  
 μενος ἑαυτῷ δημιουργούντων, εἰκότως μᾶλλον ἐπιμελεῖται δὴ

847 ἐκεῖνων διὰ τὸ τὴν πρόσοδον ἐκείθεν αὐτῷ πλείω γίνεσθαι  
 τῆς αὐτοῦ τέχνης, ἀλλ' εἰς μίαν ἕκαστος τέχνην ἐν πόλει  
 κεκτημένος ἀπὸ ταύτης ἅμα καὶ τὸ ζῆν κτάσθω. τοῦτον δὲ  
 τὸν νόμον ἀστυνόμοι διαπονούμενοι σῶζόντων, καὶ τὸν μὲν  
 5 ἐπιχώριον, εἰς τινὰ τέχνην ἀποκλίνῃ μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν τῆς  
 ἀρετῆς ἐπιμέλειαν, κολαζόντων ὀνειδεσί τε καὶ αἰτιμίαις,  
 μέχριπερ ἂν κατευθύνωσιν εἰς τὸν αὐτοῦ δρόμον, ξένων δὲ  
 ἂν τις ἐπιτηδεύῃ δύο τέχνας, δεσμοῖσί τε καὶ χρημάτων  
 b ζημίαις καὶ ἐκβολαῖς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως κολάζοντες, ἀναγκαζόντων  
 ἓνα μόνον ἀλλὰ μὴ πολλοὺς εἶναι. μισθῶν δὲ αὐτοῖς περί  
 καὶ τῶν ἀναιρέσεων τῶν ἔργων, καὶ εἰάν τις αὐτοὺς ἕτερος  
 ἢ ἑκεῖνοί τινα ἄλλον ἀδικῶσι, μέχρι δραχμῶν πεντήκοντα  
 5 ἀστυνόμοι διαδικάζοντων, τὸ δὲ πλεον τοῦτου τὰ κοινὰ  
 δικαστήρια διακρινόντων κατὰ νόμον.

Τέλος δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει μηδένα μηδὲν τελεῖν μήτε ἐξαγο-  
 μένων χρημάτων μήτ' εἰσαγομένων· λιβανωτὸν δὲ καὶ ὅσα



πρὸς θεοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐστὶν ξενικὰ θυμιάματα, καὶ πορφύραν c  
καὶ ὅσα βαπτὰ χρώματα, μὴ φερούσης τῆς χώρας, ἢ περὶ  
τινα ἄλλην τέχνην δεομένην ξενικῶν τινων εἰσαγωγίμων  
μηδενὸς ἀναγκαίου χάριν μῆτε τις ἀγέτω, μῆτε αὖ τῶν ἐν  
τῇ χώρᾳ ἀναγκαίων ἐμμένειν ἐξαγέτω· τούτων δ' αὖ πάντων 5  
ἐπιγνώμονας εἶναι καὶ ἐπιμελητὰς τῶν νομοφυλάκων, πέντε  
ἀφαιρεθέντων τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, τοὺς ἐξῆς δώδεκα.

Περὶ δὲ ὄπλων καὶ ὅσα περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἅπαντα ὄργανα, d  
εἰάν τις ἢ τέχνης εἰσαγωγίμου δέῃ γίνεσθαι ἢ φυτοῦ ἢ  
μεταλλευτικοῦ κτήματος ἢ δεσμευτικοῦ ἢ ζώων τινῶν ἕνεκα  
τῆς τοιαύτης χρείας, ἵππαρχοι καὶ στρατηγοὶ τούτων ἔστωσαν  
κύριοι εἰσαγωγῆς τε καὶ ἐξαγωγῆς, διδούσης τε ἅμα καὶ 5  
δεχομένης τῆς πόλεως, νόμους δὲ περὶ τούτων νομοφύλακες  
τοὺς πρόποντάς τε καὶ ἱκανοὺς θήσουσι· καπηλείαν δὲ ἕνεκα  
χρηματισμῶν μῆτε οὖν τούτου μῆτε ἄλλου μηδενὸς ἐν τῇ  
χώρᾳ ὅλη καὶ πόλει ἡμῖν γίνεσθαι. e

Τροφῆς δὲ καὶ διανομῆς τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐγγὺς τῆς  
τοῦ Κρητικοῦ νόμου ἔοικεν ὀρθότης ἂν τις γιγνομένη κατὰ  
τρόπον γίνεσθαι. δώδεκα μὲν γὰρ δὴ μέρη τὰ πάντα ἐκ  
τῆς χώρας γιγνόμενα νέμειν χρεῶν πάντας, ἥπερ καὶ ἀνα- 5  
λωτέα· τὸ δὲ δωδέκατον μέρος ἕκαστον—οἶον πυρῶν καὶ  
κριθῶν, οἷσιν δὴ καὶ τὰ ἅπαντα ἀκολουθεῖτω τὰ ἄλλα ὥραϊα  
νεμόμενα, καὶ ὅσα ζῶα σύμπαντα πράσιμα ἐν ἐκάστοις ἥ— 848  
τριχῇ διαιρείσθω κατὰ λόγον, ἐν μὲν μέρος τοῖς ἐλευθέροις,  
ἐν δὲ τοῖς τούτων οἰκέταις· τὸ δὲ τρίτον δημιουργοῖς τε καὶ  
πάντως τοῖς ξένοις, οἳ τέ τινες ἂν τῶν μετοικούντων ὥσι  
συνοικούντες τροφῆς ἀναγκαίου δεόμενοι, καὶ ὅσοι χρεῖα τινὲ 5  
πόλεως ἢ τινος ἰδιωτῶν εἰσαφικνοῦνται ἐκάστοτε, πάντων  
τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπονεμηθὲν τρίτον μέρος ὄνιον ἐξ ἀνάγκης  
ἔστω τοῦτο μόνον, τῶν δὲ δύο μερῶν μηδὲν ἐπάναγκες ἔστω  
πωλεῖν. πῶς οὖν δὴ ταῦτα ὀρθότατα νέμοιτ' ἂν; πρῶτον b  
μὲν δῆλον ὅτι τῇ μὲν ἴσα, τῇ δ' οὐκ ἴσα νέμομεν.

ΚΛ. Πῶς λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Χεῖρῳ που καὶ βελτίῳ τούτων ἕκαστα ἀνάγκη φύειν  
καὶ ἐκτρέφειν τὴν γῆν. 5

ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

ΑΘ. Τῷ μὲν τοίνυν τοιούτῳ τῶν μερῶν, τριῶν ὄντων,  
μηδὲν πλέον ἔχέτω μῆτε τοῖς δεσπόταις ἢ δούλοις νεμόμενον,  
μῆτε αὖ τὸ τῶν ξένων, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῆς ὁμοιότητος ἰσότητα ἢ

10 νομὴ πᾶσιν ἀποδιδότω τὴν αὐτήν· λαβὼν ἕκαστος τῶν  
 c πολιτῶν τὰ δύο μέρη κύριος ἔστω τῆς νομῆς δούλοις τε καὶ  
 ἐλευθέροις, ὅπόσ' ἂν καὶ ὅποια βούληται διανεμεῖν. τὸ δὲ  
 πλεόν τούτων μέτροις τε καὶ ἀριθμῷ τῇδε χρὴ διανεμῆσθαι·  
 λαβόντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν πάντων τῶν ζώων οἷς ἐκ τῆς γῆς δεῖ  
 5 τὴν τροφήν γίνεσθαι, διανεμεῖν.

Τὸ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο αὐτοῖς οἰκῆσεις δεῖ χωρὶς διατεταγμένας  
 εἶναι· τάξις δὲ ἥδε πρέπει τοῖς τοιούτοις. δώδεκα κώμας  
 εἶναι χρὴ, κατὰ μέσον τὸ δωδεκατημόριον ἕκαστον μίαν, ἐν  
 d τῇ κώμῃ δὲ ἐκάστῃ πρῶτον μὲν ἱερὰ καὶ ἀγορὰν ἐξηρησθαι  
 θεῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἐπομένων θεοῖς δαιμόνων, εἴτε τινὲς ἔντοποι  
 Μαγνήτων εἴτ' ἄλλων ἰδρύματα παλαιῶν μνήμη διασεσω-  
 μένων εἰσίν, τοῦτοις ἀποδιδόντας τὰς τῶν πάλαι τιμὰς  
 5 ἀνθρώπων, Ἑστίας δὲ καὶ Διὸς Ἀθηνᾶς τε, καὶ ὅς ἂν  
 ἀρχηγὸς ᾖ τῶν ἄλλων τοῦ δωδεκάτου ἐκάστου μέρους, ἱερὰ  
 πανταχοῦ ἰδρύσασθαι. πρῶτον δὲ οἰκοδομίας εἶναι περὶ τὰ  
 e ἱερὰ ταῦτα, ὅπη ἂν ὁ τόπος ὑψηλότατος ᾖ, τοῖς φρουροῖς  
 ὑποδοχὴν ὅτι μάλιστα εὐερκῇ· τὴν δὲ ἄλλην χώραν κατα-  
 σκευάζειν πᾶσαν δημιουργῶν τριακαίδεκα μέρη διελομένους,  
 καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐν ἄστει κατοικίζειν, διελομένους αὖ καὶ τοῦτο  
 5 εἰς τὰ δώδεκα μέρη τῆς πόλεως ἀπάσης, ἔξω τε καὶ ἐν κύκλῳ  
 κατανεμηθέντας, ἐν τῇ κώμῃ δὲ ἐκάστῃ τὰ πρόσφορα γεωργοῖς  
 γένῃ τῶν δημιουργῶν συνοικίζειν. τοὺς δ' ἐπιμελητὰς εἶναι  
 τούτων πάντων τοὺς τῶν ἀγρονόμων ἀρχοντας, ὧσων τε καὶ  
 ὠντινων ὁ τόπος ἕκαστος δέεται, καὶ ὅπου κατοικοῦντες  
 10 ἀλυπότατοί τε καὶ ὠφελιμώτατοι ἔσονται τοῖσιν γεωργοῖσι.  
 849 τῶν δὲ ἐν ἄστει κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι  
 τὴν τῶν ἀστυνόμων ἀρχήν.

Τοῖς δὲ δὴ ἀγορανόμοις τὰ περὶ ἀγοράν· που δεῖ ἕκαστα  
 μέλειν· ἡ δ' ἐπιμέλεια, μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπίσκεψιν τῶν  
 5 κατ' ἀγορὰν μή τις ἀδικῇ τι, τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων χρείας τὸ  
 δεύτερον ἂν εἴη, σωφροσύνης τε καὶ ὑβρεως ἐπισκόπους ὄντας  
 κολάζειν τὸν δεόμενον κολάσεως. τῶν δὲ ὠνίων, πρῶτον  
 μὲν τὰ περὶ τοὺς ξένους ταχθέντα πωλεῖν τοῖς ἀστοῖς σκοπεῖν  
 b εἰ γίνεται κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἕκαστα. νόμος δ' ἐκάστῳ· μὴνός  
 τῇ νέᾳ ὦν δεῖπραθῆναι τὸ μέρος τοῖς ξένοις ἐξάγειν τοὺς  
 ἐπιτρόπους, ὅσοι τοῖς ἀστοῖς ξένοι ἢ καὶ δούλοι ἐπιτρο-  
 πεύουσι, δωδεκατημόριον πρῶτον τοῦ σίτου, τὸν δὲ ξένον  
 5 εἰς πάντα τὸν μῆνα ὠνεῖσθαι σῖτον μὲν καὶ ὅσα περὶ σῖτον

ἀγορᾷ τῇ πρώτῃ· δεκάτῃ δὲ τοῦ μηνὸς τὴν τῶν ὑγρῶν οἱ μὲν  
 πρᾶσιν, οἱ δὲ ὦνῃν ποιείσθωσαν δι' ὅλου τοῦ μηνὸς ἱκανήν·  
 τρίτῃ δὲ εἰκάδι τῶν ζώων ἔστω πρᾶσις, ὅσα πρατέα ἐκάστοις c  
 ἢ ὠνητέα αὐτοῖς δεομένοις, καὶ ὁπόσων σκευῶν ἢ χρημάτων  
 γεωργοῖς μὲν πρᾶσις, οἷον δερμάτων ἢ καὶ πάσης ἐσθῆτος  
 ἢ πλοκῆς ἢ πιλήσεως ἢ τινων ἄλλων τοιούτων, ξένοις δὲ  
 ἀναγκαῖον ὠνεῖσθαι παρ' ἄλλων κτωμένοις. καπηλείας δὲ 5  
 τούτων ἢ κριθῶν ἢ πυρῶν εἰς ἄλφιστα νεμηθέντων, ἢ καὶ τὴν  
 ἄλλην σύμπασαν τροφήν, ἀστοῖς μὲν καὶ τούτων δούλοις μήτε  
 τις πωλεῖτω μήτε ὠνεῖσθω παρὰ τοιούτου μηδεὶς μηδενός, ἐν  
 δὲ ταῖς τῶν ξένων ξένος ἀγοραῖς πωλεῖτω τοῖς δημιουργοῖς d  
 τε καὶ τούτων δούλοις, οἷνου τε μεταβαλλόμενος καὶ σίτου  
 πρᾶσιν, ὃ δὴ καπηλείαν ἐπονομάζουσιν οἱ πλεῖστοι· καὶ  
 ζώων διαμερισθέντων μάγειροι διατιθέσθω ξένοις τε καὶ  
 δημιουργοῖς καὶ τούτων οἰκέταις. πᾶσαν δὲ ὕλην καύσιμον 5  
 ὀσημέραι ξένος ὃ βουληθεὶς ὠνεῖσθω μὲν ἀθρόαν παρὰ τῶν  
 ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις ἐπιτρόπων, πωλεῖτω δὲ αὐτὸς τοῖς ξένοις,  
 καθ' ὅσον ἂν βούληται καὶ ὁπόταν βούληται. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων e  
 χρημάτων πάντων καὶ σκευῶν ὁπόσων ἐκάστοισι χρεία,  
 πωλεῖν εἰς τὴν κοινὴν ἀγορὰν φέροντας εἰς τὸν τόπον  
 ἕκαστον, ἐν οἷς ἂν νομοφύλακές τε καὶ ἀγορανόμοι, μετ'  
 ἀστυνόμων τεκμηράμενοι ἔδρας πρεπούσας, ὄρους θῶνται 5  
 τῶν ὠνίων, ἐν τούτοις ἀλλάττεσθαι νόμισμά τε χρημάτων  
 καὶ χρήματα νομίσματος, μὴ προϊέμενον ἄλλον ἐτέρῳ τὴν  
 ἀλλαγὴν· ὃ δὲ προέμενος ὥς πιστεύων, εἴαν τε κομίσηται  
 καὶ ἂν μὴ, στεργέτω ὥς οὐκέτι δίκης οὔσης τῶν τοιούτων  
 περὶ συναλλάξεων. τὸ δὲ ὠνηθὲν ἢ πραθὲν ὅσω πλέον ἂν ᾖ 850  
 καὶ πλέονος ἢ κατὰ τὸν νόμον, ὃς εἴρηκεν πόσου προσγενο-  
 μένου καὶ ἀπογενομένου δεῖ μηδέτερα τούτων ποιεῖν, ἀναγρα-  
 φήτω τότ' ἤδη παρὰ τοῖς νομοφύλαξιν τὸ πλεόν, ἐξαλειφέσθω  
 δὲ τὸ ἐναντίον. τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ καὶ περὶ μετοίκων ἔστω τῆς 5  
 ἀναγραφῆς πέρι τῆς οὐσίας. ἰέναι δὲ τὸν βουλόμενον εἰς  
 τὴν μετοίκησιν ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς, ὥς οἰκήσεως οὔσης τῶν ξένων τῷ  
 βουλομένῳ καὶ δυναμένῳ κατοικεῖν, τέχνην κεκτημένῳ καὶ b  
 ἐπιδημοῦντι μὴ πλεόν ἐτῶν εἴκοσιν ἀφ' ἧς ἂν γράψῃται,  
 μετοίκιον μηδὲ σμικρὸν τελοῦντι πλὴν τοῦ σωφρονεῖν, μηδὲ  
 ἄλλο αὐτὸ τέλος ἕνεκά τινος ὠνῆς ἢ καὶ πράσεως· ὅταν δ'  
 ἐξήκωσιν οἱ χρόνοι, τὴν αὐτοῦ λαβόντα οὐσίαν ἀπιέναι. 5  
 εἴαν δ' ἐν τοῖς ἔτεσι τούτοις αὐτῷ συμβῇ λόγου ἀξίῳ πρὸς

- εὐεργεσίαν τῆς πόλεως γεγονέναι τινὰ ἱκανήν, καὶ πιστεύῃ  
 πείσειν βουλὴν καὶ ἐκκλησίαν, ἢ τινα ἀναβολὴν τῆς ἐξοι-  
 c κήσεως ἀξιῶν αὐτῷ γίνεσθαι κυρίως, ἢ καὶ τὸ παράπαν διὰ  
 βίου τινὰ μονήν, ἐπελθὼν καὶ πείσας τὴν πόλιν, ἅπερ ἂν  
 πείσῃ, ταῦτα αὐτῷ τέλεα γιγνέσθω. παισὶ δὲ μετοίκων,  
 δημιουργοῖς οὖσι καὶ γενομένοις ἐτῶν πεντεκαίδεκα, τῆς μὲν  
 5 μετοικίας ἀρχέτω χρόνος ὁ μετὰ τὸ πέμπτον καὶ δέκατον  
 ἔτος, ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ εἴκοσιν ἔτη μείνας, ἴτω ὅπῃ αὐτῷ φίλον,  
 μένειν δὲ ἂν βούληται, κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ μενέτω πείσας· ὁ δὲ  
 d ἀπιὼν ἐξαλειψάμενος ἴτω τὰς ἀπογραφάς, αἵτινες ἂν αὐτῷ  
 παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχουσιν γεγραμμέναι πρότερον ὦσιν.



## BOOK IX

### SHORT ANALYSIS

853-857 b.—The penalties for sacrilege and high treason, and the courts which are to try such cases.

857 c-864 c.—A digression on the function of the lawgiver, the varying motives of crime, and the meaning of the words intentional and unintentional as applied to crime.

865-874 d 2.—*φόνοι*.

874 d 2-879 b 5.—*τραύματα*.

879 b 5 to end.—*αἰκίαι*.



AΘ. Δίκαι δὴ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀκόλουθοι ταῖς ἔμπροσθεν 853  
 πράξεσιν ἀπάσαις οὔσαι κατὰ φύσιν γίνονται ἂν τὴν τῆς  
 διακοσμῆσεως τῶν νόμων. ὧντινων οὖν δὴ περί δεῖ γίνεσθαι  
 δίκας, τὰ μὲν εἴρηται, τὰ κατὰ γεωργίας τε καὶ ὅσα τούτοις  
 εἶπετο, τὰ δὲ μέγιστα οὔτε εἴρηταί πω, καθ' ἓν ἕκαστόν 5  
 τε λεγόμενον [ῥηθὲν] ἦν δεῖ λαμβάνειν αὐτὸ τιμωρίαν καὶ  
 τίνων ποτὲ δικαστῶν τυγχάνειν, μετ' ἐκεῖν' αὐτὰ ἐξῆς ταῦτα b  
 ῥητέον.

ΚΛ. Ὅρθως.

AΘ. Αἰσχρὸν μὲν δὴ τινα τρόπον καὶ νομοθετεῖν πάντα  
 ὅποσα νῦν μέλλομεν τοῦτο δρᾶν, ἐν τοιαύτῃ πόλει ἣν φαμεν 5  
 οἰκήσεσθαι τε εὖ καὶ τεύξεσθαι πάσης ὀρθότητος πρὸς ἐπιτή-  
 δευσιν ἀρετῆς· ἐν δὲ τῇ τοιαύτῃ τὸ καὶ ἀξιούν τῆς τῶν  
 ἄλλων μοχθηρίας τῶν μεγίστων ἐμφύεσθαι τινα μεθέξοντα,  
 ὥστε δεῖν νομοθετεῖν προκαταλαμβάνοντα καὶ ἀπειλοῦντα  
 ἐάν τις τοιοῦτος γίγνηται, καὶ τούτων ἀποτροπῆς τε ἕνεκα c  
 καὶ γενομένων κολάσεως τιθέναι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς νόμους, ὡς  
 ἐσομένους, ὅπερ εἶπον, αἰσχρὸν μὲν τινα τρόπον. ἐπειδὴ  
 δὲ οὐ, καθάπερ οἱ παλαιοὶ νομοθέται θεῶν παισὶν νομοθετού-

- 5 μὲνοι τοῖς ἥρωσιν, ὡς ὁ νῦν λόγος, αὐτοὶ τ' ἐκ θεῶν ὄντες ἄλλοις τε ἐκ τοιούτων γεγονόσιν ἐνομοθέτουν, ἀλλ' ἀνθρωποὶ τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων σπέρμασιν νομοθετοῦμεν τὰ νῦν, ἀνεμέ-
- d σητον δὴ φοβεῖσθαι μὴ τις ἐγγίγνηται τῶν πολιτῶν ἡμῖν οἷον κερασβόλος, ὃς ἀτεράμων εἰς τοσοῦτον φύσει γίγνοιτ' ἂν ὥστε μὴ τήκεσθαι. <καὶ> καθάπερ ἐκεῖνα τὰ σπέρματα πυρί, νόμοις οὗτοι καίπερ οὕτως ἰσχυροῖς οὖσιν ἄτηκτοι
- 5 γίνωνται. ὧν δὴ χάριν οὐκ ἐπίχαριν λέγοιμ' ἂν πρῶτον νόμον ἱερῶν περὶ συλήσεων, ἃν τις τοῦτο δρᾷν τολμᾷ. καὶ πολίτην μὲν τῶν τεθραμμένων ὀρθῶς οὗτ' ἂν βουλοίμεθα οὔτε ἐλπιστὸν πάνυ τι νοσῆσαί ποτε ἂν ταύτην τὴν νόσον, οἰκέται δὲ ἂν τούτων καὶ ξένοι καὶ ξένων δοῦλοι πολλὰ ἂν
- 10 ἐπιχειρήσειαν τοιαῦτα. ὧν ἕνεκα μὲν μάλιστα, ὅμως δὲ καὶ
- 854 σύμπασαν τὴν τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως ἀσθένειαν εὐλαβοῦμενος, ἐρῶ τὸν τῶν ἱεροσυλῶν πέρὶ νόμον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων τῶν τοιούτων ὅσα δυσίατα καὶ ἀνίατα. προοίμια δὲ τούτοις, κατὰ τὸν ἔμπροσθεν λόγον ὁμολογηθέντα, προρρη-  
 5 τέον ἅπασιν ὡς βραχύτατα. λέγοι δὴ τις ἂν ἐκείνῳ διαλεγόμενος ἅμα καὶ παραμυθούμενος, ὃν ἐπιθυμία κακῇ παρακαλοῦσα μεθ' ἡμέραν τε καὶ ἐπεγείρουσα νύκτωρ ἐπὶ τι τῶν ἱερῶν ἄγει συλήσοντα, τάδε. ὦ θαυμάσιε, οὐκ
- b ἀνθρώπινόν σε κακὸν οὐδὲ θεῖον κινεῖ τὸ νῦν ἐπὶ τὴν ἱεροσυλίαν προτρέπον ἵεναι, οἷστρος δέ σέ τις ἐμφυόμενος ἐκ παλαιῶν καὶ ἀκαθάρτων τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀδικημάτων, περιφερόμενος ἀλιτηριώδης, ὃν εὐλαβεῖσθαι χρεὼν παντὶ
- 5 σθένει. τίς δ' ἐστὶν εὐλάβεια, μαθέ. ὅταν σοι προσπίπτῃ τι τῶν τοιούτων δογμάτων, ἴθι ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποδιοπομπήσεις, ἴθι ἐπὶ θεῶν ἀποτροπαίων ἱερὰ ἱκέτης, ἴθι ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν
- c λεγομένων ἀνδρῶν ὑμῖν ἀγαθῶν συνουσίας, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄκουε, τὰ δὲ πειρῶ λέγειν αὐτός, ὡς δεῖ τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ δίκαια πάντα ἄνδρα τιμᾶν. τὰς δὲ τῶν κακῶν συνουσίας φεύγε ἀμεταστρεπτί. καὶ ἔαν μὲν σοι δρῶντι ταῦτα λωφᾷ
- 5 τι τὸ νόσημα. εἰ δὲ μὴ, καλλίῳ θάνατον σκεψάμενος ἀπαλλάττου τοῦ βίου.

Ταῦτα ἡμῶν ἀδόντων προοίμια τοῖς πάντα ταῦτα ἐπινοοῦσιν ὅσα ἀνόσια ἔργα καὶ πολιτοφθόρα, τῷ μὲν πειθομένῳ τὸν νόμον εἶαν σιγῇ δεῖ, τῷ δὲ ἀπειθοῦντι μετὰ τὸ προοίμιον

d εἶδεν μέγα. Ὅς δ' ἂν ἱεροσυλῶν ληφθῇ, εἰ μὲν ᾗ δοῦλος ἢ ξένος, ἐν τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ ταῖς χερσὶ γραφεῖς τὴν συμφορὰν,

καὶ μαστιγωθείς ὅποσας ἂν δόξῃ τοῖς δικασταῖς, ἐκτὸς τῶν  
 ὄρων τῆς χώρας γυμνὸς ἐκβληθήτω· τάχα γὰρ ἂν δούς  
 ταύτην τὴν δίκην γένοιτ' ἂν βελτίων σωφρονισθείς. οὐ γὰρ 5  
 ἐπὶ κακῷ δίκη γίνεται οὐδεμία γενομένη κατὰ νόμον, δυοῖν  
 δὲ θάτερον ἀπεργάζεται σχεδόν· ἡ γὰρ βελτίονα ἢ μοχθηρό-  
 τερον ἦττον ἐξηργάσατο τὸν τὴν δίκην παρασχόντα. πολίτης e  
 δὲ ἂν τίς ποτέ τι τοιοῦτον δρῶν ἀναφανῇ, περὶ θεοὺς ἢ  
 περὶ γονέας ἢ περὶ πόλιν ἡδικηκῶς τῶν μεγάλων τινα καὶ  
 ἀπορρήτων ἀδικιῶν, ὡς ἀνίατον ἦδη τοῦτον ὄντα ὁ δικαστὴς  
 διανοείσθω, λογιζόμενος οἷας παιδείας τε καὶ τροφῆς ἐκ 5  
 παιδὸς τυγχάνων οὐκ ἀπέσχετο τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν. δίκη  
 δὴ τούτῳ θάνατος, ἐλάχιστον τῶν κακῶν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους  
 παράδειγμα ὀνήσει γενόμενος, ἀκλεῆς καὶ ὑπὲρ τοὺς τῆς 855  
 χώρας ὄρους ἀφανισθείς· παισὶ δὲ καὶ γένει, ἐὰν φύγῃσι  
 τὰ πατρῴα ἦθη, κλέος ἔστω καὶ λόγος ἔντιμος λεγόμενος,  
 ὡς εὖ τε καὶ ἀνδρείως εἰς ἀγαθὸν ἐκ κακοῦ διαπεφευγόντων.  
 δημόσια δὲ χρήματα οὐδενὸς τῶν τοιούτων τῇ πολιτείᾳ 5  
 πρέπον ἂν εἶη γίνεσθαι, ἐν ᾗ δεῖ τοὺς αὐτοὺς αἰεὶ καὶ ἴσους  
 ὄντας διατελεῖν κλήρους. ζημίας δ' ἐκτίσεις, ὅταν ἀδικεῖν  
 ἄξια δοκῇ τις χρημάτων, ἐκτίνειν, ἂν ᾗ τί τῷ τοῦ κλήρου  
 κατεσκευασμένου περιττεῖον, μέχρι τοσούτου ζημιωθέντα, b  
 τὸ δὲ πλεόν μὴ· τὰς δ' εἰς ταῦτα ἀκριβείας ἐκ τῶν ἀπο-  
 γραφῶν νομοφύλακες σκοποῦντες τὸ σαφὲς ἐξαγγελλόντων  
 αἰεὶ τοῖς δικασταῖς, ὅπως ἂν τῶν κλήρων ἀργὸς μηδεὶς μηδέ-  
 ποτε γίγνηται δι' ἀπορίαν χρημάτων. ζημίας δὲ ἂν τις 5  
 πλέονος ἄξιος εἶναι δοκῇ, ἐὰν ἄρα μὴ τινες ἐθέλωσιν αὐτὸν  
 τῶν φίλων ἐγγυᾶσθαι τε καὶ συνεκτίνοντες ἀπελευθεροῦν,  
 δεσμοῖς τε χρονίοις καὶ ἐμφανέσι καὶ τισιν προπηλακισμοῖς  
 κολάζειν, ἄτιμον δὲ παντάπασιν μηδένα εἶναι μηδέποτε μηδ' c  
 ἐφ' ἐνὶ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, μηδ' ὑπερορίαν φυγάδα· θάνατον  
 δὲ ἢ δεσμοὺς ἢ πληγὰς, ἢ τινας ἀμόρφους ἔδρας ἢ στάσεις  
 ἢ παραστάσεις εἰς ἱερὰ ἐπὶ τὰ τῆς χώρας ἔσχατα, ἢ χρημάτων  
 καθάπερ ἔμπροσθεν εἶπομεν ἐκτίσεις γίνεσθαι δεῖν τὴν 5  
 δίκην ταύτην, γιγνέσθω. δικασταὶ δὲ ἔστωσαν θανάτου περὶ  
 νομοφύλακές τε καὶ τὸ τῶν περυσινῶν ἀρχόντων ἀριστίνδην  
 ἀπομερισθέν δικαστήριον· εἰσαγωγὰς δὲ τούτων καὶ προσκλή- d  
 σεις καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα καὶ ὡς δεῖ γίνεσθαι, τοῖς νεωτέροις  
 νομοθέταις χρή μέλειν, τὴν διαψήφισιν δὲ ἡμέτερον ἔργον  
 νομοθετεῖν. ἔστω δὴ φανερά μὲν ἢ ψήφος τιθεμένη, πρὸ



- 5 τούτου δὲ κατὰ τὸ στόμα τοῦ διώκοντός τε καὶ φεύγοντος ὁ  
δικαστῆς ἐξῆς ἡμῖν ἐγγύτατα κατὰ πρέσβιν ἰξέσθω, πάντες  
δ' οἱ πολῖται, ὅσοι περ ἂν ἄγωσι σχολήν, ἐπήκοοι ἔστωσαν  
σπουδῇ τῶν τοιούτων δικῶν. λέγειν δὲ ἓνα λόγον, πρῶτον  
e μὲν τὸν διώκοντα, τὸν δὲ φεύγοντα δεύτερον· μετὰ δὲ τοὺς  
λόγους τούτους ἄρχεσθαι μὲν τὸν γεραίτατον ἀνακρίνοντα,  
ἰόντα εἰς τὴν τῶν λεχθέντων σκέψιν ἱκανήν, μετὰ δὲ τὸν  
πρεσβύτατον ἐξῆς ἅπαντας χρή διεξελθεῖν ὅτι ἂν παρ'  
5 ἑκατέρου τις τῶν ἀντιδίκων ῥηθὲν ἢ μὴ ῥηθὲν ἐπιποθῇ τινα  
τρόπον· ὁ δὲ μηδὲν ποθὼν ἄλλω τὴν ἀνάκρισιν παραδιδότω.  
τῶν δὲ ῥηθέντων ἐπισφραγισαμένους ὅσα ἂν εἶναι καίρια  
856 δοκῇ, γράμμασιν σημεῖα ἐπιβάλλοντας πάντων τῶν δικαστῶν,  
θεῖναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίαν, καὶ πάλιν αὔριον εἰς ταὐτὸν συνελ-  
θόντας, ὡσαύτως τε ἀνακρίνοντας διεξελθεῖν τὴν δίκην καὶ  
σημεῖα ἐπιβάλλοντας αὐ τοῖς λεχθείσιν· καὶ τρεῖς δράσαντας  
5 τοῦτο, τεκμήριά τε καὶ μάρτυρας ἱκανῶς παραλαβόντας,  
ψῆφον ἱερὰν ἕκαστον φέροντα καὶ ὑποσχόμενον πρὸς τῆς  
ἐστίας εἰς δύναμιν τὰ δίκαια καὶ ἀληθῆ κρίνειν, οὕτω τέλος  
ἐπιθεῖναι τῇ τοιαύτῃ δίκῃ.
- b Μετὰ δὲ τὰ περὶ θεοὺς τὰ περὶ κατάλυσιν τῆς πολιτείας.  
Ὅς ἂν ἄγων εἰς ἀρχὴν ἀνθρώπων δουλώται μὲν τοὺς νόμους,  
ἐταιρίας δὲ τὴν πόλιν ὑπήκοον ποιῇ, καὶ βιαίως δὴ πᾶν  
τοῦτο πράττων καὶ στάσιν ἐγείρων παρανομῇ, τοῦτον δὴ  
5 διανοεῖσθαι δεῖ πάντων πολεμιώτατον ὅλη τῇ πόλει· τὸν  
δὲ κοινωνοῦντα μὲν τῶν τοιούτων μηδενί, τῶν μεγίστων δὲ  
μετέχοντα ἀρχῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει, λεληθότα τε ταῦτα αὐτόν, ἢ  
c μὴ λεληθότα, δειλία δ' ὑπὲρ πατρίδος αὐτοῦ μὴ τιμωρούμενον,  
δεῖ δεύτερον ἡγεῖσθαι τὸν τοιοῦτον πολίτην κάκῃ. πᾶς δὲ  
ἀνὴρ, οὗ καὶ σμικρὸν ὄφελος, ἐνδεικνύτω ταῖς ἀρχαῖς εἰς  
κρίσιν ἄγων τὸν ἐπιβουλευόντα βιαίου πολιτείας μεταστά-  
5 σεως ἅμα καὶ παρανόμου· δικασταὶ δὲ ἔστωσαν τούτοις  
οἵ περ τοῖς ἱεροσούλοις, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν κρίσιν ὡσαύτως αὐτοῖς  
γίνεσθαι καθάπερ ἐκείνοις, τὴν ψῆφον θάνατον φέρειν τὴν  
πλήθει νικῶσαν. ἐνὶ δὲ λόγῳ, πατρὸς ὀνειδῆ καὶ τιμωρίας  
d παίδων μηδενὶ συνέπεσθαι, πλὴν ἐάν τινι πατὴρ καὶ πάππος  
καὶ πάππου πατὴρ ἐφεξῆς ὀφλῶσι θανάτου δίκην· τούτους δὲ  
ἢ πόλις ἔχοντας τὴν αὐτῶν οὐσίαν, πλὴν ὅσον κατεσκευα-  
σμένου τοῦ κλήρου παντελῶς, εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν ἀρχαίαν ἐκ-  
5 πεμπέσθω πατρίδα καὶ πόλιν. οἷς δ' ἂν τῶν πολιτῶν υἱεῖς



ὄντες τυγχάνωσιν πλείους ἑνός, μὴ ἔλαττον δέκα ἔτη γεγόνότες, κληρῶσαι μὲν τούτων δέκα, οὓς ἂν ἀποφήνη πατὴρ ἢ πάππος ὁ πρὸς πατρός ἢ μητρός, τῶν δὲ λαχόντων τὰ ὀνόματα εἰς Δελφούς πεμφθέντων· ὃν δ' ἂν ὁ θεὸς ἀνέλη, κληρονόμον εἰς τὸν οἶκον καταστήσαι τὸν τῶν ἐκλιπόντων τύχῃ ἀμείνوني. e

ΚΛ. Καλῶς.

ΑΘ. Κοινὸς δ' ἔτι τρίτος εἰς ἔστω νόμος περὶ δικαστῶν 5  
τε, οὓς δεῖ δικάζειν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὁ τρόπος τῶν δικῶν, οἷς ἂν  
προδόσεως αἰτίαν ἐπιφέρων τις εἰς δικαστήριον ἄγῃ· καὶ  
μονῆς ὡσαύτως ἐκγόνοις καὶ ἐξόδου τῆς πατρίδος εἰς ἔστω 857  
περὶ ταῦτα νόμος οὗτος τρισί, προδότῃ καὶ ἱεροσύλῳ καὶ τῷ  
τοὺς τῆς πόλεως νόμους βία ἀπολλύντι. κλέπτῃ δέ, ἔάν τε  
μέγα ἔάν τε σμικρὸν κλέπτῃ τις, εἰς αὐτὸν νόμος κείσθω καὶ  
μία δίκης τιμωρία σύμπασιν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ κλαπέν δὴ χρεῶν  
διπλάσιον πρῶτον ἐκτίνειν, ἔὰν ὄφλῃ τις τὴν τοιαύτην δίκην 5  
καὶ ἱκανὴν ἔχῃ τὴν ἄλλην οὐσίαν ἀποτίνειν ὑπὲρ τὸν κλῆρον,  
ἔὰν δὲ μὴ, δεδεόσθαι ἕως ἂν ἐκτείσῃ ἢ πείσῃ τὸν καταδικασά-  
μενον. ἔὰν δὲ τις ὄφλῃ κλοπῆς δημοσίᾳ δίκην, πείσας τὴν b  
πόλιν ἢ τὸ κλέμμα ἐκτείσας διπλοῦν, ἀπαλλαττέσθω τῶν  
δεσμῶν.

ΚΛ. Πῶς δὴ λέγομεν, ὦ ξένε, μηδὲν διαφέρειν τῷ  
κλέπτοντι μέγα ἢ σμικρὸν ὑφελομένῳ, καὶ ἐξ ἱερῶν ἢ ὁσίων, 5  
καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐστὶν περὶ κλοπὴν πᾶσαν ἀνομοιότητα ἔχοντα,  
οἷς δεῖ ποικίλοις οὖσιν ἔπρεσθαι τὸν νομοθέτην μηδὲν ὁμοίαις  
ζημίαις ζημιοῦντα;

ΑΘ. "Αριστ', ὦ Κλεινία· σχεδὸν τοί με ὥσπερ φερό-  
μενον ἀντικρούσας ἀνήγειρας, ἐννενοηκότα δὲ καὶ πρότερον c  
ὑπέμνησας ὅτι τὰ περὶ τὴν τῶν νόμων θέσιν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ  
πώποτε γέγονεν ὀρθῶς διαπεπονημένα, ὥς γε ἐν τῷ νῦν  
παραπεπτωκότι λέγειν. πῶς δ' αὖ καὶ τοῦτο λέγομεν; οὐ  
κακῶς ἀπηκάσαμεν, ὅτε δούλοις ὡς ἱατρευομένοις ὑπὸ δούλων 5  
ἀπηκάζομεν πάντας τοὺς νῦν νομοθετουμένους. εὖ γὰρ ἐπί-  
στασθαι δεῖ τὸ τοιόνδε, ὡς εἰ καταλάβοι ποτέ τις ἱατρὸς  
τῶν ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις ἄνευ λόγου τὴν ἱατρικὴν μεταχειριζο-  
μένων ἐλεύθερον ἐλευθέρῳ νοσοῦντι διαλεγόμενον ἱατρόν, καὶ d  
τοῦ φιλοσοφεῖν ἐγγὺς χρώμενον μὲν τοῖς λόγοις, ἐξ ἀρχῆς  
τε ἀπτόμενον τοῦ νοσήματος, περὶ φύσεως πάσης ἐπανιόντα  
τῆς τῶν σωμάτων, ταχὺ καὶ σφόδρα γελάσειεν ἂν καὶ οὐκ

- 5 ἂν ἄλλους εἴποι λόγους ἢ τοὺς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτ' αἰὲ προχέιρους ὄντας τοῖς πλείστοις λεγομένοις ἰατροῖς· φαίη γὰρ ἂν “ὦ μῶρε, οὐκ ἰατρεύεις τὸν νοσοῦντα ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν παιδεύεις,  
e ὥς ἰατρὸν ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑγιή δεόμενον γίγνεσθαι.”

ΚΛ. Οὐκοῦν λέγων τὰ τοιαῦτα ὀρθῶς ἂν λέγοι;

- ΑΘ. Τάχ' ἂν, εἰ προσδιανοοῖτό γε ὥς ὅστις περὶ νόμων οὕτω διεξέρχεται, καθάπερ ἡμεῖς τὰ νῦν, παιδεύει τοὺς  
5 πολίτας ἀλλ' οὐ νομοθετεῖ. ἄρ' οὖν οὐ καὶ τοῦτ' ἂν πρὸς τρόπου λέγειν φαίνοιτο;

ΚΛ. Ἰσως.

ΑΘ. Εὐτυχές δέ ἡμῶν τὸ παρὸν γέγονεν.

ΚΛ. Τὸ ποῖον δῆ;

- 10 ΑΘ. Τὸ μηδεμίαν ἀνάγκην εἶναι νομοθετεῖν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς  
858 ἐν σκέψει γενομένους περὶ πάσης πολιτείας πειρᾶσθαι κατιδεῖν τό τε ἄριστον καὶ τὸ ἀναγκαιότατον, τίνα τρόπον ἂν γιγνόμενον γίγνοιτο. καὶ δῆ καὶ τὸ νῦν ἕξεστιν ἡμῖν, ὥς ἔοικεν, εἰ μὲν βουλόμεθα, τὸ βέλτιστον σκοπεῖν, εἰ δέ  
5 βουλόμεθα, τὸ ἀναγκαιότατον περὶ νόμων· αἰρώμεθα οὖν πότερον δοκεῖ.

- ΚΛ. Γελοίαν, ὦ ξένε, προτιθέμεθα τὴν αἵρεσιν, καὶ ἀτεχνῶς ὥσπερ κατεχομένοις νομοθέταις ὅμοιοι γιγνοίμεθ'  
b ἂν ὑπὸ μεγάλης τινὸς ἀνάγκης ἤδη νομοθετεῖν, ὥς οὐκέτ' ἐξὸν εἰς αὐριον· ἡμῖν δ'—εἰπεῖν σὺν θεῷ—ἕξεστι, καθάπερ ἢ λιθολόγοις ἢ καὶ τινος ἐτέρας ἀρχομένοις συστάσεως, παραφορήσασθαι χύδην ἐξ ὧν ἐκλεξόμεθα τὰ πρόσφορα τῇ  
5 μελλούσῃ γενήσεσθαι συστάσει, καὶ δῆ καὶ κατὰ σχολὴν ἐκλέξασθαι. τιθῶμεν οὖν ἡμᾶς νῦν εἶναι μὴ τοὺς ἐξ ἀνάγκης οἰκοδομοῦντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐπὶ σχολῆς ἔτι τὰ μὲν παρατιθε-  
μένους, τὰ δὲ συνιστάντας· ὥστε ὀρθῶς ἔχει τὰ μὲν ἤδη τῶν  
c νόμων λέγειν ὥς τιθέμενα, τὰ δ' ὥς παρατιθέμενα.

ΑΘ. Γένοιτο γοῦν ἂν, ὦ Κλεινία, κατὰ φύσιν μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἢ σύνοψις τῶν νόμων. ἴδωμεν γὰρ οὖν, ὦ πρὸς θεῶν, τὸ τοιόνδε περὶ νομοθετῶν.

- 5 ΚΛ. Τὸ ποῖον δῆ;

ΑΘ. Γράμματα μὲν που καὶ ἐν γράμμασιν λόγοι καὶ ἄλλων εἰσὶ πολλῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν γεγραμμένοι, γράμματα δὲ καὶ τὰ τοῦ νομοθέτου καὶ λόγοι.

ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ οὔ;

- 10 ΑΘ. Πότερον οὖν τοῖς μὲν τῶν ἄλλων συγγράμμασιν

ποιητῶν καὶ ὅσοι ἄνευ μέτρων καὶ μετὰ μέτρων τὴν αὐτῶν d  
εἰς μνήμην συμβουλὴν περὶ βίου κατέθεντο συγγράψαντες  
προσέχωμεν τὸν νοῦν, τοῖς δὲ τῶν νομοθετῶν μὴ προσέχωμεν;  
ἢ πάντων μάλιστα;

ΚΛ. Πολύ γε.

ΑΘ. Ἀλλὰ δῆτα οὐ χρὴ τὸν νομοθέτην μόνον τῶν γρα-  
φόντων περὶ καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ δικαίων συμβουλευεῖν,  
διδάσκοντα οἷά τέ ἐστι καὶ ὥς ἐπιτηδευτέον αὐτὰ τοῖς  
μέλλουσιν εὐδαίμοσιν ἕσσεσθαι;

ΚΛ. Καὶ πῶς οὐ;

ΑΘ. Ἀλλὰ αἰσχρὸν δὴ μᾶλλον Ὀμήρῳ τε καὶ Τυρταίῳ e  
καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ποιηταῖς περὶ βίου τε καὶ ἐπιτηδευμάτων  
κακῶς θέσθαι γράψαντας, Λυκούργῳ δὲ ἥττον καὶ Σόλῳ  
καὶ ὅσοι δὴ νομοθέται γενόμενοι γράμματα ἔγραψαν; ἢ τό  
γε ὀρθόν, πάντων δεῖ γραμμάτων τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τὰ περὶ 5  
τοὺς νόμους γεγραμμένα φαίνεσθαι διαπτυστόμενα μακρῶ  
κάλλιστά τε καὶ ἄριστα, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἢ κατ' ἐκείνα  
συνεπόμενα, ἢ διαφωνοῦντα αὐτοῖς εἶναι καταγέλαστα; οὕτω 859  
διανοώμεθα περὶ νόμων δεῖν γραφῆς γίνεσθαι ταῖς πόλεσιν,  
ἐν πατρός τε καὶ μητρὸς σχήμασι φιλοῦντων τε καὶ νοῦν  
ἐχόντων φαίνεσθαι τὰ γεγραμμένα, ἢ κατὰ τύραννον καὶ  
δεσπότην τάξαντα καὶ ἀπειλήσαντα γράψαντα ἐν τοίχοις 5  
ἀπηλλάχθαι; σκοπῶμεν οὖν δὴ καὶ τὰ νῦν ἡμεῖς πότερα  
ταύτῃ πειρώμεθα λέγειν διανοηθέντες περὶ νόμων, εἴτ' οὖν  
δυνάμεθα εἶτε μή, ἀλλ' οὖν τό γε πρόθυμον παρεχόμενοι· b  
καὶ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ὁδὸν ἰόντες, ἂν ἄρα τι καὶ δέη πάσχειν,  
πάσχωμεν. ἀγαθὸν δ' εἴη γε, καὶ ἂν θεὸς ἐθέλῃ, γίγνοιτ'  
ἂν ταύτῃ.

ΚΛ. Καλῶς εἴρηκας, ποιῶμέν τε ὥς λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Διασκεπτέον ἄρα πρῶτον, ὥσπερ ἐπεχειρήσαμεν,  
ἀκριβῶς τὸν περὶ τῶν τε ἱεροσυλούντων καὶ κλοπῆς πάσης  
πέρι καὶ ἀδικημάτων συμπάντων, καὶ οὐ δυσχεραντέον εἰ  
μεταξὺ νομοθετοῦντες τὰ μὲν ἔθεμεν, τῶν δ' ἔτι διασκοποῦμεν c  
πέρι· νομοθέται γὰρ γιγνώμεθα ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐσμέν πω, τάχα δὲ  
ἴσως ἂν γενοίμεθα. εἰ δὴ δοκεῖ περὶ ὧν εἴρηκα ὥς εἴρηκα  
σκοπεῖσθαι, σκοπώμεθα.

ΚΛ. Παντάπασιν μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Περὶ δὴ καλῶν καὶ δικαίων συμπάντων πειρώμεθα  
κατιδεῖν τὸ τοιόνδε, ὅπῃ ποτέ ὁμολογοῦμεν νῦν καὶ ὅπῃ

διαφερόμεθα ἡμεῖς τε ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς, οἳ δὴ φαῖμεν ἂν προθυ-  
μείσθαι γε, εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, διαφέρειν τῶν πλείστων, οἳ πολλοί  
d τε αὐτοὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς αὖ.

ΚΛ. Τὰς ποίας δὲ δὴ διαφορὰς ἡμῶν ἐννοηθεῖς λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Ἐγὼ πειράσομαι φράζειν. περὶ δικαιοσύνης ὅλως  
καὶ τῶν δικαίων ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ πραγμάτων καὶ πράξεων  
5 πάντες πως συνομολογοῦμεν πάντα εἶναι ταῦτα καλά, ὥστε  
οὐδ' εἴ τις δισχυρίζοιτο εἶναι τοὺς δικαίους ἀνθρώπους,  
ἂν καὶ τυγχάνωσιν ὄντες αἰσχροὶ τὰ σώματα, κατ' αὐτό γε  
τὸ δικαιοτάτον ἦθος ταύτῃ παγκάλους εἶναι, σχεδὸν οὐδεὶς ἂν  
e λέγων οὕτω πλημμελῶς δόξειε λέγειν.

ΚΛ. Οὐκοῦν ὀρθῶς;

ΑΘ. Ἴσως· ἴδωμεν δὲ ὥς, εἰ πάντ' ἐστὶν καλὰ ὅσα δι-  
καιοσύνης ἔχεται, τῶν πάντων τοι καὶ τὰ παθήματα ἡμῖν  
5 ἐστὶν, σχεδὸν τοῖς ποιήμασιν ἴσα.

ΚΛ. Τί οὖν δῆ;

ΑΘ. Ποίημα μὲν, ὅπερ ἂν ᾗ δίκαιον, σχεδὸν ὅσον περ  
ἂν τοῦ δικαίου κοινωνῇ, κατὰ τοσοῦτον καὶ τοῦ καλοῦ  
μετέχον ἐστί.

10 ΚΛ. Τί μῆν;

ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν καὶ πάθος ὅπερ ἂν δικαίου κοινωνῇ, κατὰ  
860 τοσοῦτον γίνεσθαι καλὸν ὁμολογούμενον, οὐκ ἂν δια-  
φωνοῦντα παρέχοι τὸν λόγον;

ΚΛ. Ἀληθῆ.

ΑΘ. Ἐὰν δέ γε δίκαιον μὲν ὁμολογῶμεν, αἰσχρὸν δὲ εἶναι  
5 πάθος, διαφωνήσῃ τό τε δίκαιον καὶ τὸ καλόν, λεχθέντων  
τῶν δικαίων αἰσχίστων εἶναι.

ΚΛ. Πῶς τοῦτο εἴρηκας;

ΑΘ. Οὐδὲν χαλεπὸν ἐννοεῖν· οἳ γὰρ ὀλίγῳ πρόσθεν  
τεθέντες ἡμῖν νόμοι πάντων ἐναντιώτατα παραγγέλλειν  
10 δόξειαν ἂν τοῖς νῦν λεγομένοις.

ΚΛ. Ποίοις;

b ΑΘ. Τὸν ἱερόσυλόν που ἐτίθεμεν δικαίως ἂν ἀποθνήσκειν  
καὶ τὸν τῶν εὖ κειμένων νόμων πολέμιον, καὶ μέλλοντες δὴ  
νόμιμα τοιαῦτα τιθέναι πάμπολλα ἐπέσχομεν, ἰδόντες ὥς  
ταῦτα ἐστὶν μὲν ἄπειρα παθήματα πλήθει καὶ μεγέθεσιν,  
5 δικαιοτάτα δὲ πάντων παθημάτων καὶ συμπάντων αἰσχίστα.  
μῶν οὐχ οὕτως ἡμῖν τά τε δίκαια καὶ τὰ καλά τοτὲ μὲν ὥς  
ταῦτά σύμπαντα, τοτὲ δὲ ὥς ἐναντιώτατα φανεῖται;



ΚΛ. Κινδυνεύει.

ΑΘ. Τοῖς μὲν τοίνυν πολλοῖς οὕτω περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀσυμ- c  
φώνως τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ δίκαια διερριμμένα προσαγορεύεται.

ΚΛ. Φαίνεται γοῦν, ὦ ξένε.

ΑΘ. Τὸ τοίνυν ἡμέτερον, ὦ Κλεινία, πάλιν ἴδωμεν πῶς  
αὐτὸ περὶ αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἔχει τῆς συμφωνίας. 5

ΚΛ. Πόίας δὴ πρὸς ποίαν;

ΑΘ. Ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις οἶμαι διαρρήδην ἐμὲ  
εἰρηκέναι πως, εἰ δ' οὖν μὴ πρότερον, ἀλλὰ νῦν ὥς λέγοντα  
τίθετε—

ΚΛ. Τὸ ποῖον; 10

ΑΘ. Ὡς οἱ κακοὶ πάντες εἰς πάντα εἰσὶν ἄκοντες κακοί· d  
τούτου δὲ οὕτως ἔχοντος, ἀνάγκη που τούτῳ συνέπεσθαι τὸν  
ἐξῆς λόγον.

ΚΛ. Τίνα λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Ὡς ὁ μὲν ἄδικός που κακός, ὁ δὲ κακὸς ἄκων τοιοῦτος. 5  
ἀκουσίως δὲ ἐκούσιον οὐκ ἔχει πράττεσθαι ποτε λόγον· ἄκων  
οὖν ἐκείνῳ φαίνοιτ' ἂν ἀδικεῖν ὁ ἀδικῶν τῷ τὴν ἀδικίαν  
ἀκούσιον τιθεμένῳ, καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν ὁμολογητέον ἐμοί·  
σύμφημι γὰρ ἄκοντας ἀδικεῖν πάντας—εἰ καὶ τις φιλονικίας  
ἢ φιλοτιμίας ἔνεκα ἄκοντας μὲν ἀδίκους εἶναι φησιν, ἀδικεῖν e  
μὴν ἐκόντας πολλούς, ὃ γ' ἐμὸς λόγος ἐκείνος ἀλλ' οὐχ  
οὗτος—τίνα οὖν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἔγωγε συμφωνοίην ἂν τοῖς  
ἐμαυτοῦ λόγοις; εἴ με, ὦ Κλεινία καὶ Μέγилле, ἐρωτῶτε·  
“Εἰ δὴ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχοντά ἐστιν, ὦ ξένε, τί συμβουλεύεις 5  
ἡμῖν περὶ τῆς νομοθεσίας τῇ τῶν Μαγνήτων πόλει; πότερον  
νομοθετεῖν ἢ μὴ;” “Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;” φήσω. “Διοριεῖς οὖν  
αὐτοῖς ἀκούσιά τε καὶ ἐκούσια ἀδικήματα, καὶ τῶν μὲν  
ἐκουσίων ἀμαρτημάτων τε καὶ ἀδικημάτων μείζους τὰς  
ζημίας θήσομεν, τῶν δ' ἐλάττους; ἢ πάντων ἐξ ἴσης, ὥς οὐκ 861  
ὄντων ἀδικημάτων τὸ παράπαν ἐκουσίων;”

ΚΛ. Ὅρθως μέντοι λέγεις, ὦ ξένε· καὶ τούτοις δὴ τί  
χρησόμεθα τοῖς νῦν λεγομένοις;

ΑΘ. Καλῶς ἤρου. πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν αὐτοῖς τόδε 5  
χρησόμεθα.

ΚΛ. Τὸ ποῖον;

ΑΘ. Ἀναμνησθῶμεν ὥς ἔμπροσθεν νυνδὴ καλῶς ἐλέ-  
γομεν ὅτι περὶ τὰ δίκαια εἴη παμπόλλη τις ἡμῶν ταραχή τε  
καὶ ἀσυμφωνία. τοῦτο δὲ λαβόντες πάλιν ἐρωτῶμεν ἡμᾶς 10

- b αὐτούς· “Ἄρ’ οὖν περὶ τὴν τούτων ἀπορίαν οὐτ’ ἐξευπορήσαντες οὔτε διορισάμενοι τί ποτ’ ἐστὶν ταῦτα ἀλλήλων διαφέροντα, ἀ δὴ κατὰ πάσας τὰς πόλεις ὑπὸ νομοθετῶν πάντων τῶν πώποτε γενομένων ὡς δύο εἶδη τῶν ἀδικημάτων  
5 ὄντα, τὰ μὲν ἐκούσια, τὰ δὲ ἀκούσια, ταύτη καὶ νομοθετεῖται· ὁ δὲ παρ’ ἡμῶν νυνδὴ ῥηθεὶς λόγος, ὥσπερ παρὰ θεοῦ λεχθεὶς, τοσοῦτον μόνον εἰπὼν ἀπαλλάσσεται, δούς δὲ οὐδένα λόγον ὡς  
c ὀρθῶς εἶρηκεν, κατανομοθετήσει τινὰ τρόπον;” οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ ἀνάγκη πως ταῦτα ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ νομοθετεῖν δηλώσαι δύο τε ὄντα καὶ τὴν διαφορὰν ἄλλην, ἵνα, ὅταν ἐκατέρω  
τις τὴν δίκην ἐπιτιθῇ, πᾶς ἐπακολουθῇ τοῖς λεγομένοις καὶ  
5 δυνατὸς ᾗ τό τε πρεπόντως τεθὲν ἀμῇ γέ πη κρίναι καὶ τὸ μῆ.

ΚΛ. Καλῶς ἡμῖν φαίνει λέγειν, ὦ ξένε· δυοῖν γὰρ θάτερον ἡμᾶς χρεῶν, ἢ μὴ λέγειν ὡς πάντα ἀκούσια τὰ ἀδικήματα, ἢ  
d τοῦτο ὡς ὀρθῶς εἶρηται πρῶτον διορίσαντας δηλῶσαι.

- ΑΘ. Τούτοιον τοίνυν τοῖν δυοῖν τὸ μὲν οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν ἐμοὶ πάντως πονεῖν γίνεσθαι, τό γε δὴ μὴ λέγειν, οὕτως οἰόμενον ἔχειν τάληθές—οὐ γὰρ ἂν νόμιμον οὐδ’ ὅσιον ἂν εἶη—κατὰ  
5 τίνα δὲ τρόπον ἐστὸν δύο, εἰ μὴ τῷ τε ἀκουσίῳ καὶ τῷ ἐκουσίῳ διαφέρετον ἐκάτερον, ἀλλὰ ἄλλω τινὶ δὴ ποτε, πειρατέον ἀμῶς γέ πως δηλοῦν.

ΚΛ. Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν, ὦ ξένε, τοῦτό γε οὐχ οἶόν τε ἄλλως πως ἡμᾶς διανοηθῆναι.

- e ΑΘ. Ταῦτα ἔσται. φέρε δὴ, βλάβαι μὲν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀλλήλων τῶν πολιτῶν ἐν ταῖς κοινωνίαις τε καὶ ὁμιλίαις πολλαὶ γίνονται, καὶ τό γε ἐκούσιόν τε καὶ ἀκούσιον ἐν αὐταῖς ἀφθονόν ἐστι.

- 5 ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

- ΑΘ. Μὴ τοίνυν τις τὰς βλάβας πάσας ἀδικίας τιθείς, οὕτως οἷται καὶ τὰ ἄδικα ἐν αὐταῖσι ταύτῃ γίνεσθαι διπλᾶ, τὰ μὲν ἐκούσια δὴ, τὰ δ’ ἀκούσια—βλάβαι γὰρ ἀκούσιοι τῶν πάντων οὐτ’ ἀριθμοῖς οὔτε μεγέθεσιν ἐλάττους εἰσὶ τῶν  
862 ἐκουσίων—σκοπέισθε δὲ εἴτε τι λέγω λέγων ἂ μέλλω λέγειν, εἴτε καὶ μηδὲν τὸ παράπαν. οὐ γὰρ φημι ἔγωγε, ὦ Κλεινία καὶ Μέγилле, εἴ τίς τινά τι πημαίνει μὴ βουλόμενος ἀλλ’ ἄκων, ἀδικεῖν μὲν, ἄκοντα μὴν, καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν δὴ νομοθετήσω,  
5 τοῦτο ὡς ἀκούσιον ἀδίκημα νομοθετῶν, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ἀδικίαν τὸ παράπαν θήσω τὴν τοιαύτην βλάβην, οὔτε ἂν μείζων οὔτε

ἂν ἐλάττων τῷ γίνηται· πολλάκις δὲ ὠφελίαν οὐκ ὀρθὴν  
γενομένην τὸν τῆς ὠφελίας αἴτιον ἀδικεῖν φήσομεν, ἐὰν ἢ γ'  
ἐμὴ νικᾷ. σχεδὸν γάρ, ὦ φίλοι, οὐτ' εἴ τις τῷ δίδωσίν τι τῶν b  
ὄντων οὐτ' εἰ τοῦναντίον ἀφαιρεῖται, δίκαιον ἀπλῶς ἢ ἄδικον  
χρὴ τὸ τοιοῦτον οὕτω λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἐὰν ᾗθι καὶ δικαίῳ τρόπῳ  
χρώμενός τις ὠφελῇ τινά τι καὶ βλάβη, τοῦτό ἐστιν τῷ  
νομοθέτῃ θεατέον, καὶ πρὸς δύο ταῦτα δὴ βλέπτεον, πρὸς τε 5  
ἀδικίαν καὶ βλάβην, καὶ τὸ μὲν βλαβὲν ἀβλαβὲς τοῖς νόμοις  
εἰς τὸ δυνατόν ποιητέον, τό τε ἀπολόμενον σώζοντα καὶ τὸ  
πεσὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάλιν ἐξορθοῦντα, καὶ τὸ θανατωθὲν ἢ τρωθὲν c  
ὑγιές, τὸ δὲ ἀποίνοις ἐξίλασθὲν τοῖς δρώσι καὶ ἀσχουσιν  
ἐκάστας τῶν βλάβεων, ἐκ διαφορᾶς εἰς **διαλλαγὴν** πειρατέον  
ἀεὶ καθιστάναι τοῖς νόμοις.

ΚΛ. Καλῶς ταυτά γε.

5

ΑΘ. Τὰς τοίνυν ἀδίκους αὖ βλάβας καὶ κέρδη δέ, ἐὰν τις  
ἀδικῶν τινα κερδαίνειν ποιῇ, τούτων ὅποσα μὲν ἰατά, ὡς  
οὐσῶν ἐν ψυχῇ νόσων, ἰᾶσθαι· τὸ δὲ τῆς ἰάσεως ἡμῖν τῆς  
ἀδικίας τῇδε ρέπειν χρὴ φάναι.

ΚΛ. Πῇ;

10

ΑΘ. Ὅπως ὅτι τις ἂν ἀδικήσῃ μέγα ἢ σμικρόν, ὁ νόμος d  
αὐτὸν διδάξει καὶ ἀναγκάσει τὸ παράπαν εἰς αὐθις τὸ τοιοῦτον  
ἢ μηδέποτε ἐκόντα τολμῆσαι ποιεῖν ἢ διαφερόντως ἥττον  
πολύ, πρὸς τῇ τῆς βλάβης ἐκτίσει. ταῦτα εἴτε ἔργοις ἢ  
λόγοις, ἢ μεθ' ἡδονῶν ἢ λυπῶν, ἢ τιμῶν ἢ ἀτιμιῶν, καὶ 5  
χρημάτων ζημίας ἢ καὶ δώρων, ἢ καὶ τὸ παράπαν ᾧτινι  
τρόπῳ ποιήσει τις μισῆσαι μὲν τὴν ἀδικίαν, στέρξει δὲ ἢ  
μὴ μισεῖν τὴν τοῦ δικαίου φύσιν, αὐτό ἐστιν τοῦτο ἔργον  
τῶν καλλίστων νόμων. ὃν δ' ἂν ἀνιάτως εἰς ταῦτα ἔχοντα e  
αἰσθηται νομοθέτης, δίκην τούτοις καὶ νόμον θήσει τίνα;  
γιννώσκων πού τοις τοιούτοις πᾶσιν ὡς οὔτε αὐτοῖς ἔτι ζῆν  
ἄμεινον, τοὺς τε ἄλλους ἂν διπλῇ ὠφελοῖεν ἀπαλλαττόμενοι  
τοῦ βίου, παράδειγμα μὲν τοῦ μὴ ἀδικεῖν τοῖς ἄλλοις γενό- 5  
μενοι, ποιοῦντες δὲ ἀνδρῶν κακῶν ἔρημον τὴν πόλιν, οὕτω  
δὴ τῶν τοιούτων περὶ νομοθέτῃ κολαστὴν τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων 863  
θάνατον ἀνάγκη νέμειν, ἄλλως δὲ οὐδαμῶς.

ΚΛ. Ἔοικε μὲν πως λέγεσθαι τὰ παρὰ σοῦ καὶ μάλα  
μετρίως, ἥδιον δ' ἂν ἔτι σαφέστερον ἀκούσαιομεν ταῦτα  
ῥηθέντα, τὸ τῆς ἀδικίας τε καὶ βλάβης διάφορον καὶ τὸ τῶν 5  
ἐκουσίων καὶ ἀκουσίων ὡς ἐν τούτοις διαπεποίκιλται.



ΑΘ. Πειρατέον τοίνυν ὥς κελεύετε δρᾶν, καὶ λέγειν.

- b δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι τοσόνδε γε περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ λέγετε πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀκούετε, ὥς ἐν μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ τῆς φύσεως εἴτε τι πάθος εἴτε τι μέρος ὧν ὁ θυμός, δύσερι καὶ δύσμαχον κτῆμα ἐμπεφυκός, ἀλογίστῳ βίᾳ πολλὰ ἀνατρέπει.

5 ΚΛ. Πῶς δ' οὐ;

ΑΘ. Καὶ μὴν ἡδονὴν γε οὐ ταῦτόν τῳ θυμῷ προσαγορεύομεν, ἐξ ἐναντίας δὲ αὐτῷ φαμεν ῥώμης δυναστεύουσιν πειθοῖ μετὰ ἀπάτης οὐ βίᾳ πράττειν πᾶν ὅτιπερ ἂν αὐτῆς ἡ βούλησις ἐβελήσῃ.

10 ΚΛ. Καὶ μάλα.

- c ΑΘ. Τρίτον μὴν ἄγνοιαν λέγων ἂν τις τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων αἰτίαν οὐκ ἂν ψεύδοιτο· διχῇ μὴν διελόμενος αὐτὸ ὁ νομοθέτης ἂν βελτίων εἴη, τὸ μὲν ἀπλοῦν αὐτοῦ κούφων ἀμαρτημάτων αἴτιον ἡγούμενος, τὸ δὲ διπλοῦν, ὅταν ἀμαθαίῃ τις

5 μὴ μόνον ἀγνοίᾳ συνεχόμενος ἀλλὰ καὶ δόξῃ σοφίας, ὥς εἰδὼς παντελῶς περὶ ᾧ μηδαμῶς οἶδεν, μετὰ μὲν ἰσχύος καὶ ῥώμης ἐπομένης μεγάλων καὶ ἀμούσων ἀμαρτημάτων τιθεῖς

- d αἷτια τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἀσθενείας δὲ ἐπομένης, παίδειά τε ἀμαρτήματα καὶ πρεσβυτέρων γιγνόμενα, θήσῃ μὲν ἀμαρτήματα καὶ ὥς ἀμαρτάνουσιν νόμους τάξει, πρατοτάτους γε μὴν πάντων καὶ συγγνώμης πλείστης ἐχομένους.

5 ΚΛ. Εἰκότα λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Ἡδονῆς μὲν τοίνυν καὶ θυμοῦ λέγομεν σχεδὸν ἅπαντες ὥς ὁ μὲν κρείττων ἡμῶν, ὁ δὲ ἥττων ἐστίν· καὶ ἔχει ταύτη.

ΚΛ. Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν.

- 10 ΑΘ. Ἀγνοίας δέ γε ὥς ὁ μὲν ἡμῶν κρείττων, ὁ δὲ ἥττων, οὐκ ἠκούσαμεν πώποτε.

e ΚΛ. Ἀληθέστατα.

ΑΘ. Πάντα δέ γε προτρέπειν ταῦτά φαμεν εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ βούλησιν ἐπισπώμενον ἕκαστον εἰς τὰναντία πολλάκις ἅμα.

ΚΛ. Πλειστάκις μὲν οὖν.

- 5 ΑΘ. Νῦν δὴ σοι τό τε δίκαιον καὶ τὸ ἄδικον, ὃ γε ἐγὼ λέγω, σαφῶς ἂν διορισαίμην οὐδὲν ποικίλλων. τὴν γὰρ τοῦ θυμοῦ καὶ φόβου καὶ ἡδονῆς καὶ λύπης καὶ φθόνων καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν ἐν ψυχῇ τυραννίδα, εἴαν τέ τι βλάβητι καὶ εἴαν μὴ, πάντως ἀδικίαν προσαγορεύω· τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἀρίστου δόξαν, ὅπῃπερ ἂν ἔσσεσθαι τοῦτό γ' ἡγήσωνται πόλις εἴτε ἰδιῶται



τινες, ἐὰν αὕτη κρατοῦσα ἐν ψυχαῖς διακοσμῇ πάντα ἄνδρα, καὶ σφάλληται τι, δίκαιον μὲν πᾶν εἶναι φατέον τὸ ταύτην πραχθὲν καὶ τὸ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρχῆς γιγνόμενον ὑπήκοον 5 ἐκάστων, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἅπαντα ἀνθρώπων βίον ἄριστον, δοξάζεσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἀκούσιον ἀδικίαν εἶναι τὴν τοιαύτην βλάβην. ἡμῖν δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν τὰ νῦν ὀνομάτων πέρι δύσερις λόγος, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τῶν ἀμαρτανομένων τρία εἶδη δεδήλωται b γιγνόμενα, ταῦτα εἰς μνήμην πρῶτον ἔτι μάλλον ἀναληπτέον. λύπης μὲν οὖν, ἣν θυμὸν καὶ φόβον ἐπονομάζομεν, ἐν εἶδος ἡμῖν ἔστιν.

ΚΛ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Ἡδονῆς δ' αὖ καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν δεύτερον, ἐλπίδων δὲ 5 καὶ δόξης τῆς ἀμαθοῦς περὶ τὸ ἄριστον ἔφεσις τρίτον ἕτερον. 3 τούτου δὲ αὐτοῦ τρία διχῇ τμηθέντος πέντε εἶδη γέγονεν, ὥς νῦν φαμεν· οἷς νόμους διαφέροντας ἀλλήλων πέντε εἶδεναι c θετέον ἐν δυοῖν γένεσιν.

ΚΛ. Τίσιν τούτοις;

ΑΘ. Τὸ μὲν διὰ βιαίων καὶ συμφανῶν πράξεων πρατ- 5 τόμενον ἐκάστοτε, τὸ δὲ μετὰ σκότους καὶ ἀπάτης λαθραίως γιγνόμενον, ἔστιν δ' ὅτε καὶ δι' ἀμφοῖν τούτων πραχθὲν 5 ᾧ δὴ καὶ νόμοι τραχύτατοι γίνονται ἅν, εἰ τὸ προσήκον μέρος ἔχοιεν.

ΚΛ. Εἰκὸς γοῦν.

ΑΘ. Ἵωμεν δὴ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκείσε ὁπόθεν ἐξέβημεν 10 δεῦρο, περαίνοντες τὴν θέσιν τῶν νόμων. ἦν δὲ ἡμῖν κείμενα περὶ τε τῶν συλόντων, οἶμαι, τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὰ d περὶ προδοτῶν, ἔτι δὲ τῶν τοὺς νόμους διαφθειρόντων ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῆς παρούσης πολιτείας. τούτων δὴ τις ἂν ἴσως πράξειεν τι μανείς, ἢ νόσοις ἢ γήρᾳ ὑπερμέτρῳ συνεχόμενος, ἢ παιδία χρώμενος, οὐδέν πω τῶν τοιούτων διαφέρων· ὧν 5 ἂν γίγνηται τι φανερόν τοῖς ἐκλεχθεῖσιν ἐκάστοτε δικασταῖς, ἀναφέροντος τοῦ δράσαντος ἢ τοῦ σκηπτομένου ὑπὲρ τοῦ ποιήσαντος, κριθῇ δὲ οὕτω διατεθεῖς παρανομῆσαι, τὴν μὲν e βλάβην ἣν ἂν τινα καταβλάβῃ πάντως ἀπλήν ἀποτινέτω, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων δικαιωμάτων ἀφείσθω, πλὴν ἂν ἄρα τινα ἀποκτείνας μὴ καθαρὸς ἢ τὰς χεῖρας φόνου· οὕτω δ' εἰς ἄλλην χώραν καὶ τόπον ἀπελθὼν οἰκείτω τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκδημῶν, πρό- 5 τερον δὲ ἐλθὼν τοῦ χρόνου ὃν ὁ νόμος ὥρισεν, ἢ καὶ πάσης ἐπιβὰς τῆς οἰκείας χώρας, ἐν δημοσίῳ δεσμῷ δεθεῖς ὑπὸ

τῶν νομοφυλάκων δύο ἐνιαυτούς, οὕτως ἀπαλλαττέσθω τῶν δεσμῶν.

- 865 Φόνου δὴ καθάπερ ἡρξάμεθα, πειρώμεθα διὰ τέλους παντὸς εἶδους πέρι φόνου θεῖναι τοὺς νόμους, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὰ βίαια καὶ ἀκούσια λέγωμεν. Εἴ τις ἐν ἀγῶνι καὶ ἀθλοῖς δημοσίοις ἄκων, εἴτε παραχρῆμα εἴτε καὶ ἐν ὑστέροις χρόνοις
- 5 ἐκ τῶν πληγῶν, ἀπέκτεινεν τινα φίλιον, ἢ κατὰ πόλεμον ὡσαύτως ἢ κατὰ μελέτην τὴν πρὸς πόλεμον, ποιουμένων ἀσκήσιν [τῶν ἀρχόντων] ψιλοῖς σώμασιν ἢ μετὰ τινων ὀπλων
- b ἀπομιμουμένων τὴν πολεμικὴν πράξιν, καθαρθεὶς κατὰ τὸν ἐκ Δελφῶν κομισθέντα περὶ τούτων νόμον ἔστω καθαρὸς· ἰατρῶν δὲ πέρι πάντων, ἃν ὁ θεραπευόμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀκόντων τελευτᾷ, καθαρὸς ἔστω κατὰ νόμον. ἐὰν δὲ αὐτόχειρ μὲν,
- 5 ἄκων δὲ ἀποκτείνῃ τις ἕτερος ἕτερον, εἴτε τῷ ἑαυτοῦ σώματι ψιλῷ εἴτε ὀργάνῳ ἢ βέλει ἢ πώματος ἢ σίτου δόσει ἢ πυρὸς ἢ χειμῶνος προσβολῇ ἢ στερήσῃ πνεύματος, αὐτὸς τῷ
- c ἑαυτοῦ σώματι ἢ δι' ἐτέρων σωμάτων, πάντως ἔστω μὲν ὡς αὐτόχειρ, δίκας δὲ τινέτω τὰς τοιάσδε· ἐὰν μὲν δοῦλον κτείνῃ, νομίζων τὸν ἑαυτοῦ διειργάσθαι τὸν τοῦ τελευτήσαντος δεσπότην ἀβλαβῇ παρεχέτω καὶ ἀζήμιον, ἢ δίκην εἰς
- 5 τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ τελευτήσαντος ὑπεχέτω διπλὴν, τῆς δὲ ἀξίας οἱ δικασταὶ διάγνωσιν ποιείσθωσαν, καθαρμοῖς δὲ χρῆσασθαι μείζουσιν τε καὶ πλείοσι τῶν περὶ τὰ ἀθλα ἀποκτεινάντων,
- d τούτων δ' ἐξηγητὰς εἶναι κυρίου οὗς ἂν ὁ θεὸς ἀνέλῃ· ἐὰν δὲ αὐτοῦ δοῦλον, καθηράμενος ἀπαλλαττέσθω τοῦ φόνου κατὰ νόμον. ἐὰν δὲ τις ἐλεύθερον ἄκων ἀποκτείνῃ, τοὺς μὲν καθαρμοὺς τοὺς αὐτοὺς καθαρθήτω τῷ τὸν δοῦλον
- 5 ἀποκτείναντι, παλαιὸν δὲ τινα τῶν ἀρχαίων μύθων λεγόμενον μὴ ἀτιμαζέτω. λέγεται δὲ ὡς ὁ θανατωθεὶς ἄρα βιαίως, ἐν ἐλευθέρῳ φρονήματι βεβιωκώς, θυμουταί τε τῷ
- e δράσαντι νεοθνής ὢν, καὶ φόβου καὶ δείματος ἅμα διὰ τὴν βίαιον πάθην αὐτὸς πεπληρωμένος, ὀρῶν τε τὸν ἑαυτοῦ φονέα ἐν τοῖς ἡθεσι τοῖς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ συνηθείας ἀναστρεφόμενον, δειμαίνει, καὶ ταραττόμενος αὐτὸς ταραττεῖ κατὰ δύναμιν
- 5 πᾶσαν τὸν δράσαντα, μνήμην σύμμαχον ἔχων, αὐτόν τε καὶ τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ. διὸ δὴ χρεὼν ἐστίν ἄρα ὑπεξελθεῖν τῷ παθόντι τὸν δράσαντα τὰς ὥρας πάσας τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ καὶ ἐρημῶσαι πάντας τοὺς οἰκείους τόπους συμπάσης τῆς πατρίδος· ἐὰν δὲ ξένος ὁ τελευτήσας ᾗ, καὶ τῆς τοῦ ξένου

χώρας εἰργέσθω τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους. τούτῳ δὴ τῷ νόμῳ 866  
 εἰάν μὲν ἐκὼν πείθηται τις, ὁ τοῦ τελευτήσαντος γένει  
 ἐγγύτατα, ἐπίσκοπος ὢν τούτων πάντων γενομένων, ἐχέτω  
 συγγνώμην τε καὶ ἄγων πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰρήνην μέτριος ἂν εἴη  
 πάντως· εἰάν δέ τις ἀπειθῇ καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀκάθαρτος ὢν 5  
 εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ τολμᾷ πορεύεσθαι καὶ θύειν, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς χρό-  
 νους μὴ ἐθέλλῃ πληροῦν ἀποξενούμενος τοὺς εἰρημένους, ὁ  
 τοῦ τελευτήσαντος γένει ἐγγύτατα ἐπεξίτω μὲν φόνου τῷ b  
 κτείναντι, διπλᾷ δὲ πάντα ἔστω τὰ τιμωρήματα τῷ ὀφλόντι.  
 εἰάν δ' ὁ προσήκων ἐγγύτατα μὴ ἐπεξίῃ τῷ παθήματι, τὸ  
 μίasma ὥς εἰς αὐτὸν περιεληλυθός, τοῦ παθόντος προστρε-  
 πομένου τὴν πάθην, ὁ βουλούμενος ἐπεξελθὼν τούτῳ δίκην, 5  
 πέντε ἔτη ἀποσχέσθαι τῆς αὐτοῦ πατρίδος ἀναγκαζέτω κατὰ  
 νόμον. εἰάν δὲ ξένος ἄκων ξένον κτείνῃ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει,  
 ἐπεξίτω μὲν ὁ βουλούμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς νόμοις, μέτοικος c  
 δὲ ὢν ἀπενιαυτησάτω, ξένος δὲ ἂν ᾗ παντάπασιν, πρὸς τῷ  
 καθαρωῷ, εἰάν τε ξένον εἰάν τε μέτοικον εἰάν τε ἀστὸν κτείνῃ,  
 τὸν βίον ἅπαντα τῆς χώρας τῆς τῶν νόμων τῶνδε κυρίας  
 εἰργέσθω· εἰάν δ' ἔλθῃ παρανόμως, οἱ νομοφύλακες θανάτῳ 5  
 ζημιούντων αὐτόν, καὶ εἰάν ἔχῃ οὐσίαν τινά, τῷ τοῦ παθόντος  
 ἐγγύτατα γένει παραδιδόντων. εἰάν δὲ ἄκων ἔλθῃ, ἂν μὲν  
 κατὰ θάλατταν ἐκπίπτῃ πρὸς τὴν χώραν, σκηνησάμενος ἐν d  
 θαλάττῃ τέγγων τοὺς πόδας πλοῦν ἐπιφυλαττέτω, κατὰ γῆν  
 δὲ ἂν βία ὑπὸ τινων ἀχθῇ, ἡ πρώτη προστυχοῦσα ἀρχὴ τῶν  
 ἐν τῇ πόλει λύσασα, εἰς τὴν ὑπερορίαν ἐκπεμπέτω ἄσυλον.  
 εἰάν δ' ἄρα τις αὐτόχειρ μὲν κτείνῃ ἐλεύθερον, θυμῷ δὲ ᾗ τὸ 5  
 πεπραγμένον ἐκπραχθέν, διχῇ δεῖ πρῶτον τὸ τοιοῦτον δια-  
 λαβεῖν. θυμῷ γάρ δὴ πέπρακται καὶ τοῖς ὅσοι ἂν ἐξαίφνης  
 μὲν καὶ ἀπροβουλεύτως τοῦ ἀποκτεῖναι πληγαῖς ἢ τινι τοιοῦτῳ e  
 διαφθείρωσί τινα παραχρῆμα τῆς ὁρμῆς γενομένης, μεταμέ-  
 λειά τε εὐθύς τοῦ πεπραγμένου γίννηται, θυμῷ δὲ καὶ ὅσοι  
 προπηλακισθέντες λόγοις ἢ καὶ ἀτίμοις ἔργοις, μεταδιώκοντες  
 τὴν τιμωρίαν, ὕστερον ἀποκτείνωσί τινα βουληθέντες κτείνειν 5  
 καὶ τὸ πεπραγμένον αὐτοῖς ἀμεταμέλητον γίννηται. διττοὺς  
 μὲν δὴ τοὺς φόνους, ὥς ἔοικε, θετέον, καὶ σχεδὸν ἀμφοτέρους  
 θυμῷ γεγονότας, μεταξὺ δέ που τοῦ τε ἐκουσίου καὶ ἀκουσίου 867  
 δικαιοτάτ' ἂν λεγομένους. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἰκὼν ἐσθ' ἐκάτερος·  
 ὁ μὲν τὸν θυμὸν φυλάττων καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα ἐξαίφνης  
 ἀλλὰ μετὰ ἐπιβουλῆς ὕστερον χρόνῳ τιμωρούμενος ἐκουσίῳ



- 5 ἔοικεν, ὁ δὲ ἀταμιεύτως ταῖς ὀργαῖς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα  
 εὐθὺς χρώμενος ἀπροβουλεύτως ὅμοιος μὲν ἀκουσίῳ, ἔστι  
 δὲ οὐδ' οὗτος αὖ παντάπασιν ἀκούσιος ἀλλ' εἰκὼν ἀκου-  
 b σίου. διὸ χαλεποὶ διορίζειν οἱ τῷ θυμῷ πραχθέντες φόνοι,  
 πότερον ἐκουσίους αὐτοὺς ἢ τινας ὡς ἀκουσίους νομοθετητέον,  
 βέλτιστον μὴν καὶ ἀληθέστατον εἰς εἰκόνα μὲν ἄμφω θεῖναι,  
 5 τοῖς μὲν μετ' ἐπιβουλῆς τε καὶ ὀργῇ κτείνασιν τὰς τιμωρίας  
 χαλεπωτέρας, τοῖς δὲ ἀπροβουλεύτως τε καὶ ἐξαίφνης πρα-  
 τέρως νομοθετεῖν· τὸ γὰρ εἰκὸς μείζονι κακῷ μείζονως, τὸ  
 c δ' ἐλάττονι τιμωρητέον ἐλαττόνως. ποιητέον δὴ καὶ τοῖς  
 ἡμετέροις νόμοις οὕτω.

ΚΛ. Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν.

- ΑΘ. Πάλιν ἐπανελθόντες τοῖνυν λέγωμεν· Ἄν ἄρα τις  
 5 αὐτόχειρ μὲν κτείνῃ ἐλεύθερον, τὸ δὲ πεπραγμένον ἀπρο-  
 βουλεύτως ὀργῇ τινι γένηται πραχθέν, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, καθάπερ  
 ἄνευ θυμοῦ κτείναντι προσήκέν τῷ πάσχειν, πασχέτω, δύο  
 δ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἔτη φευγέτω κολάζων τὸν αὐτοῦ θυμόν. ὁ δὲ  
 d θυμῷ μὲν, μετ' ἐπιβουλῆς δὲ κτείνας τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ τὸν  
 πρόσθεν αὖ, τρία δὲ ἔτη, καθάπερ ἄτερος ἔφευγεν τὰ δύο,  
 φευγέτω, μεγέθει θυμοῦ πλείω τιμωρηθεὶς χρόνον. καθόδου  
 δὲ περί τούτοις ὧδε ἔστω. χαλεπὸν μὲν ἀκριβῶς νομοθετεῖν·  
 5 ἔστι γὰρ ὅτε τούτοις ὁ τῷ νόμῳ ταχθεὶς χαλεπώτερος ἡμερώ-  
 τερος ἂν, ὁ δὲ ἡμερώτερος χαλεπώτερος ἂν εἴη, καὶ τὰ περὶ  
 τὸν φόνον ἀγριωτέως ἂν πράξειεν, ὁ δὲ ἡμερωτέως· ὡς  
 e δὲ τὸ πολὺ κατὰ τὰ νῦν εἰρημένα συμβαίνει γιγνόμενα.  
 τούτων οὖν πάντων ἐπιγνώμονας εἶναι χρὴ νομοφύλακας,  
 ἐπειδὴν δὲ ὁ χρόνος ἔλθῃ τῆς φυγῆς ἑκατέρῳ, πέμπειν αὐτῶν  
 δικαστὰς δώδεκα ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρους τῆς χώρας, ἐσκεμμένους ἐν  
 5 τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ τὰς τῶν φυγόντων πράξεις ἔτι σαφέστερον,  
 καὶ τῆς αἰδοῦς τε περί καὶ καταδοχῆς τούτων δικαστὰς γί-  
 γνεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ αὖ τοῖς δικασθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων  
 868 ἀρχόντων ἐμμένειν. εἰ δ' αὐθὶς ποτε κατελθὼν ὁπότερος  
 αὐτοῖς ἡττηθεὶς ὀργῇ πράξῃ ταῦτόν τοῦτο, φγγὼν μηκέτι  
 κατέλθῃ, κατελθὼν δέ, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ξένου ἀφίξιν ταύτῃ  
 πασχέτω. δοῦλον δ' ὁ κτείνας ἑαυτοῦ μὲν καθηράσθω, εἰ  
 5 δὲ ἀλλότριον θυμῷ, διπλῇ τὸ βλάβος ἐκτεισάτω τῷ κεκτη-  
 μένῳ. ὅστις δ' ἂν τῶν ἀποκτεινάντων πάντων μὴ πείθῃται  
 τῷ νόμῳ, ἀλλ' ἀκάθαρτος ὢν ἀγοράν τε καὶ ἄθλα καὶ τὰ



ἄλλα ἱερὰ μαιίνῃ, ὁ βουλόμενος, τὸν τε ἐπιτρέποντα τῶν **b**  
 προσηκόντων τῷ τελευτήσαντι καὶ τὸν ἀποκτείναντα εἰς  
 δίκην καταστήσας, τὴν διπλασίαν χρημάτων τε καὶ τῶν  
 ἄλλων πράξεων ἀναγκαζέτω πράττειν τε καὶ ἐκτίνειν, τὸ  
 δὲ ἔκτεισμα αὐτὸς αὐτῷ κομιζέσθω κατὰ τὸν νόμον. ἐὰν **5**  
 δέ τις θυμῷ δοῦλος δεσπότην αὐτοῦ κτείνῃ, τοὺς προσήκοντας  
 τοῦ τελευτήσαντος χρωμένους τῷ κτείναντι χρεῖαν ἦν ἂν  
 ἐθέλωσι, πλὴν μηδαμῇ μηδαμῶς ζωγοῦντας, καθαρὸς εἶναι· **c**  
 ἐὰν δὲ ἄλλος τις δοῦλος ἐλεύθερον ἀποκτείνῃ θυμῷ, παρα-  
 δίδόντων οἱ δεσπότες τὸν δοῦλον τοῖς προσήκουσι τοῦ  
 τελευτήσαντος, οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἀνάγκης μὲν θανατωσάντων τὸν  
 δράσαντα, τρόπῳ δὲ ᾧ ἂν ἐθέλωσιν. ἂν δ' **5**, ὁ γίγνεται  
 μὲν, ὀλιγάκις δέ, διὰ θυμὸν πατὴρ ἢ μήτηρ υἱὸν ἢ θυγατέρα  
 πληγαῖς ἢ τινι τρόπῳ βιαίῳ κτείνῃ, καθάρσεις μὲν τὰς αὐτὰς  
 τοῖς ἄλλοις καθαίρεσθαι καὶ ἐνιαυτοὺς τρεῖς ἀπενιαυτεῖν,  
 κατελθόντων δὲ τῶν κτεινάντων, ἀπαλλάττεσθαι γυναικὰ τε **d**  
 ἀπ' ἀνδρὸς καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀπὸ γυναικός, καὶ μὴ ποτ' ἔτι  
 κοινῇ παιδοποιήσασθαι, μηδὲ συνέστιον ὦν ἕκγονον ἢ ἀδελφὸν  
 ἀπεστέρηκε γίγνεσθαι ποτε μηδὲ κοινωνὸν ἱερῶν· ὁ δὲ ἀσε-  
 βῶν τε περὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἀπειθῶν ὑπόδικος ἀσεβείας γιγνέσθω **5**  
 τῷ ἐθέλοντι. γυναῖκα δὲ γαμετὴν ἐὰν ἀνὴρ δι' ὀργὴν κτείνῃ  
 τινὰ τις, ἢ γυνὴ ἑαυτῆς ἄνδρα ταῦτόν τοῦτο ὡσαύτως ἐρ- **e**  
 γάσῃται, καθαίρεσθαι μὲν τοὺς αὐτοὺς καθαρμούς, τριετείς  
 δὲ ἀπενιαυτήσεις διατελεῖν. κατελθὼν δὲ ὁ τι τοιοῦτον  
 δράσας, τοῖς αὐτοῦ παισὶν ἱερῶν μὴ κοινωνεῖτω μηδὲ ὁμοτρά-  
 πεζος γιγνέσθω ποτέ· ἀπειθῶν δὲ ὁ γεννήτωρ ἢ ὁ γεννηθεὶς **5**  
 ἀσεβείας αὐτὸς ὑπόδικος γιγνέσθω τῷ ἐθέλοντι. καὶ ἐὰν ἀδελφὸς  
 ἀδελφὸν ἢ ἀδελφήν, ἢ ἀδελφὴ ἀδελφὸν ἢ ἀδελφὴν θυμῷ  
 κτείνῃ, τὰ μὲν τῶν καθαρμῶν καὶ ἀπενιαυτήσεων ὡσαύτως,  
 καθάπερ εἴρηται τοῖς γονεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις, εἰρήσθω  
 δεῖν γίγνεσθαι καὶ τούτοις—ὦν ἀδελφούς τε ἀδελφῶν καὶ **10**  
 γονέας ἐστέρηκε παίδων, τούτοις δὲ συνέστιος αὐτοῖς μηδέ-  
 ποτε γιγνέσθω μηδὲ κοινωνὸς ἱερῶν—ἐὰν δέ τις ἀπειθῇ,  
 τῷ τῆς περὶ ταῦτα ἀσεβείας εἰρημένῳ νόμῳ ὑπόδικος ὀρθῶς **869**  
 ἂν γίγνοιτο μετὰ δίκης. ἐὰν δ' ἄρα τις εἰς τοσοῦτον ἀκρατὴς  
 θυμοῦ γίγνηται πρὸς τοὺς γεννήσαντας, ὥστε μανίαις ὀργῆς  
 τῶν γεννητόρων τολμῆσαι κτεínaί τινα, ἐὰν μὲν ὁ τελευ-  
 τήσας πρὶν τελευτῆσαι τὸν δράσαντα φόνου ἀφίῃ ἐκῶν, **5**  
 καθάπερ οἱ τὸν ἀκούσιον φόνον ἐξεργασάμενοι καθαρθεῖς,

- καὶ τὰλλα ὅσαπερ ἐκείνοι πράξας, καθαρὸς ἔστω, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ  
 b ἀφῇ, πολλοῖς ἔνοχος ἔστω νόμοις ὁ δράσας τι τοιοῦτον· καὶ  
 γὰρ αἰκίας δίκαις ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἔνοχος ἂν γίγνοιτο καὶ ἀσε-  
 βείας ὡσαύτως καὶ ἱεροσυλίας, τὴν τοῦ γεννητοῦ ψυχὴν  
 συλήσας, ὥστ' εἴπερ οἷόν τ' ἦν [τοῦ] πολλάκις ἀποθνήσκειν  
 5 τὸν αὐτόν, καὶ τὸν πατροφόνον ἢ μητροκτόνον, ἐξεργασά-  
 μενον θυμῷ τοῦτο, δικαιοτάτον θανάτων πολλῶν ἦν τυγχά-  
 νειν. ᾧ γὰρ μόνῳ οὐδ' ἀμυνομένῳ θάνατον [μέλλοντι ὑπὸ  
 c τῶν γονέων τελευτήσασθαι] παρέξει νόμος οὐδεὶς κτείνειν τὸν  
 πατέρα ἢ μητέρα, τοὺς εἰς φῶς τὴν ἐκείνου φύσιν ἀγαγόντας,  
 ἀλλ' ὑπομείναντα τὰ πάντα πᾶσχειν πρὶν τι δρᾶν τοιοῦτον  
 νομοθετήσει, πῶς τούτῳ δίκης γε ἄλλως προσήκον τυγχάνειν  
 5 ἂν γίγνοιτο ἐν νόμῳ; κείσθω δὴ τῷ πατέρα ἢ μητέρα ἀπο-  
 κτείναντι θυμῷ θάνατος ἢ ζημία. ἀδελφὸς δὲ ἂν ἀδελφὸν  
 κτείνῃ ἐν στάσεσι μάχης γενομένης ἢ τινι τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ,  
 d ἀμυνόμενος ἄρχοντα χειρῶν πρότερον, καθάπερ πολέμιον  
 ἀποκτείνας ἔστω καθαρὸς, καὶ ἐὰν πολίτης πολίτην, ὡσαύ-  
 τως, ἢ ξένος ξένον. ἐὰν δὲ ἀστὸς ξένον ἢ ξένος ἀστὸν  
 ἀμυνόμενος κτείνῃ, κατὰ ταῦτά ἔστω τοῦ καθαρὸς εἶναι.  
 5 καὶ ἐὰν δοῦλος δοῦλον, ὡσαύτως· ἐὰν δὲ αὖ δοῦλος ἐλεύ-  
 θερον ἀμυνόμενος ἀποκτείνῃ, καθάπερ ὁ κτείνας πατέρα,  
 τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἔνοχος ἔστω νόμοις. ὁ δὲ περὶ τῆς ἀφέσεως  
 εἴρηται φόνου πατρί, ταῦτόν τοῦτο ἔστω περὶ ἀπάσης τῶν  
 e τοιούτων ἀφέσεως· ἐὰν ὅστισοῦν ὄψωσιν ἀφίῃ τοῦτο ἐκῶν,  
 ὡς ἀκουσίου γεγονότος τοῦ φόνου, οἳ τε καθαρμοὶ γινέ-  
 σθωσαν τῷ δράσαντι καὶ ἐνιαυτὸς εἰς ἔστω τῆς ἐκδημίας  
 ἐν νόμῳ. καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ βίαιά τε καὶ ἀκούσια καὶ κατὰ  
 5 τὸν θυμὸν γιγνόμενα περὶ φόνους μετρίως εἰρήσθω· τὰ δὲ  
 περὶ τὰ ἐκούσια καὶ κατ' ἀδικίαν πᾶσαν γιγνόμενα τούτων  
 πέρι καὶ ἐπιβουλῆς δι' ἥττας ἡδονῶν τε καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ  
 φθόνων, ταῦτα μετ' ἐκείνα ἡμῖν λεκτέον.

ΚΛ. Ὅρθῳς λέγεις.

- 10 ΑΘ. Πάλιν δὴ πρῶτον περὶ τῶν τοιούτων εἰς δύναμιν  
 870 εἴπωμεν ὅποσα ἂν εἴῃ. τὸ μὲν δὴ μέγιστον ἐπιθυμία κρα-  
 τοῦσα ψυχῆς ἐξηγριωμένης ὑπὸ πόθων· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν  
 μάλιστα ἐνταῦθα οὐ πλείστός τε καὶ ἰσχυρότατος ἔμμερος  
 ὢν τυγχάνει τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἢ τῶν χρημάτων τῆς ἀπλήστου  
 5 καὶ ἀπείρου κτήσεως ἔρωτας μυρίους ἐντίκτουςα δύναμις διὰ  
 φύσιν τε καὶ ἀπαιδευσίαν τὴν κακὴν. τῆς δὲ ἀπαιδευσίας

ἡ τοῦ κακῶς ἐπαινέισθαι πλοῦτον αἰτία φήμη πρὸς τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων· πρῶτον γὰρ τῶν ἀγαθῶν αὐτὸ  
 προκρίνοντας, τρίτον ὃν, τοὺς τ' ἐπιγιγνομένους λωβῶνται b  
 καὶ ἑαυτούς. τὸ γὰρ ἀληθές λέγεσθαι περὶ τοῦ πλούτου  
 κατὰ πόλεις πάσας πάντων κάλλιστον καὶ ἄριστον, ὡς  
 ἔνεκα σώματος ἔστι, καὶ σῶμα ψυχῆς ἔνεκα· ἀγαθῶν μὲν  
 οὖν ὄντων ὧν ἔνεκα ὁ πλοῦτος εἶναι πέφυκε, τρίτον ἂν εἴη 5  
 μετὰ σώματος ἀρετὴν καὶ ψυχῆς. διδάσκαλος οὖν ἂν ὁ  
 λόγος οὗτος γίγνοιτο ὡς οὐ χρή πλουτεῖν ζητεῖν τὸν εὐδαί-  
 μονα ἐσόμενον, ἀλλὰ δικαίως πλουτεῖν καὶ σωφρόνως· καὶ c  
 φόνοι οὕτως οὐκ ἂν γίγνοιτο ἐν πόλεσιν φόνοις δεόμενοι  
 καθαίρεσθαι. νῦν δέ, ὅπερ ἀρχόμενοι τούτων εἶπομεν, ἐν μὲν  
 τοῦτ' ἔστι καὶ μέγιστον ὁ ποιεῖ φόνου ἐκουσίου τὰς μεγίστας  
 δίκας. δεύτερον δὲ φιλοτίμου ψυχῆς ἕξις, φθόνους ἐντί- 5  
 κτουσα, χαλεποὺς συνοίκους μάλιστα μὲν αὐτῷ τῷ κεκτημένῳ  
 τὸν φθόνον, δευτέροις δὲ τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει.  
 τρίτον δὲ οἱ δειλοὶ καὶ ἄδικοι φόβοι πολλοὺς δὴ φόρους  
 εἰσὶν ἐξειργασμένοι, ὅταν ἡ τῷ πραττόμενα ἢ πεπραγμένα d  
 ἃ μηδένα βούλονται σφισιν συνειδέναί γιγνόμενα ἢ γεγονότα·  
 τοὺς οὖν τούτων μηνυτὰς ἀναιροῦσι θανάτοις, ὅταν ἄλλω  
 μηδενὶ δύνωνται τρόπῳ. τούτων δὴ πάντων πέρι προοίμια  
 μὲν εἰρημένα ταῦτ' ἔστω, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις, ὃν καὶ πολλοὶ 5  
 λόγον τῶν ἐν ταῖς τελεταῖς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐσπουδακότων  
 ἀκούοντες σφόδρα πείθονται, τὸ τῶν τοιούτων τίσιν ἐν Ἀίδου  
 γίγνεσθαι, καὶ πάλιν ἀφικομένοις δεῦρο ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὴν e  
 κατὰ φύσιν δίκην ἐκτεῖσαι, τὴν τοῦ παθόντος ἅπερ αὐτὸς  
 ἔδρασεν, ὑπ' ἄλλου τοιαύτη μοῖρα τελευτῆσαι τὸν τότε βίον.  
 πειθομένῳ μὲν δὴ καὶ πάντως φοβουμένῳ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ  
 προοιμίου τὴν τοιαύτην δίκην οὐδὲν δεῖ τὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ 5  
 νόμον ὑμνεῖν, ἀπειθοῦντι δὲ νόμος ὅδε εἰρήσθω τῇ γραφῇ· 871  
 Ὅς ἂν ἐκ προνοίας τε καὶ ἀδίκως ὄντιναοῦν τῶν ἐμφυλίων  
 αὐτόχειρ κτείνει, πρῶτον μὲν τῶν νομίμων εἰργέσθω, μήτε  
 ἱερὰ μήτε ἀγορὰν μήτε λιμένας μήτε ἄλλον κοινὸν σύλλογον  
 μηδένα μαιίνων, εἰάν τε τις ἀπαγορεύῃ τῷ δράσαντι ταῦτα 5  
 ἀνθρώπων καὶ εἰάν μή—ὁ γὰρ νόμος ἀπαγορεύει καὶ ἀπαγο-  
 ρεύων ὑπὲρ πάσης τῆς πόλεως αἰεὶ φαίνεται τε καὶ φανέϊται  
 —ὁ δὲ μὴ ἐπέξωιν δέον, ἢ μὴ προαγορεύων εἰργεσθαι, τῶν b  
 ἐντὸς ἀνεπιότητος, πρὸς ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν προσήκων  
 τῷ τελευτήσαντι, πρῶτον μὲν τὸ μίasma εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν



τῶν θεῶν ἔχθραν δέχοιτο, ὥς ἡ τοῦ νόμου ἀρὰ τὴν φήμην  
 5 προτρέπεται, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ὑπόδικος τῷ ἐθέλοντι τιμωρεῖν  
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ τελευτήσαντος γιγνέσθω. ὁ δὲ ἐθέλων τιμωρεῖν,  
 τῶν τε ἐπὶ τούτοις λουτρῶν φυλακῆς πέρι καὶ ὅσων ἂν ἐτέρων  
 c ὁ θεὸς περὶ ταῦτα νόμιμα παραδῶ, πάντα ἀποτελῶν, καὶ τὴν  
 πρόρρησιν προαγορεύων, ἵτω ἀναγκάζων τὸν δράσαντα ὑπέ-  
 χειν τὴν τῆς δίκης πρᾶξιν κατὰ νόμον. ταῦτα δὲ ὅτι μὲν  
 γίνεσθαι χρεῶν ἐστὶ διὰ τινων ἐπευχῶν καὶ θυσιῶν θεοῖς  
 5 τισιν οἷς τῶν τοιούτων μέλει, φόνους μὴ γίνεσθαι κατὰ  
 πόλεις, ῥάδιον ἀποφαίνεσθαι νομοθέτῃ· τίνες δ' εἰσὶν οἱ  
 θεοὶ καὶ τίς ὁ τρόπος τῶν τοιούτων δικῶν τῆς εἰσαγωγῆς  
 ὀρθότατα πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἂν γιγνόμενος εἴῃ, νομοφύλακες μετ'  
 d ἐξηγητῶν καὶ μάντεων καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ νομοθετησάμενοι, τὰς  
 δίκας εἰσαγόντων ταύτας· δικαστὰς δὲ αὐτῶν εἶναι τοὺς  
 αὐτοὺς οὐσπερ τοῖς τὰ ἱερὰ συλῶσιν διαδικάζειν ἐρρήθη  
 κυρίως· ὁ δὲ ὀφλὼν θανάτῳ ζημιούσθω καὶ μὴ ἐν τῇ τοῦ  
 5 παθόντος χώρα θαιπτέσθω, ἀναιδείας ἔνεκα πρὸς τῷ ἀσεβεῖν.  
 φυγὼν δὲ καὶ μὴ ᾔθελῆσας κρίσιν ὑποσχεῖν φευγέτω ἀει-  
 φυγίαν· ἔὰν δέ τις ἐπιβῇ τούτων τῆς τοῦ φονευθέντος  
 χώρας, ὁ προστυχὼν πρῶτος τῶν οἰκείων τοῦ ἀποθανόντος  
 e ἢ καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀνατὶ κτεινέτω, ἢ δήσας τοῖς ἄρχουσι  
 τῶν τὴν δίκην κρινάντων κτεῖναι παραδότω. ὁ δὲ ἐπισκη-  
 πτόμενος ἅμα καὶ κατεγγυάτω τὸν ᾧ ἂν ἐπισκῆπτηται· ὁ  
 δὲ παρεχέτω τοὺς ἐγγυητὰς ἀξιόχρεως, οὓς ἂν ἡ τῶν περὶ  
 5 ταῦτα δικαστῶν ἀρχὴ κρίνῃ, τρεῖς ἐγγυητὰς ἀξιόχρεως  
 παρέξειν ἐγγυωμένους εἰς δίκην· ἔὰν δὲ ἡ μὴ ἐθέλῃ ἢ  
 ἀδυνατῇ τις καθιστάναι, τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβοῦσαν δήσασαν  
 φυλάττειν καὶ παρέχειν εἰς τὴν κρίσιν τῆς δίκης. ἔὰν δὲ  
 872 αὐτόχειρ μὲν μὴ, βουλεύσῃ δὲ θανάτον τις ἄλλῳ ἐτέρῳ  
 καὶ τῇ βουλήσῃ τε καὶ ἐπιβουλεύσει ἀποκτεῖνας αἴτιος ὢν  
 καὶ μὴ καθαρὸς τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ φόνου ἐν πόλει ἐνοικῇ,  
 γιγνέσθων καὶ τούτῳ κατὰ ταῦτα αἱ κρίσεις τούτων πέρι  
 5 πλὴν τῆς ἐγγύης, τῷ δὲ ὀφλόντι ταφῆς τῆς οἰκείας ἐξέστω  
 τυχεῖν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κατὰ ταῦτα ὡσαύτως τῷ πρόσθεν ῥηθέντι  
 περὶ αὐτὸν γιγνέσθω. τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ ἔστω ταῦτα ξένοισί τε  
 πρὸς ξένους καὶ ἀστοῖσι καὶ ξένοις πρὸς ἀλλήλους, δούλοις  
 b τε αὖ πρὸς δούλους, τῆς τε αὐτοχειρίας πέρι καὶ ἐπιβου-  
 λεύσεως, πλὴν τῆς ἐγγύης· ταύτην δέ, καθάπερ εἴρηται  
 τοὺς αὐτόχειρας κατεγγυᾶσθαι, τὸν [δὲ] προαγορεύοντα τὸν



φόνον ἅμα κατεγγυᾶν καὶ τούτους. ἐὰν δὲ δοῦλος ἐλεύθερον  
 ἐκὼν, εἴτε αὐτόχειρ εἴτε βουλευσας, ἀποκτείνῃ καὶ ὄφλῃ τὴν 5  
 δίκην, ὁ τῆς πόλεως κοινὸς δῆμιος ἄγων πρὸς τὸ μνήμα τοῦ  
 ἀποθανόντος, ὅθεν ἂν ὀρᾷ τὸν τύμβον, μαστιγώσας ὀπόσας  
 ἂν ὁ ἐλὼν προστάτῃ, εἰς περ βίῳ παίόμενος ὁ φονεὺς, c  
 θανατωσάτω. ἐὰν δέ τις δοῦλον κτείνῃ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντα,  
 φόβῳ δὲ μὴ μηνυτῆς αἰσchrῶν ἔργων καὶ κακῶν αὐτοῦ  
 γίγνηται, ἢ τινος ἔνεκα ἄλλου τοιούτου, καθάπερ ἂν εἰ πολί-  
 την κτείνας ὑπεῖχε φόνου δίκας, ὡσαύτως καὶ τοῦ τοιούτου 5  
 δούλου κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἀποθανόντος οὕτως ὑπεχέτω.

Ἐὰν δὲ δὴ γίγνηται ἐφ' οἷσι καὶ νομοθετεῖν δεινὸν καὶ  
 οὐδαμῶς προσφιλές, μὴ νομοθετεῖν δὲ ἀδύνατον, συγγενῶν  
 αὐτόχειρας φόνους ἢ δι' ἐπιβουλεύσεως γενομένους, ἐκουσίους d  
 τε καὶ ἀδίκους πάντως, οἱ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ἐν κακῶς οἰκούσαις  
 καὶ τρεφομέναις γίνονται πόλεσιν, γένοιτο δ' ἂν πού τι  
 καὶ ἐν ἡ μὴ τις ἂν προσδοκῇσειεν χώρα, λέγειν μὲν δὴ χρεῶν  
 αὐτὰ πάλιν τὸν ἔμπροσθε σμικρῷ ῥηθέντα λόγον, ἂν ἄρα 5  
 τις ἀκούων ἡμῶν οἷος ἀποσχέσθαι γένηται μᾶλλον ἐκὼν  
 διὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα φόνων τῶν πάντῃ ἀνοσιωτάτων. ὁ γὰρ δὴ  
 μῦθος ἢ λόγος, ἢ ὅτι χρή προσαγορεύειν αὐτόν, ἐκ παλαιῶν e  
 ἱερέων εἴρηται σαφῶς, ὡς ἡ τῶν συγγενῶν αἱμάτων τιμωρὸς  
 Δίκη ἐπίσκοπος νόμῳ χρήται τῷ νυνδὴ λεχθέντι καὶ ἔταξεν  
 ἄρα δράσαντί τι τοιοῦτον παθεῖν ταῦτα ἀναγκαίως ἅπερ  
 ἔδρασεν· εἰ πατέρα ἀπέκτεινεν ποτέ τις, αὐτόν τοῦτο ὑπὸ 5  
 τέκνων τολμῆσαι βία πάσχοντα ἐν τισι χρόνοις, καὶ κτάνῃ  
 μητέρα, γενέσθαι τε αὐτόν θηλείας μετασχόντα φύσεως  
 ἀναγκαῖον, γενόμενόν τε ὑπὸ τῶν γεννηθέντων λιπεῖν τὸν  
 βίον ἐν χρόνοις ὑστέροις· τοῦ γὰρ κοινοῦ μιανθέντος αἵματος  
 οὐκ εἶναι κάθαρσιν ἄλλην, οὐδὲ ἔκπλυτον ἐθέλειν γίγνεσθαι 10  
 τὸ μιανθὲν πρὶν φόνον φόνῳ ὁμοίῳ ὁμοιον ἢ δράσασα ψυχὴ 873  
 τείσῃ καὶ πάσης τῆς συγγενείας τὸν θυμὸν ἀφιλασαμένη  
 κοιμίσῃ. ταῦτα δὴ παρὰ θεῶν μὲν τινα φοβούμενον τὰς  
 τιμωρίας εἶργεσθαι χρή τὰς τοιαύτας, εἰ δέ τινας οὕτως  
 ἀθλία συμφορὰ καταλάβοι, ὥστε πατρὸς ἢ μητρὸς ἢ ἀδελφῶν 5  
 ἢ τέκνων ἐκ προνοίας ἐκουσίως ψυχὴν τολμῆσαι ἀποστερεῖν  
 σώματος, ὁ παρὰ τοῦ θνητοῦ νομοθέτου νόμος ὧδε περὶ τῶν  
 τοιούτων νομοθετεῖ, Προρρησεις μὲν τὰς περὶ τῶν νομίμων b  
 εἶργεσθαι καὶ ἐγγύας τὰς αὐτὰς εἶναι καθάπερ ἐρρήθη τοῖς  
 ἔμπροσθεν· ἐὰν δέ τις ὄφλῃ φόνου τοιούτου, τούτων κτείνας

τινά, οἱ μὲν τῶν δικαστῶν ὑπηρεῖται καὶ ἄρχοντες ἀποκτεί-  
 5 ναντες, εἰς τεταγμένην τρίοδον ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐκβαλλόντων  
 γυμνόν, αἱ δὲ ἀρχαὶ πᾶσαι ὑπὲρ ὅλης τῆς πόλεως, λίθον  
 ἕκαστος φέρων, ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ νεκροῦ βάλλων ἀφο-  
 σιούτω τὴν πόλιν ὅλην, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο εἰς τὰ τῆς χώρας  
 c ὅρια φέροντες ἐκβαλλόντων τῷ νόμῳ ἄταφον.

Τὸν δὲ δὴ πάντων οἰκειότατον καὶ λεγόμενον φίλτατον  
 ὃς ἂν ἀποκτείνῃ, τί χρὴ πάσχειν; λέγω δὲ ὃς ἂν ἑαυτὸν  
 κτείνῃ, τὴν τῆς εἰμαρμένης βία ἀποστερῶν μοῖραν, μήτε  
 5 πόλεως ταξάσης δίκῃ, μήτε περιωδύνῃ ἀφύκτῳ προσπεσούσῃ  
 τύχῃ ἀναγκασθεῖς, μηδὲ αἰσχύνης τινὸς ἀπόρου καὶ ἀβίου  
 μεταλαχόν, ἀργία δὲ καὶ ἀνανδρίας δειλία ἑαυτῷ δίκην ἄδικον  
 d ἐπιθῇ. τούτῳ δὴ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα θεὸς οἶδεν ἃ χρὴ νόμιμα  
 γίνεσθαι περὶ καθαρμούς τε καὶ ταφάς, ὧν ἐξηγητάς τε  
 ἅμα καὶ τοὺς περὶ ταῦτα νόμους ἐπανερομένους χρὴ τοὺς  
 ἐγγύτατα γένει ποιεῖν αὐτοῖσιν κατὰ τὰ προσταττόμενα·  
 5 τάφους δ' εἶναι τοῖς οὕτω φθαρείσι πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ μόνας  
 μηδὲ μεθ' ἐνὸς συντάφου, εἴτα ἐν τοῖς τῶν δώδεκα ὀρίοις  
 μερῶν τῶν ὅσα ἀργὰ καὶ ἀνώνυμα θάπτειν ἀκλεεῖς αὐτούς,  
 μήτε στήλαις μήτε ὀνόμασι δηλοῦντας τοὺς τάφους.

e Ἐὰν δ' ἄρα ὑποζύγιον ἢ ζῶον ἄλλο τι φονεύσῃ τινά,  
 πλὴν τῶν ὅσα ἐν ἀγῶνι τῶν δημοσίων τιθεμένων ἀθλεύοντά  
 τι τοιοῦτον δράσῃ, ἐπεξίτωσαν μὲν οἱ προσήκοντες τοῦ φό-  
 νου τῷ κτείναντι, διαδικαζόντων δὲ τῶν ἀγρονόμων οἷσιν ἂν  
 5 καὶ ὅποσοις προστάξῃ ὁ προσήκων, τὸ δὲ ὀφλὸν ἔξω τῶν  
 ὅρων τῆς χώρας ἀποκτείναντας διορίσαι. ἐὰν δὲ ἄψυχόν  
 τι ψυχῆς ἀνθρωπον στερήσῃ, πλὴν ὅσα κεραυνὸς ἢ τι παρὰ  
 θεοῦ τοιοῦτον βέλος ἰόν, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὅσα τινὸς προσ-  
 πεσόντος ἢ αὐτὸ ἐμπεσὼν κτείνῃ τινά, δικαστὴν μὲν αὐτῷ  
 874 καθιζέτω τῶν γειτόνων τὸν ἐγγύτατα ὁ προσήκων γένει,  
 ἀφοσιούμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τε καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς συγγενείας ὅλης,  
 τὸ δὲ ὀφλὸν ἐξορίζειν, καθάπερ ἐρρήθη τὸ τῶν ζώων γένος.

Ἐὰν δὲ τεθνεὺς μὲν αὖ τις φανῇ, ἄδελος δὲ ὁ κτείνας  
 5 ἢ καὶ μὴ ἀμελῶς ζητοῦσιν ἀνεύρετος γίγνηται, τὰς μὲν  
 προρρήσεις τὰς αὐτὰς γίνεσθαι καθάπερ τοῖς ἄλλοις, προ-  
 αγορεύειν δὲ τὸν φόνον τῷ δράσαντι, καὶ ἐπιδικασάμενον ἐν  
 b ἀγορᾷ κηρύξαι τῷ κτείναντι τὸν καὶ τὸν καὶ ὠφληκότη φόνου  
 μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν ἱερῶν μηδὲ ὅλης χώρας τῆς τοῦ παθόντος,  
 ὥς, ἂν φανῇ καὶ γνωσθῇ, ἀποθανοῦμενον καὶ ἔξω τῆς τοῦ

παθόντος χώρας ἐκβληθησόμενον ἄταφον. οὗτος δὲ νόμος εἰς ἡμῶν ἔστω κύριος περὶ φόνου κείμενος.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μέχρι τούτων οὕτως· ὧν δὲ ὁ κτείνας ἐφ' οἷς τε ὀρθῶς ἂν καθαρὸς εἴη, τάδε ἔστω· Νύκτωρ φῶρα εἰς οἰκίαν εἰσιόντα ἐπὶ κλοπῇ χρημάτων ἐὰν ἐλὼν κτείνῃ, καθαρὸς ἔστω· καὶ ἐὰν λωποδύτην ἀμυνόμενος ἀποκτείνῃ, καθαρὸς ἔστω· καὶ ἐὰν ἐλευθέραν γυναῖκα βιάζηται τις ἢ παῖδα περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια, νηποιὶ τεθνάτω ὑπὸ τε τοῦ ὑβρισθέντος βία καὶ ὑπὸ πατρὸς ἢ ἀδελφῶν ἢ υἱῶν· ἐὰν τε ἀνὴρ ἐπιτύχῃ γαμετῇ γυναικὶ βιαζομένῃ, κτείνας τὸν βιαζόμενον ἔστω καθαρὸς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ· καὶ ἐὰν τις πατρὶ βοηθῶν θάνατον, μηδὲν ἀνόσιον δρῶντι, κτείνῃ τινά, ἢ μητρὶ ἢ τέκνοις ἢ ἀδελφοῖς ἢ συγγενήτορι τέκνων, πάντως καθαρὸς ἔστω.

Τὰ μὲν τοίνυν περὶ τροφήν τε ζώσης ψυχῆς καὶ παιδείαν, ὧν αὐτῇ τυχούσῃ μὲν βιωτόν, ἀτυχησάσῃ δὲ τοῦναντίον, καὶ περὶ θανάτων τῶν βιαιῶν ὥς δεῖ τιμωρίας γίνεσθαι, νομοθετήσθω· τὰ δὲ περὶ τὴν τῶν σωμάτων τροφήν μὲν καὶ παιδείαν εἴρηται, τὸ δ' ἐχόμενον τούτων, αἱ βίαιοι πράξεις ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἀκούσιοί τε καὶ ἐκούσιοι γινόμεναι διοριστέον εἰς δύναμιν αἷ τέ εἰσιν καὶ ὅσαι, καὶ ὧν ἂν τυγχάνουσαι τιμωρήσεων τὸ πρόσφορον ἔχοιεν ἂν ἕκασται, ταῦτα μετ' ἐκεῖνα, ὥς ἔοικεν, ὀρθῶς ἂν νομοθετοῖτο.

Τραύματα δὲ καὶ πηρώσεις ἐκ τραυμάτων τά γε δεύτερα μετὰ θανάτους καὶ ὁ φαυλότατος ἂν τάξειεν τῶν ἐπὶ νόμον τρεπομένων. τὰ δὲ τραύματα, καθάπερ οἱ φόνοι διήρηντο, διαιρετέον, τὰ μὲν ἀκούσια, τὰ δὲ θυμῷ, τὰ δὲ φόβῳ, τὰ δὲ ὅποσα ἐκ προνοίας ἐκούσια συμβαίνει γινόμενα· προρρητέον δὲ τι περὶ πάντων τῶν τοιούτων τοιόνδε, ὥς ἄρα νόμους ἀνθρώποις ἀναγκαῖον τίθεσθαι καὶ ζῆν κατὰ νόμους ἢ μηδὲν διαφέρειν τῶν πάντῃ ἀγριωτάτων θηρίων. ἡ δὲ αἰτία τούτων ἦδε, ὅτι φύσις ἀνθρώπων οὐδενὸς ἱκανὴ φύεται ὥστε γινῶναι τε τὰ συμφέροντα ἀνθρώποις εἰς πολιτείαν καὶ γνοῦσα, τὸ βέλτιστον αἰεὶ δύνασθαι τε καὶ ἐθέλειν πράττειν. γινῶναι μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον χαλεπὸν ὅτι πολιτικῇ καὶ ἀληθεῖ τέχνῃ οὐ τὸ ἴδιον ἀλλὰ τὸ κοινὸν ἀνάγκη μέλειν—τὸ μὲν γὰρ κοινὸν συνδεῖ, τὸ δὲ ἴδιον διασπᾷ τὰς πόλεις—καὶ ὅτι συμφέρει τῷ κοινῷ τε καὶ ἰδίῳ, τοῖν ἀμφοῖν, ἦν τὸ κοινὸν τιθῆται καλῶς μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ ἴδιον· δεύτερον δέ, ἐὰν ἄρα καὶ



τὸ γινῶναι τις ὅτι ταῦτα οὕτω πέφυκεν λάβη ἱκανῶς ἐν  
 τέχνῃ, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἀνυπεύθυνός τε καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ ἄρξῃ  
 πόλεως, οὐκ ἂν ποτε δύναιτο ἐμμεῖναι τούτῳ τῷ δόγματι  
 5 καὶ διαβιβῶναι τὸ μὲν κοινὸν ἡγούμενον τρέφων ἐν τῇ πόλει,  
 τὸ δὲ ἴδιον ἐπόμενον τῷ κοινῷ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πλεονεξίαν καὶ  
 ἰδιοπραγίαν ἢ θνητῇ φύσει αὐτὸν ὀρμήσει αἰεὶ, φεύγουσα  
 μὲν ἀλόγως τὴν λύπην, διώκουσα δὲ τὴν ἡδονήν, τοῦ δὲ  
 c δικαιότερου τε καὶ ἀμείνονος ἐπίπροσθεν ἅμφω τούτῳ προ-  
 στήσεται, καὶ σκότος ἀπεργαζομένη ἐν αὐτῇ πάντων κακῶν  
 ἐμπλήσει πρὸς τὸ τέλος αὐτὴν τε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην. ἐπεὶ  
 ταῦτα εἴ ποτέ τις ἀνθρώπων φύσει ἱκανὸς θείᾳ μοίρᾳ γεν-  
 5 νηθεὶς παραλαβεῖν δυνατὸς εἴη, νόμων οὐδὲν ἂν δέοιτο τῶν  
 ἀρξόντων ἑαυτοῦ· ἐπιστήμης γὰρ οὔτε νόμος οὔτε τάξις  
 οὐδεμία κρείττων, οὐδὲ θέμις ἐστὶν νοῦν οὐδενὸς ὑπήκοον οὐδὲ  
 d δοῦλον ἀλλὰ πάντων ἄρχοντα εἶναι, ἐάνπερ ἀληθινὸς ἐλεύ-  
 θερός τε ὄντως ἢ κατὰ φύσιν. νῦν δὲ οὐ γάρ ἐστιν οὐδαμοῦ  
 οὐδαμῶς, ἀλλ' ἢ κατὰ βραχύ· διὸ δὴ τὸ δεύτερον αἰρετέον,  
 τάξιν τε καὶ νόμον, ᾧ δὴ τὸ μὲν ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ὄρα καὶ  
 5 βλέπει, τὸ δ' ἐπὶ πᾶν ἀδυνατεῖ. ταῦτα δὴ τῶνδε εἵνεκα  
 εἴρηται· νῦν ἡμεῖς τάξομεν τί χρὴ τὸν τρώσαντα ἢ τι βλά-  
 ψαντα ἕτερον ἄλλον παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτίνειν. πρόχειρον δὴ  
 παντὶ περὶ παντὸς ὑπολαβεῖν ὀρθῶς, “ Τὸν τί τρώσαντα ἢ  
 e τίνα ἢ πῶς ἢ πότε λέγεις; μυρία γὰρ ἕκαστά ἐστι τούτων  
 καὶ πάμπολυ διαφέροντα ἀλλήλων.” ταῦτ' οὖν δὴ δικαστη-  
 ρίοις ἐπιτρέπειν κρίνειν πάντα ἢ μηδὲν ἀδύνατον. ἐν μὲν  
 γὰρ κατὰ πάντων ἀναγκαῖον ἐπιτρέπειν κρίναι, τὸ πότερον  
 5 ἐγένετο ἢ οὐκ ἐγένετο ἕκαστον τούτων· τὸ δὲ μηδὲν ἐπιτρέ-  
 876 πειν αὖ περὶ τοῦ τί δεῖ ζημιοῦσθαι καὶ πάσχειν τί χρεῶν  
 τὸν ἀδικήσαντα τούτων τι, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν περὶ πάντων νομο-  
 θετῆσαι σμικρῶν καὶ μεγάλων, σχεδὸν ἀδύνατον. Τίς οὖν  
 ὁ μετὰ τοῦτον λόγος; Ὅδε, ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἐπιτρεπτέον  
 5 δικαστηρίοις, τὰ δὲ οὐκ ἐπιτρεπτέον, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ νομο-  
 θετητέον.

ΚΛ. Ποῖα δὴ νομοθετητέον τε καὶ ποῖα ἀποδοτέον κρίνειν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις;

ΑΘ. Τάδε δὴ μετὰ ταῦτα ὀρθότατ' ἂν εἰπεῖν εἴη, ὥς ἐν  
 b πόλει ἐν ἣ δικαστήρια φαῦλα καὶ ἄφωνα, κλέπτοντα τὰς  
 αὐτῶν δόξας, κρύβδην τὰς κρίσεις διαδικάζει καί, ὁ τούτου  
 δεινότερον, ὅταν μηδὲ σιγῶντα ἀλλὰ θορύβου μεστὰ καθάπερ



θεάτρα ἐπαινοῦντά τε βοῇ καὶ ψέγοντα τῶν ῥητόρων ἐκάτερον  
 ἐν μέρει κρίνῃ, χαλεπὸν τότε πάθος ὅλη τῇ πόλει γίνεσθαι 5  
 φιλεῖ. τοῖς οὖν δὴ τοιούτοις δικαστηρίοις νομοθετεῖν ὑπό  
 τινος ἀνάγκης ληφθέντα οὐκ εὐτυχὲς μὲν, ὅμως δὲ ἐξ ἀνάγκης  
 εἰλημμένον ὅτι περὶ σμικρότατα ἐπιτρεπτέον αὐτοῖς τάττειν c  
 τὰς ζημίας, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα αὐτὸν νομοθετεῖν διαρρήδην, ἃν  
 τις ἄρα τοιαύτη πολιτεία νομοθετῇ ποτε· ἐν ᾗ δὲ ἂν πόλει  
 δικαστήρια εἰς δύναμιν ὀρθῶς καθεστῶτα ᾗ, τραφέντων τε εὖ  
 τῶν μελλόντων δικάζειν δοκιμασθέντων τε διὰ πάσης ἀκρι- 5  
 βείας, ἐνταῦθα ὀρθὸν καὶ ἔχον εὖ καὶ καλῶς τὸ πολλὰ  
 ἐπιτρέπειν κρίνειν τοῖς τοιούτοις δικασταῖς τῶν ὀφλόντων  
 πέρι, τί χρὴ πάσχειν αὐτοὺς ἢ ἀποτίνειν. ἡμῖν δὴ τὰ νῦν ἀνε-  
 μέσητον τὸ μὴ νομοθετεῖν αὐτοῖς τὰ μέγιστα καὶ πλεῖστα, ἀ d  
 καὶ φανυτέρως ἂν πεπαιδευμένοι δικασταὶ δύναιντο κατιδεῖν  
 καὶ προσάπτειν ἐκάστῳ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ  
 πάθους τε καὶ πράξεως· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἷς ἡμεῖς νομοθετοῦμεν,  
 οὐχ ἡκιστα ἐμμελεῖς αὐτοὺς οἴομεθ' ἂν τῶν τοιούτων 5  
 γίνεσθαι κριτὰς, ἐπιτρεπτέον δὴ τὰ πλεῖστα. οὐ μὴν ἄλλ'  
 ὅπερ πολλάκις εἰπομέν τε καὶ ἐδράσαμεν ἐν τῇ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν  
 νομοθετήσῃ νόμων, τὸ περιγραφὴν τε καὶ τοὺς τύπους τῶν e  
 τιμωριῶν εἰπόντας δοῦναι τὰ παραδείγματα τοῖσι δικασταῖς  
 τοῦ μήποτε βαίνειν ἔξω τῆς δίκης, τότε τε ἦν ὀρθότατα ἔχον  
 καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν τοῦτο αὐτὸ ποιητέον, ἐπανελθόντα ἤδη πάλιν 5  
 ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους. ἡ δὴ γραφὴ περὶ τραύματος ὧδε ἡμῖν  
 κείσθω· Ἐάν τις διανοηθεὶς τῇ βουλήσῃ κτεῖναι τινα φίλιον,  
 πλὴν ὧν ὁ νόμος ἐφίησιν, τρώσῃ μὲν, ἀποκτεῖναι δὲ ἀδυνα-  
 τήσῃ, τὸν διανοηθέντα τε καὶ τρώσαντα οὕτως οὐκ ἄξιον 877  
 ἐλεεῖν, οὐδὲ αἰδούμενον ἄλλως ἢ καθάπερ ἀποκτείναντα  
 ὑπέχειν τὴν δίκην φόνου ἀναγκάζειν· τὴν δὲ οὐ παντάπασι  
 κακὴν τύχην αὐτοῦ σεβόμενον καὶ τὸν δαίμονα, ὃς αὐτὸν καὶ  
 τὸν τρωθέντα ἐλεήσας ἀπότροπος αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο μὴ τῷ μὲν  
 ἀνίατον ἔλκος γενέσθαι, τῷ δὲ ἐπάρατον τύχην καὶ συμ- 5  
 φοράν, τούτῳ δὴ χάριν τῷ δαίμονι διδόντα καὶ μὴ ἐναντιού-  
 μενον, τὸν μὲν θάνατον ἀφελεῖν τοῦ τρώσαντος, μετὰστασιν  
 δὲ εἰς τὴν γείτονα πόλιν αὐτῷ γίνεσθαι διὰ βίου, καρπού- b  
 μενον ἅπασαν τὴν αὐτοῦ κτῆσιν. βλάβος δέ, εἰ κατέβλαψεν  
 τὸν τρωθέντα, ἐκτίνειν τῷ βλαφθέντι, τιμᾶν δὲ τὸ δικαστήριον  
 ὅπερ ἂν τὴν δίκην κρίνῃ, κρίνειν δὲ οἷπερ ἂν τοῦ φόνου  
 ἐδίκασαν εἰ ἐτελεύτησεν ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς τοῦ τραύματος. 5

- γονέας δ' ἂν παῖς ἢ δοῦλος δεσπότην ὡσαύτως ἐκ προνοίας τρώσῃ, θάνατον εἶναι τὴν ζημίαν· καὶ ἂν ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφὸν ἢ ἀδελφὴν ἢ ἀδελφὴ ἀδελφὸν ἢ ἀδελφὴν ὡσαύτως τρώσῃ,
- c καὶ ὄφλη τραύματος ἐκ προνοίας, θάνατον εἶναι τὴν ζημίαν. γυνὴ δὲ ἄνδρα ἑαυτῆς ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς τοῦ ἀποκτείνειν τρώσασα, ἢ ἄνῃρ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα, φευγέτω ἀειφυγίαν· τὴν δὲ κτῆσιν, ἂν μὲν υἱεῖς ἢ θυγατέρες αὐτοῖς ὥσιν παῖδες ἔτι,
- 5 τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους ἐπιτροπεύειν καὶ ὡς ὀρφανῶν τῶν παίδων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι· ἂν δὲ ἄνδρες ᾗδη, ἐπάναγκες ἔστω τρέφεσθαι τὸν φεύγοντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκγόνων, τὴν δὲ οὐσίαν αὐτοὺς κεκτηῖσθαι. ἅπαις δὲ ὅστις ἂν τοιαύταις συμφοραῖς περι-
- d πέσῃ, τοὺς συγγενεῖς συνελθόντας μέχρι ἀνεψιῶν παίδων τοῦ πεφευγότος ἀμφοτέρωθεν, πρὸς τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ πρὸς γυναικῶν, κληρονόμον εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦτον τῇ πόλει τετταρακοντακα-
- 5 πεντακισχιλιοστὸν καταστήσαι βουλευομένους μετὰ νομοφυλάκων καὶ ἱερέων, διανοηθέντας τρόπῳ καὶ λόγῳ τοιῷδε, ὡς οὐδεὶς οἶκος τῶν τετταράκοντα καὶ πεντακισχιλίων τοῦ ἐνοικοῦντός ἐστιν οὐδὲ σύμπαντος τοῦ γένους οὕτως ὡς τῆς πόλεως δημόσιός τε καὶ ἴδιος· δεῖ δὴ τὴν γε πόλιν τοὺς
- e αὐτῆς οἴκους ὡς ὀσιωτάτους τε καὶ εὐτυχεστάτους κεκτηῖσθαι κατὰ δύναμιν. ὅταν οὖν τις ἅμα δυστυχηθῇ καὶ ἀσεβηθῇ τῶν οἴκων, ὥστε τὸν κεκτημένον ἐν αὐτῷ παῖδας μὲν μὴ καταλιπεῖν, ἡίθεον δὲ ἢ καὶ γεγαμηκότα ἅπαιδα τελευτῆσαι
- 5 φόνου ὀφλόντα ἐκουσίου ἢ τινος ἁμαρτήματος ἄλλου τῶν περὶ θεοὺς ἢ πολίτας ὧν ἂν θάνατος ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ζημία διαρρήδην ἢ κειμένη, ἢ καὶ ἐν ἀειφυγία τις φεύγῃ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἅπαις, τοῦτον πρῶτον μὲν καθήρασθαι καὶ ἀποδιοπομπήσασθαι τὸν οἶκον χρεῶν ἔστω κατὰ νόμον, ἔπειτα
- 878 συνελθόντας, καθάπερ εἶπομεν νυνδὴ, τοὺς οἰκείους ἅμα νομοφύλαξιν σκέψασθαι γένος ὅτιπερ ἂν ἢ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει εὐδοκιμώτατον πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ ἅμα εὐτυχές, ἐν ᾧ ἂν παῖδες γεγονότες ὥσιν πλείους· ὅθεν ἓνα τῷ τοῦ τελευτήσαντος πατρὶ
- 5 καὶ τοῖς ἄνω τοῦ γένους ὑὸν ὡς ἐκείνων εἰσποιοῦντας, φήμης ἔνεκα ἐπονομάζοντας, γεννήτορά τε αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐστιοῦχον καὶ θεραπευτὴν ὁσίων τε καὶ ἱερῶν ἐπ' ἀμείνοσι τύχαις γίγνεσθαι τοῦ πατρὸς τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐπευξαμένους, αὐτὸν κληρονόμον
- b καταστήσαι κατὰ νόμον, τὸν δ' ἑξαμαρτόντα ἀνώνυμον ἂν καὶ ἅπαιδα καὶ ἅμοιρον κείσθαι, ὅποταν αὐτὸν καταλάβωσιν αἱ τοιαῦται συμφοραί.

"Ἔστιν δὲ οὐ πάντων, ὥς ἔοικε, τῶν ὄντων ὅρος ὅρων  
 προσμεινύς, ἀλλ' οἷς ἔστιν μεθόριον, τοῦτο [ἐν μέσῳ ὄρων] 5  
 πρότερον ἑκατέρῳ προσβάλλον γίγνοιτ' ἂν ἀμφοῖν μεταξύ·  
 καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἀκουσίων τε καὶ ἐκουσίων τὸ θυμῷ γιγνό-  
 μενον ἔφαμεν εἶναι τοιοῦτον. τραυμάτων οὖν ἔστω τῶν ὀργῇ  
 γενομένων. Ἐὰν ὄφλη τις, πρῶτον μὲν τίνειν τοῦ βλάβους c  
 τὴν διπλασίαν, ἂν τὸ τραῦμα ἰάσιμον ἀποβῇ, τῶν δὲ ἀνιάτων  
 τὴν τετραπλασίαν. ἐὰν δὲ ἰάσιμον μὲν, αἰσχύνην δὲ μεγάλην  
 τινὰ προσβάλλῃ τῷ τρωθέντι καὶ ἐπονείδιστον, τὴν τριπλα-  
 σίαν ἐκτίνειν. ὅσα δὲ τις τρώσας τινὰ μὴ μόνον βλάβῃ 5  
 τὸν παθόντα ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν πόλιν, ποιήσας ἀδύνατον τῇ  
 πατρίδι πρὸς πολεμίους βοηθεῖν, τοῦτον δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων  
 ζημιῶν ἐκτίνειν καὶ τῇ πόλει τὴν βλάβην· πρὸς γὰρ ταῖς  
 αὐτοῦ στρατείαις καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδυνατοῦντος στρατευέσθω d  
 καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου πολεμικὰς ταττέσθω τάξεις, ἥ μὴ  
 δρῶν ταῦτα ὑπόδικος τῷ ἐθέλοντι τῆς ἀστρατείας γιγνέσθω  
 κατὰ νόμον. τὴν δὲ δὴ τῆς βλάβης ἀξίαν, εἴτε διπλὴν εἴτε  
 τριπλὴν εἴτε καὶ τετραπλασίαν, οἱ καταψηφισάμενοι δικασταὶ 5  
 ταττόντων. ἐὰν δὲ ὁμόγονος ὁμόγονον τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον  
 τούτῳ τρώσῃ, τοὺς γεννήτας καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς μέχρι  
 ἀνεψιῶν παίδων πρὸς γυναικῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν, γυναικῶν τε  
 καὶ ἀνδρας συνελθόντας, κρίναντας παραδιδόναι τιμᾶν τοῖς e  
 γεννήσασιν κατὰ φύσιν· ἐὰν δὲ ἀμφισβητήσιμος ἢ τίμησις  
 γίγνηται, τοὺς πρὸς ἀνδρῶν εἶναι τιμῶντας κυρίους, ἐὰν δὲ  
 ἀδυνατῶσιν αὐτοί, τοῖς νομοφύλαξιν τελευτῶντας ἐπιτρέπειν.  
 ἐκγόνοις δὲ πρὸς γονέας εἶναι τῶν τοιούτων τραυμάτων 5  
 δικαστὰς μὲν τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἐξήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότας ἐπάναγκες,  
 οἷς ἂν παῖδες μὴ ποιητοί, ἀληθινοὶ δέ, ὦσιν, ἂν δέ τις ὄφλη,  
 τιμᾶν εἰ τεθνάναι χρή τὸν τοιοῦτον εἴτε τι μείζον ἕτερον  
 τούτου πάσχειν ἢ καὶ μὴ πολλῷ σμικρότερον· καὶ τῶν  
 συγγενῶν τοῦ δράσαντος μηδένα δικάζειν, μηδ' ἐὰν γεγονώς 879  
 ἢ τὸν χρόνον ὅσον ὁ νόμος εἴρηκεν. δοῦλος δ' ἐὰν τις ἐλεύ-  
 θερον ὀργῇ τρώσῃ, παραδότῳ τὸν δοῦλον ὁ κεκτημένος τῷ  
 τρωθέντι χρήσθαι ὅτι ἂν ἐθέλῃ· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ παραδιδῷ, αὐτὸς  
 τὴν βλάβην ἐξιάσθω. ἐὰν δὲ ἐκ συνθήκης αἰτιᾶται τοῦ 5  
 δούλου καὶ τοῦ τρωθέντος μηχανὴν εἶναί τις τὸ γεγονός,  
 ἀμφισβητησάτω· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔλῃ, τριπλασίαν ἐκτεισάτω τὴν  
 βλάβην, ἐλὼν δέ, ἀνδραποδισμοῦ ὑπόδικον ἐχέτω τὸν τεχνά-  
 ζοντα μετὰ τοῦ δούλου. ὅς δ' ἂν ἄκων ἄλλος ἄλλον τρώσῃ, b



τὸ βλάβος ἀπλοῦν ἀποτινέτω—τύχης γὰρ νομοθέτης οὐδεὶς  
 ἱκανὸς ἄρχειν—δικασταὶ δὲ ὄντων οὔπερ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις πρὸς  
 τοὺς γεννήτορας ἐρρήθησαν, καὶ τιμώντων τὴν ἀξίαν τῆς  
 5 βλάβης.

- Βίαία μὲν δὴ πάνθ' ἡμῖν τὰ προειρημένα πάθη, βίαιον  
 δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς αἰκίας πᾶν γένος. ὥδε οὖν χρή περὶ τῶν  
 τοιούτων πάντα ἄνδρα καὶ παῖδα καὶ γυναῖκα αἰεὶ διανοεῖσθαι,  
 τὸ πρεσβύτερον ὡς οὐ σμικρῷ τοῦ νεωτέρου ἐστὶ πρεσβεύο-  
 10 μενον ἔν τε θεοῖσι καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώποις τοῖς μέλλουσι σώζεσθαι  
 καὶ εὐδαιμονεῖν. αἰκίαν οὖν περὶ πρεσβύτερον ἐν πόλει  
 γενομένην ὑπὸ νεωτέρου ἰδεῖν αἰσχρὸν καὶ θεομισές· ἔοικεν  
 δὲ νέῳ παντὶ ὑπὸ γέροντος πληγέντι ῥαθύμως ὀργὴν ὑπο-  
 15 φέρειν, αὐτῷ τιθεμένῳ τιμὴν ταύτην εἰς γῆρας. ὥδε οὖν  
 ἔστω· Πᾶς ἡμῖν αἰδεῖσθω τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πρεσβύτερον ἔργῳ τε  
 καὶ ἔπει· τὸν δὲ προέχοντα εἴκοσιν ἡλικίας ἔτεσιν, ἄρρενα  
 ἢ θήλην, νομίζων ὡς πατέρα ἢ μητέρα διευλαβεῖσθω, καὶ  
 20 πάσης τῆς δυνατῆς ἡλικίας αὐτὸν φυτῦσαι καὶ τεκεῖν ἀπέ-  
 χοιτο αἰεὶ θεῶν γενεθλίων χάριν. ὡς δ' αὐτως καὶ ξένου  
 ἀπείργοιτο εἴτε πάλαι ἐνοικοῦντος εἴτε νεήλυδος ἀφιγμένου·  
 μήτε γὰρ ὑπάρχων μήτε ἀμυνόμενος τὸ παράπαν τολμάτω  
 25 πληγαῖς τὸν τοιοῦτον νουθετεῖν. ξένον δὲ ἂν ἀσελγαίνοντα  
 καὶ θρασυνόμενον ἑαυτὸν τύπτοντα οἴηται δεῖν κολασθῆναι,  
 λαβὼν πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν ἀστυνόμων ἀπαγέτω, τοῦ τύπτειν  
 δὲ εἰργέσθω, ἵνα πόρρῳ γίγνηται τοῦ τὸν ἐπιχώριον ἂν τολ-  
 30 μῆσαι ποτε πατάξαι. οἱ δ' ἀστυνόμοι παραλαβόντες τε καὶ  
 ἀνακρίναντες, τὸν ξενικὸν αὖ θεὸν εὐλαβούμενοι, ἐὰν ἄρα  
 ἀδίκως δοκῇ ὁ ξένος τὸν ἐπιχώριον τύπτειν, τῇ μάστιγι τὸν  
 ξένον ὅσας ἂν αὐτὸς πατάξῃ τοσαύτας δόντες, τῆς θρασυξενίας  
 35 πανόντων· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀδικῇ, ἀπειλήσαντές τε καὶ ὀνειδίσαντες  
 τῷ ἀπαγαγόντι μεθιέντων ἄμφω. ἥλιξ δὲ ἥλικα καὶ τὸν  
 880 ἄπαιδα προέχοντα ἡλικία ἑαυτοῦ ἐὰν τύπτῃ, γέρων τε γέροντα  
 καὶ ἐὰν νέος νέον, ἀμυνέσθω κατὰ φύσιν ἄνευ βέλους ψιλαῖς  
 ταῖς χερσίν· ὁ δὲ ὑπὲρ τετταράκοντα γεγονώς ἔτι ἐὰν τολμᾷ  
 τῷ μάχεσθαι, εἴτε ἄρχων εἴτε ἀμυνόμενος, ἄγροικος καὶ  
 40 ἀνελεύθερος ἂν λεγόμενος ἀνδραποδώδης τε, δίκης ἂν ἐπονει-  
 δίστου τυγχάνων τὸ πρέπον ἔχει. καὶ ἐὰν μὲν τις τοιούτοις  
 παραμυθίοις εὐπειθῆς γίγνηται, εὐήνιος ἂν εἴῃ· ὁ δὲ δυσ-  
 πειθῆς καὶ μηδὲν προοιμίου φροντίζων δέχοιτ' ἂν τὸν τοιόνδε  
 45 ἐτόίμως νόμον· Ἐάν τις τύπτῃ τὸν πρεσβύτερον εἴκοσιν



ἔτεσιν ἢ πλείοσιν ἑαυτοῦ, πρῶτον μὲν ὁ προστυγχάνων, ἂν  
 μὴ ἡλιξ μηδὲ νεώτερος ἢ τῶν μαχομένων, διειργέτω ἢ κακὸς  
 ἔστω κατὰ νόμον· ἂν δὲ ἐν τῇ τοῦ πληγέντος ἡλικία ἢ ἔτι  
 νεώτερος, ἀμυνέτω ὡς ἀδελφῷ ἢ πατρὶ ἢ ἔτι ἀνωτέρῳ τῷ 5  
 ἀδικουμένῳ. πρὸς δ' ἔτι δίκην ὑπεχέτω τῆς αἰκίας ὁ τὸν  
 πρεσβύτερον, ὡς εἴρηται, τολμήσας τύπτειν, καὶ ἂν ὄφλη  
 τὴν δίκην, δεδέσθω μηδὲν ἐνιαυτοῦ σμικρότερον· ἂν δὲ οἱ c  
 δικασταὶ τιμήσωσιν πλείονος, ἔστω κύριος ὁ τιμηθεὶς αὐτῷ  
 χρόνος. ἂν δὲ ξένος ἢ τῶν μετοίκων τις τύπτῃ τὸν πρε-  
 σβύτερον εἴκοσιν ἔτεσιν ἢ πλείοσιν ἑαυτοῦ, περὶ μὲν τῶν  
 παραγενομένων τῆς βοηθείας ὁ αὐτὸς νόμος ἐχέτω τὴν αὐτὴν 5  
 δύναμιν, ὁ δὲ τὴν τοιαύτην δίκην ἡττηθεὶς, ξένος μὲν ὢν καὶ  
 μὴ σύνοικος, δύο ἔτη δεδεμένος ἐκτινέτω ταύτην αὖ τὴν  
 δίκην, ὁ δὲ μέτοικός τε ὢν καὶ ἀπειθῶν τοῖς νόμοις τρία  
 ἔτη δεδέσθω, ἂν μὴ τὸ δικαστήριον πλείονος αὐτῷ χρόνου d  
 τιμήσῃ τὴν δίκην. ζημιούσθω δὲ καὶ ὁ παραγενόμενος ὀφιοῦν  
 τούτων καὶ μὴ βοηθήσας κατὰ νόμον, ὁ μὲν μεγίστου τιμή-  
 ματος ὢν μνα, δευτέρου δὲ ὢν πεντήκοντα δραχμαῖς, τρίτου  
 δὲ τριάκοντα, εἴκοσι δὲ τοῦ τετάρτου· δικαστήριον δὲ γινέ- 5  
 σθω τοῖς τοιούτοις στρατηγοὶ καὶ ταξίαρχοι καὶ φύλαρχοί  
 τε καὶ ἵππαρχοι.

Νόμοι δέ, ὡς ἔοικεν, οἱ μὲν τῶν χρηστῶν ἀνθρώπων  
 ἕνεκα γίνονται, διδαχῆς χάριν τοῦ τίνα τρόπον ὁμιλοῦντες  
 ἀλλήλοις ἂν φιλοφρόνως οἰκοῖεν, οἱ δὲ τῶν τὴν παιδείαν e  
 διαφυγόντων, ἀτεράμονι χρωμένων τινὶ φύσει καὶ μηδὲν  
 τεγχθέντων ὥστε μὴ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἵεναι κάκην. οὗτοι τοὺς  
 μέλλοντας λόγους ρηθήσεσθαι πεποιηκότες ἂν εἶεν· οἷς δὴ  
 τοὺς νόμους ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὁ νομοθέτης ἂν νομοθετοῖ, βουλό- 5  
 μενος αὐτῶν μηδέποτε χρεῖαν γίνεσθαι. πατρὸς γὰρ ἢ  
 μητρὸς ἢ τούτων ἔτι προγόνων ὅστις τολμήσῃ ἄψασθαι ποτε  
 βιαζόμενος αἰκία τινί, μήτε τῶν ἄνω δείσας θεῶν μῆνιν μήτε  
 τῶν ὑπὸ γῆς τιμωριῶν λεγομένων, ἀλλὰ ὡς εἰδὼς ἅ μηδαμῶς 881  
 οἶδεν, καταφρονῶν τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων εἰρημένων,  
 παρανομεῖ, τούτῳ δεῖ τινὸς ἀποτροπῆς ἐσχάτης. θάνατος  
 μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐσχατον, οἱ δὲ ἐν Αἰδοῦ τούτοις λεγό-  
 μενοι πόνοι ἔτι τε τούτων εἰσὶ μᾶλλον ἐν ἐσχάτοις, καὶ 5  
 ἀληθέστατα λέγοντες οὐδὲν ἀνύτουσιν ταῖς τοιαύταις ψυχαῖς  
 ἀποτροπῆς—οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐγίγνωτό ποτε μητραλοῖαί τε καὶ τῶν  
 ἄλλων γεννητόρων ἀνόσιοι πληγῶν τόλμαι—δεῖ δὴ τὰς ἐνθάδε

- b κολάσεις περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τούτοις τὰς ἐν τῷ ζῆν μηδὲν τῶν ἐν Αἰδοῦ λείπεσθαι κατὰ δύναμιν. ἔστω δὲ λεγόμενον τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο τῇδε· Ὃς ἂν τολμήσῃ πατέρα ἢ μητέρα ἢ τούτων πατέρας ἢ μητέρας τύπτειν μὴ μανίαις ἐχόμενος, πρῶτον μὲν  
 5 ὁ προστυγχάνων καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν βοηθείτω, καὶ ὁ μὲν μέτοικος [ἦ] ξένος εἰς προεδρίαν τῶν ἀγώνων καλείσθω βοηθῶν, μὴ βοηθήσας δὲ αἰφυγίαν ἐκ τῆς χώρας φευγέτω·  
 c ὁ δὲ μὴ μέτοικος βοηθῶν μὲν ἔπαινον ἐχέτω, μὴ βοηθῶν δέ, ψόγον· δοῦλος δὲ βοηθήσας μὲν ἐλεύθερος γιγνέσθω, μὴ βοηθήσας δὲ πληγὰς ἑκατὸν τῇ μάστιγι τυπτέσθω, ἐν ἀγορᾷ μὲν ἂν γίγνηται τὸ γενόμενον, ὑπ' ἀγορανόμων, ἐὰν δ' ἐκτὸς  
 5 ἀγορᾶς ἐν ἄστει, τῶν ἀστυνόμων κολάζειν τὸν ἐπιδημοῦντα, ἐὰν δὲ κατ' ἀγροῦς τῆς χώρας που, τοὺς τῶν ἀγρονόμων ἄρχοντας. ἐὰν δ' ἐπιχώριος ὁ παρατυγχάνων ἢ τις, ἐὰν τε  
 d παῖς ἐὰν τε ἀνὴρ ἐὰν τ' οὖν γυνή, ἀμυνέτω πᾶς τὸν ἀνόσιον ἐπονομάζων· ὁ δὲ μὴ ἀμύνων ἀρᾷ ἐνεχέσθω Διὸς ὁμογνίου καὶ πατρῷου κατὰ νόμον. ἐὰν δέ τις ὄφλη δίκην αἰκίας γονέων, πρῶτον μὲν φευγέτω αἰφυγίαν ἐξ ἄστεος εἰς τὴν  
 5 ἄλλην χώραν καὶ πάντων ἱερῶν εἰργέσθω· μὴ δὲ εἰργόμενον κολαζόντων αὐτὸν ἀγρονόμοι πληγαῖς καὶ πάντως ὡς ἂν ἐθέλωσιν, κατελθὼν δὲ θανάτῳ ζημιούσθω. ἐὰν δέ τις τῷ τοιούτῳ, ὅσοι ἐλεύθεροι, συμφάγῃ ἢ συμπῇ ἢ τινα  
 e τοιαύτην ἄλλην κοινωνίαν κοινωνήσῃ, ἢ καὶ μόνον ἐντυγ-  
 χάνων που προσάπτηται ἐκὼν, μήτε εἰς ἱερὸν ἔλθῃ μηδὲν μήτ' εἰς ἀγορὰν μήτ' εἰς πόλιν ὅλως πρότερον ἢ καθή-  
 5 ρηται, νομίζων κεκοινωνηκέναι ἀλιτηριώδους τύχης· ἐὰν δὲ ἀπειθῶν νόμῳ ἱερὰ καὶ πόλιν μαιίνῃ παρανόμως, ὅς ἂν τῶν ἀρχόντων αἰσθόμενος μὴ ἐπάγῃ δίκην τῷ τοιούτῳ, ἐν εὐθύναις ἔστω τῶν κατηγορημάτων τῶν μεγίστων  
 882 ἐν τοῦτο αὐτῷ. ἐὰν δὲ αὖ δοῦλος τύπτῃ τὸν ἐλεύθερον, εἴτ' οὖν ξένον εἴτε ἄστόν, βοηθείτω μὲν ὁ προστυγχάνων ἢ κατὰ τὸ τίμημα τὴν εἰρημένην ζημίαν ἀποτινέτω, συνδήσαντες δὲ οἱ προστυγχάνοντες μετὰ τοῦ πληγέντος  
 b παραδόντων τῷ ἀδικουμένῳ· ὁ δὲ παραλαβὼν, δῆσας ἐν πέδαις καὶ μαστιγώσας ὅποσας ἂν ἐθέλῃ, μηδὲν βλάπτων τὸν δεσπότην, παραδότῳ ἐκείνῳ κεκτηῖσθαι κατὰ νόμον. ὁ δὲ νόμος ἔστω· Ὃς ἂν ἐλεύθερον δοῦλος ὦν τύπτῃ μὴ  
 5 τῶν ἀρχόντων κελευόντων, παραλαβὼν ὁ κεκτημένος παρὰ  
 c τοῦ πληγέντος δεδεμένον αὐτὸν μὴ λύσῃ, πρὶν ἂν ὁ δοῦλος

πέιση τὸν πληγέντα ἄξιος εἶναι τοῦ λελυμένος ζῆν. τὰ  
αὐτὰ δὲ γυναιξίν τε ἔστω πρὸς ἀλλήλας περὶ πάντων τῶν  
τοιούτων νόμιμα, καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρας γυναιξὶ καὶ ἀνδράσι πρὸς  
γυναῖκας.

5

## BOOK X

### SHORT ANALYSIS

884-888 d.—Impiety, its causes, nature, and supports.

888 d-899 d.—Refutation of those who hold that there are no gods.

899 d-903 a.—Refutation of those who hold that the gods do not concern themselves with humanity.

903 a-905 d.—Appended Exposition of the Providential Ordering of the world and life in general.

905 d-907 d.—Refutation of those dangerous people who believe that the gods are bribable.

907 d-909 d.—The law against impieties of various kinds.

909 d-end.—Law against Private Shrines.

## I

- 884 AΘ. Μετὰ δὲ τὰς αἰκίας περὶ παντὸς ἐν εἰρήσθω τοιόνδε  
τι νόμιμον βιαίων πέρι· Τῶν ἀλλοτρίων μηδένα μηδὲν  
φέρειν μηδὲ ἄγειν, μηδ' αὖ χρησθαι μηδενὶ τῶν τοῦ πέλας,  
ἐὰν μὴ πείσῃ τὸν κεκτημένον· ἐκ γὰρ δὴ τοῦ τοιούτου πάντα  
5 ἡρτημένα τά τε εἰρημένα κακὰ γέγονε καὶ ἔστι καὶ ἔσται.  
μέγιστα δὲ δὴ τῶν λοιπῶν αἱ τῶν νέων ἀκολασίαι τε καὶ  
ὑβρεῖς, εἰς μέγιστα δέ, ὅταν εἰς ἱερὰ γίνωνται, καὶ δια-  
φερόντως αὖ μεγάλα, ὅταν εἰς δημόσια καὶ ἅγια ἢ κατὰ  
μέρη κοινὰ φυλετῶν ἢ τινων ἄλλων τοιούτων κεκοινωνη-  
885 κότων· εἰς ἱερὰ δὲ ἴδια καὶ τάφους δευτέρα καὶ δευτέρως,  
εἰς δὲ γονέας τρίτα, χωρὶς τῶν ἔμπροσθεν εἰρημένων ὅταν  
ὑβρίξῃ τις. τέταρτον δὲ γένος ὑβρεως, ὅταν ἀφροντιστῶν  
τις ἀρχόντων ἄγῃ ἢ φέρῃ ἢ χρηταί τινι τῶν ἐκείνων μὴ  
5 πείσας αὐτοὺς, πέμπτον δὲ τὸ πολιτικὸν ἂν εἴῃ ἐκάστου  
τῶν πολιτῶν ὑβρισθὲν δίκην ἐπικαλούμενον. οἷς δὴ δοτέον  
εἰς κοινὸν νόμον ἐκάστοις. ἱεροσυλία μὲν γὰρ εἴρηται



συνλήβδην, βίαιός τε καὶ λάθρα ἐὰν γίννηται, τί χρὴ πά- b  
σχειν· ὅσα δὲ λόγῳ καὶ ὅσα ἔργῳ περὶ θεοὺς ὑβρίζει τις  
λέγων ἢ πράττων, τὸ παραμύθιον ὑποθεμένῳ ῥητέον ἃ δεῖ  
πάσχειν. ἔστω δὴ τόδε. Θεοὺς ἡγούμενος εἶναι κατὰ  
νόμους οὐδεὶς πώποτε οὔτε ἔργον ἀσεβὲς ἡργάσατο ἐκὼν 5  
οὔτε λόγον ἀφῆκεν ἄνομον, ἀλλὰ ἐν δὴ τι τῶν τριῶν πάσχων,  
ἢ τοῦτο, ὅπερ εἶπον, οὐχ ἡγούμενος, ἢ τὸ δεύτερον ὄντας οὐ  
φροντίζειν ἀνθρώπων, ἢ τρίτον εὐπαραμυθήτους εἶναι θυσίαις  
τε καὶ εὐχαῖς παραγομένους.

ΚΛ. Τί οὖν δὴ δρῶμεν ἂν ἢ καὶ λέγοιμεν πρὸς αὐτούς; c

ΑΘ. Ὁγαθέ, ἐπακούσωμεν αὐτῶν πρῶτον ἃ τῷ κατα-  
φρονεῖν ἡμῶν προσπαίζοντας αὐτοὺς λέγειν μαντεύομαι.

ΚΛ. Ποῖα δὴ;

ΑΘ. Ταῦτα τάχ' ἂν ἐρεσχηλοῦντες εἴποιεν· ὦ ξένε 5  
Ἀθηναῖε καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιε καὶ Κνωσίε, ἀληθῆ λέγετε.  
ἡμῶν γὰρ οἱ μὲν τὸ παράπαν θεοὺς οὐδαμῶς νομίζομεν, οἱ  
δὲ οἷους ὑμεῖς λέγετε. ἀξιοῦμεν δὴ, καθάπερ ὑμεῖς ἡξιώκατε  
περὶ νόμων, πρὶν ἀπειλεῖν ἡμῖν σκληρῶς, ὑμᾶς πρότερον d  
ἐπιχειρεῖν πείθειν καὶ διδάσκειν ὥς εἰσὶ θεοί, τεκμήρια  
λέγοντες ἱκανά, καὶ ὅτι βελτίους ἢ παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον ὑπό-  
τινων δώρων παρατρέπεσθαι κηλούμενοι. νῦν μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα  
ἀκούοντές τε καὶ τοιαῦθ' ἕτερα τῶν λεγομένων ἀρίστων εἶναι 5  
ποιητῶν τε καὶ ῥητόρων καὶ μάντεων καὶ ἱερέων καὶ ἄλλων  
μυριάκις μυρίων, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸ μὴ δρᾶν τὰ ἄδिका τρεπόμεθα οἱ  
πλείστοι, δράσαντες δ' ἔξακεῖσθαι πειρώμεθα. παρὰ δὲ δὴ e  
νομοθετῶν, φασκόντων εἶναι μὴ ἀγρίων ἀλλὰ ἡμέρων, ἀξιοῦ-  
μεν πειθοῖ πρῶτον χρῆσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς, εἰ μὴ πολλῶ βελτίω  
τῶν ἄλλων λέγοντας περὶ θεῶν ὥς εἰσὶν, ἀλλ' οὖν βελτίω  
γε πρὸς ἀλήθειαν, καὶ τάχα πειθοίμεθ' ἂν ἴσως ὑμῖν. ἀλλ' 5  
ἐπιχειρεῖτε, εἴ τι μέτριον λέγομεν, εἰπεῖν ἃ προκαλούμεθα.

ΚΛ. Οὐκοῦν, ὦ ξένε, δοκεῖ ῥάδιον εἶναι ἀληθεύοντας  
λέγειν ὥς εἰσὶν θεοί;

ΑΘ. Πῶς;

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ΚΛ. Πρῶτον μὲν γῇ καὶ ἥλιος ἄστρο τε καὶ τὰ σύμ-  
παντα, καὶ τὰ τῶν ὠρῶν διακεκοσμημένα καλῶς οὕτως, ἐνιαυ-  
τοῖς τε καὶ μηνσὶν διειλημμένα· καὶ ὅτι πάντες Ἕλληνές τε  
καὶ βάρβαροι νομίζουσιν εἶναι θεοὺς. 5

ΑΘ. Φοβοῦμαι γε, ὦ μακάριε, τοὺς μοχθηροὺς—οὐ γὰρ  
δὴ ποτε εἴποιμ' ἂν ὥς γε αἰδοῦμαι—μή πως ἡμῶν κατα-

φρονήσωσιν. ὑμεῖς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἴστε αὐτῶν πέρι τὴν τῆς διαφορᾶς αἰτίαν, ἀλλ' ἡγείσθε ἀκρατεῖα μόνον ἡδονῶν τε  
b καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀσεβῆ βίον ὀρμάσθαι τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν.

ΚΛ. Τὸ δὲ τί πρὸς τούτοις αἴτιον ἄν, ὦ ξέने, εἴη;

ΑΘ. Σχεδὸν ὁ παντάπασιν ὑμεῖς ἔξω ζῶντες οὐκ ἂν  
5 εἰδείητε, ἀλλὰ ὑμᾶς ἂν λανθάνοι.

ΚΛ. Τί δὴ τοῦτο φράζεις τὰ νῦν;

ΑΘ. Ἀμαθία τις μάλα χαλεπή, δοκοῦσα εἶναι μεγίστη φρόνησις.

ΚΛ. Πῶς λέγεις;

10 ΑΘ. Εἰσὶν ἡμῖν ἐν γράμμασιν λόγοι κείμενοι, οἱ παρ' ὑμῖν οὐκ εἰσὶν δι' ἀρετὴν πολιτείας, ὡς ἐγὼ μανθάνω, οἱ μὲν ἔν  
c τισι μέτροις, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἄνευ μέτρων λέγοντες περὶ θεῶν, οἱ μὲν παλαιότατοι ὡς γέγονεν ἡ πρώτη φύσις οὐρανοῦ τῶν τε ἄλλων, προϋόντες δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς οὐ πολὺ θεογονίαν διεξέρχονται, γενόμενοί τε ὡς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὠμίλησαν· ἃ  
5 τοῖς ἀκούουσιν εἰ μὲν εἰς ἄλλο τι καλῶς ἢ μὴ καλῶς ἔχει, οὐ ῥάδιον ἐπιτιμᾶν παλαιοῖς οὖσιν, εἰς μέντοι γονέων τε θεραπείας καὶ τιμὰς οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγέ ποτε ἐπαινῶν εἴποιμι οὔτε ὡς ὠφέλιμα οὔτε ὡς τὸ παράπαν ὄντως εἴρηται. τὰ  
d μὲν οὖν δὴ τῶν ἀρχαίων πέρι μεθείσθω καὶ χαίρετω, καὶ ὅπη θεοῖσιν φίλον, λεγέσθω ταύτη· τὰ δὲ τῶν νέων ἡμῖν καὶ σοφῶν αἰτιαθῆτω ὅπη κακῶν αἰτία. τότε οὖν οἱ τῶν τοιούτων ἐξεργάζονται λόγοι· ἐμοῦ γὰρ καὶ σοῦ, ὅταν τεκ-  
5 μήρια λέγωμεν ὡς εἰσὶν θεοί, ταῦτα αὐτὰ προφέροντες, ἥλιόν τε καὶ σελήνην καὶ ἄστρα καὶ γῆν ὡς θεοὺς καὶ θεῖα ὄντα, ὑπὸ τῶν σοφῶν τούτων ἀναπεισμένοι ἂν λέγοιεν ὡς γῆν τε καὶ λίθους ὄντα αὐτὰ καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν ἀνθρωπείων  
e πραγμάτων φροντίζειν δυνάμενα, λόγοισι δὲ ταῦτα εὖ πως εἰς τὸ πιθανὸν περιπεπεμμένα.

ΚΛ. Χαλεπὸν γε λόγον, ὦ ξέने, εἰρηκῶς τυγχάνεις, εἴ γε εἰς ἣν μόνον· νῦν δὲ ὅτε πάμπολλοι τυγχάνουσιν, ἔτι  
5 χαλεπώτερον ἂν εἴη.

ΑΘ. Τί οὖν δὴ; τί λέγομεν; τί χρὴ δρᾶν ἡμᾶς; πότερον ἀπολογησώμεθα οἷον κατηγορήσαντός τινος ἐν ἀσεβείᾳ ἀνθρώποις ἡμῶν, φεύγουσι περὶ τῆς νομοθεσίας λέγουσιν  
887 ὡς δεινὰ ἐργαζόμεθα νομοθετοῦντες ὡς ὄντων θεῶν; ἢ χαίρειν ἑάσαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους τρεπώμεθα πάλιν, μὴ καὶ

τὸ προοίμιον ἡμῖν μακρότερον γίγνηται τῶν νόμων; οὐ γάρ  
τι βραχὺς ὁ λόγος ἐκταθεὶς ἂν γίγνοιτο, εἰ τοῖσιν ἐπιθυ-  
μοῦσιν ἀσεβεῖν τὰ μὲν ἀποδείξαιμεν μετρίως τοῖς λόγοις 5  
ὧν ἔφραζον δεῖν περὶ λέγειν, τῶν δὲ εἰς φόβον τρέψαιμεν,  
τὰ δὲ δυσχεραίνειν ποιήσαντες, ὅσα πρέπει μετὰ ταῦτα ἤδη  
νομοθετοῦμεν.

ΚΛ. Ἄλλ', ὦ ξένε, πολλάκις μὲν ὥς γε ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ b  
τοῦτ' αὐτὸ εἰρήκαμεν, ὥς οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ παρόντι δεῖ προτιμᾶν  
βραχυλογία μᾶλλον ἢ μήκος—οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἡμᾶς, τὸ λεγόμε-  
νον, ἐπείγων διώκει—γελοῖον δὴ καὶ φαῦλον τὸ πρὸ τῶν  
βελτίστων τὰ βραχυτέρα αἰρουμένους φαίνεσθαι. διαφέρει 5  
δ' οὐ σμικρὸν ἀμῶς γέ πως πιθανότητά τινα τοὺς λόγους  
ἡμῶν ἔχειν, ὥς θεοὶ τ' εἰσὶν καὶ ἀγαθοί, δίκην τιμῶντες  
διαφερόντως ἀνθρώπων· σχεδὸν γὰρ τοῦτο ἡμῖν ὑπὲρ ἀπάν-  
των τῶν νόμων κάλλιστόν τε καὶ ἄριστον προοίμιον ἂν c  
εἴη. μηδὲν οὖν δυσχεράναντες μηδὲ ἐπειχθέντες, ἦντινὰ  
ποτε ἔχομεν δύναμιν εἰς πειθῶ τῶν τοιούτων λόγων, μηδὲν  
ἀποθέμενοι διεξέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ δυνατόν ἱκανῶς.

ΑΘ. Εὐχὴν μοι δοκεῖ παρακαλεῖν ὁ λεγόμενος ὑπὸ σοῦ 5  
νῦν λόγος, ἐπειδὴ προθύμως συντείνεις· μέλλειν δὲ οὐκέτι  
ἐγχωρεῖ λέγειν. φέρε δὴ, πῶς ἂν τις μὴ θυμῷ λέγοι περὶ  
θεῶν ὥς εἰσὶν; ἀνάγκη γὰρ δὴ χαλεπῶς φέρειν καὶ μισεῖν d  
ἐκείνους οἱ τούτων ἡμῖν αἴτιοι τῶν λόγων γεγένηνται καὶ  
γίννονται νῦν, οὐ πειθόμενοι τοῖς μύθοις οὓς ἐκ νέων παίδων  
ἔτι ἐν γάλαξιν τρεφόμενοι τροφῶν τε ἤκουον καὶ μητέρων,  
οἷον ἐν ἐπωδαῖς μετὰ τε παιδιᾶς καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς λεγο-  
μένων καὶ μετὰ θυσιῶν ἐν εὐχαῖς αὐτοὺς ἀκούοντές τε, καὶ 5  
ὄψεις ὀρῶντες ἐπομένας αὐτοῖς ἅς ἤδιστα ὃ γε νέος ὄρᾳ τε  
καὶ ἀκούει πραττομένας θυόντων, ἐν σπουδῇ <τε> τῇ μεγίστῃ  
τοὺς αὐτῶν γονέας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τε καὶ ἐκείνων ἐσπουδακότας,  
<καὶ> ὥς ὅτι μάλιστα οὓσιν θεοῖς εὐχαῖς προσδιαλεγόμενους e  
καὶ ἱκετεῖαις, ἀνατέλλοντός τε ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ πρὸς  
δυσμᾶς ἰόντων προκυλίσεις ἅμα καὶ προσκυνήσεις ἀκούοντές  
τε καὶ ὀρῶντες Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων πάντων ἐν συμ-  
φοραῖς παντοίαις ἐχομένων καὶ ἐν εὐπραγίαις, οὐχ ὥς οὐκ 5  
ὄντων ἀλλ' ὥς ὅτι μάλιστα ὄντων καὶ οὐδαμῇ ὑποψίαν ἐνδι-  
δόντων ὥς οὐκ εἰσὶν θεοί—τούτων δὴ πάντων ὅσοι καταφρονή-  
σαντες οὐδὲ ἐξ ἐνὸς ἱκανοῦ λόγου, ὥς φαῖεν ἂν ὅσοι καὶ  
σμικρὸν νοῦ κέκτηνται, νῦν ἀναγκάζουσιν ἡμᾶς λέγειν α



- 888 λέγομεν, πῶς τούτους ἂν τις ἐν πράξει λόγοις δύναιτο νο-  
 θετῶν ἅμα διδάσκειν περὶ θεῶν πρῶτον ὥς εἰσὶν; τολμητέον  
 δέ· οὐ γὰρ ἅμα γε δεῖ μανῆναι τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ λαιμαργίας  
 ἡδονῆς ἡμῶν, τοὺς δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦσθαι τοῖς τοιούτοις. ἴτω  
 5 δὴ πρόρρησις τοιαύδε τις ἄθυμος τοῖς οὕτω τὴν διάνοιαν διεφ-  
 θαρμένοις, καὶ λέγωμεν πράως, σβέσαντες τὸν θυμόν, ὥς ἐνὶ  
 διαλεγόμενοι τῶν τοιούτων· ὦ παῖ, νέος εἶ, προῖων δέ σε  
 b ὁ χρόνος ποιήσει πολλὰ ὧν νῦν δοξάζεις μεταβαλόντα ἐπὶ  
 τάναντία τίθεσθαι· περίμενον οὖν εἰς τότε κριτῆς περὶ τῶν  
 μεγίστων γίνεσθαι, μέγιστον δέ, ὃ νῦν οὐδὲν ἡγῇ σύ, τὸ  
 5 περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὀρθῶς διανοηθέντα ζῆν καλῶς ἢ μή. πρῶτον  
 δέ περὶ αὐτῶν ἔν τι μέγα σοι μηνύων οὐκ ἂν ποτε φανείην  
 ψευδῆς, τὸ τοιόνδε. οὐ σὺ μόνος οὐδὲ οἱ σοὶ φίλοι πρῶτοι  
 καὶ πρῶτον ταύτην δόξαν περὶ θεῶν ἔσχετε, γίνονται δέ αἰεὶ  
 πλείους ἢ ἐλάττους ταύτην τὴν νόσον ἔχοντες· τόδε τοίνυν  
 c σοι, παραγεγονῶς αὐτῶν πολλοῖς, φράζοιμ' ἂν, τὸ μηδένα  
 πώποτε λαβόντα ἐκ νέου ταύτην τὴν δόξαν περὶ θεῶν, ὥς  
 οὐκ εἰσὶν, διατελέσαι πρὸς γῆρας μείναντα ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ δια-  
 νοήσει, τὰ δύο μέντοι πάθη περὶ θεοὺς μείναι, πολλοῖσι μὲν  
 5 οὐ, μείναι δέ οὖν τισιν, τὸ τοὺς θεοὺς εἶναι μὲν, φροντίζειν  
 δέ οὐδὲν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, καὶ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο, ὥς φροντίζουσι  
 μὲν, εὐπαραμύθητοι δ' εἰσὶν θύμασιν καὶ εὐχαῖς. τὸ δὴ σαφές  
 ἂν γενόμενόν σοι περὶ αὐτῶν κατὰ δύναμιν δόγμα, ἂν ἐμοὶ  
 πείθῃ, περιμενεῖς ἀνασκοπῶν εἴτε οὕτως εἴτε ἄλλως ἔχει,  
 d πυνθανόμενος παρά τε τῶν ἄλλων καὶ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα καὶ  
 παρὰ τοῦ νομοθέτου· ἐν δέ δὴ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ μὴ τολμήσης  
 περὶ θεοὺς μηδὲν ἄσεβῆσαι. πειρατέον γὰρ τῷ τοὺς νόμους  
 σοι τιθέντι νῦν καὶ εἰς αὐθις διδάσκειν περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων  
 5 ὥς ἔχει.

ΚΛ. Κάλλισθ' ἡμῖν, ὦ ξένε, μέχρι γε τοῦ νῦν εἴρηται.

ΑΘ. Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν, ὦ Μέγилλέ τε καὶ Κλεινία·  
 λελήθαμεν δ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς εἰς θαυμαστὸν λόγον ἐμπεπτω-  
 κότες.

10 ΚΛ. Τὸν ποῖον δὴ λέγεις;

e ΑΘ. Τὸν παρὰ πολλοῖς δοξαζόμενον εἶναι σοφώτατον  
 ἀπάντων λόγων.

ΚΛ. Φράζ' ἔτι σαφέστερον.

ΑΘ. Λέγουσί πού τινες ὥς πάντα ἐστὶ τὰ πράγματα  
 5 γιγνόμενα καὶ γενόμενα καὶ γενησόμενα τὰ μὲν φύσει, τὰ



δὲ τέχνη, τὰ δὲ διὰ τύχην.

ΚΛ. Οὐκοῦν καλῶς;

ΑΘ. Εἰκός γέ τοί που σοφοὺς ἄνδρας ὀρθῶς λέγειν·  
ἐπόμενοί γε μὴν αὐτοῖς σκεψώμεθα τοὺς ἐκείθεν τί ποτε 889  
καὶ τυγχάνουσι διανοούμενοι.

ΚΛ. Πάντως.

ΑΘ. Ἔοικε, φασίν, τὰ μὲν μέγιστα αὐτῶν καὶ κάλλιστα  
ἀπεργάζεσθαι φύσιν καὶ τύχην, τὰ δὲ σμικρότερα τέχνην, 5  
ἣν δὴ παρὰ φύσεως λαμβάνουσιν τὴν τῶν μεγάλων καὶ  
πρώτων γένεσιν ἔργων, πλάττειν καὶ τεκταίνεσθαι πάντα τὰ  
σμικρότερα, ἃ δὴ τεχνικὰ πάντες προσαγορεύομεν.

ΚΛ. Πῶς λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Ὡς δ' ἔτι σαφέστερον ἐρῶ. πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γῆν b  
καὶ ἀέρα φύσει πάντα εἶναι καὶ τύχῃ φασίν, τέχνη δὲ οὐδέν  
τούτων, καὶ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα αὖ σώματα, γῆς τε καὶ ἡλίου  
καὶ σελήνης ἄστρον τε πέρι, διὰ τούτων γεγονέναι παντελῶς  
ὄντων ἀψύχων· τύχῃ δὲ φερόμενα τῇ τῆς δυνάμεως ἕκαστα 5  
ἐκάστων, ἥ συμπέπτωκεν ἀρμόττοντα οἰκείως πως, θερμὰ  
ψυχροῖς ἢ ξηρὰ πρὸς ὑγρὰ καὶ μαλακὰ πρὸς σκληρά, καὶ  
πάντα ὅποσα τῇ τῶν ἐναντίων κράσει κατὰ τύχην ἐξ ἀνάγκης  
c συνεκεράσθη, ταύτῃ καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα οὕτως γεγεννηκέναι  
τόν τε οὐρανὸν ὅλον καὶ πάντα ὅποσα κατ' οὐρανόν, καὶ  
ζῶα αὖ καὶ φυτὰ σύμπαντα, ὥρων πασῶν ἐκ τούτων γενο-  
μένων, οὐ[δὲ] διὰ νοῦν, φασίν, οὐδὲ διὰ τινα θεὸν οὐδὲ διὰ 5  
τέχνην ἀλλὰ, ὃ λέγομεν, φύσει καὶ τύχῃ. τέχνην δὲ  
ὑστερον ἐκ τούτων ὑστέραν γενομένην, αὐτὴν θνητὴν ἐκ  
θνητῶν ὑστερα γεγεννηκέναι παιδιάς τινος, ἀληθείας οὐ d  
σφόδρα μετέχουσας, ἀλλὰ εἰδῶλ' ἅττα συγγενῇ ἑαυτῶν,  
οἷ' ἢ γραφικὴ γεννᾷ καὶ μουσικὴ καὶ ὅσαι ταύταις εἰσὶν  
συνέριθοι τέχναι· αἱ δέ τι καὶ σπουδαῖον ἄρα γεννῶσι τῶν  
τεχνῶν εἶναι ταύτας ὅποσαι τῇ φύσει ἐκοίνωσαν τὴν αὐτῶν 5  
δύναμιν, ὅλον αὖ ἰατρικὴ καὶ γεωργικὴ καὶ γυμναστική. καὶ  
δὴ καὶ τῆς πολιτικῆς σμικρόν τι μέρος εἶναι φασιν κοινω-  
νοῦν φύσει, τέχνη δὲ τὸ πολὺ, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὴν νομοθεσίαν  
πάσαν οὐ φύσει, τέχνη δέ, ἥς οὐκ ἀληθεῖς εἶναι τὰς θέσεις. e

ΚΛ. Πῶς λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Θεοὺς, ὦ μακάριε, εἶναι πρῶτόν φασιν οὗτοι τέχνη,  
οὐ φύσει ἀλλὰ τισιν νόμοις, καὶ τούτους ἄλλους ἄλλῃ, ὅπῃ  
ἕκαστοι ἑαυτοῖσι συνωμολόγησαν νομοθετούμενοι· καὶ δὴ 5

- καὶ τὰ καλὰ φύσει μὲν ἄλλα εἶναι, νόμῳ δὲ ἕτερα, τὰ δὲ  
 δὴ δίκαια οὐδ' εἶναι τὸ παράπαν φύσει, ἀλλ' ἀμφισβητοῦντας  
 διατελεῖν ἀλλήλοις καὶ μετατιθεμένους αἰεὶ ταῦτα, ἃ δ' ἂν  
 890 μεταθῶνται καὶ ὅταν, τότε κύρια ἕκαστα εἶναι, γιγνόμενα  
 τέχνη καὶ τοῖς νόμοις ἀλλ' οὐ δὴ τινι φύσει. ταῦτ' ἐστίν,  
 ὧ φίλοι, ἅπαντα ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν παρὰ νέοις ἀνθρώποις,  
 ἰδιωτῶν τε καὶ ποιητῶν, φασκόντων εἶναι τὸ δικαιοτάτον  
 5 ὅτι τις ἂν νικᾷ βιαζόμενος· ὅθεν ἀσέβειαί τε ἀνθρώποις  
 ἐμπίπτουσιν νέοις, ὡς οὐκ ὄντων θεῶν οἴους ὁ νόμος προσ-  
 τάττει διανοεῖσθαι δεῖν, στάσεις τε διὰ ταῦτα ἐλκόντων πρὸς  
 τὸν κατὰ φύσιν ὀρθὸν βίον, ὅς ἐστιν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ κρατοῦντα  
 ζῆν τῶν ἄλλων καὶ μὴ δουλεύοντα ἐτέροισι κατὰ νόμον.
- b ΚΛ. Οἷον διελέλυθας, ὦ ξένε, λόγον, καὶ ὅσην λώβην  
 ἀνθρώπων νέων δημοσίᾳ πόλεσιν τε καὶ ἰδίοις οἴκοις.
- ΑΘ. Ἀληθῇ μέντοι λέγεις, ὦ Κλεινία. τί οὖν οἶμι χρῆναι  
 δρᾶν τὸν νομοθέτην, οὕτω τούτων πάλοι παρεσκευασμένων;  
 5 ἢ μόνον ἀπειλεῖν στάντα ἐν τῇ πόλει σύμπασιν τοῖς ἀνθρώ-  
 ποις, ὡς εἰ μὴ φήσουσιν εἶναι θεοὺς καὶ διανοηθήσονται  
 δοξάζοντες τοιούτους οἴους φησὶν ὁ νόμος—καὶ περὶ καλῶν  
 καὶ δικαίων καὶ περὶ ἀπάντων τῶν μεγίστων ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος,
- c ὅσα τε πρὸς ἀρετὴν τείνει καὶ κακίαν, ὡς δεῖ ταῦτα οὕτω  
 πράττειν διανοοῦμένους ὅπηπερ ἂν ὁ νομοθέτης ὑφηγήσεται  
 γράφων—ὅς δ' ἂν μὴ παρέχεται ἑαυτὸν τοῖς νόμοις εὐπειθῇ,  
 τὸν μὲν δεῖν τεθνάναι, τὸν δὲ τινα πληγαῖς καὶ δεσμοῖς,  
 5 τὸν δὲ ἀτιμίαις, ἄλλους δὲ πενίαις κολάζεσθαι καὶ φυγαῖς·  
 πειθῶ δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἅμα τιθέντα αὐτοῖς τοὺς νό-  
 μους, μηδεμίαν ἔχειν τοῖς λόγοις προσάπτοντα εἰς δύναμιν  
 ἡμεροῦν;
- d ΚΛ. Μηδαμῶς, ὦ ξένε, ἀλλ' εἴπερ τυγχάνει γε οὐσα  
 καὶ σμικρὰ πειθῶ τις περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, δεῖ μηδαμῇ κάμνειν  
 τὸν γε ἄξιον καὶ σμικροῦ νομοθέτην, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν, τὸ λεγό-  
 μενον, φωνὴν ἰέντα, τῷ παλαιῷ [νόμῳ] ἐπίκουρον γίνεσθαι  
 5 λόγῳ ὡς εἰσὶν θεοὶ καὶ ὅσα νυνδὴ διήλθες σύ, καὶ δὴ καὶ  
 νόμῳ αὐτῷ βοηθῆσαι καὶ τέχνη, ὡς ἐστὸν φύσει ἢ φύσεως  
 οὐχ ἥττονι, εἴπερ νοῦ γέ ἐστιν γεννήματα κατὰ λόγον ὀρθόν,  
 ὃν σύ τε λέγεις μοι φαίνει καὶ ἐγὼ σοι πιστεύω τὰ νῦν.
- e ΑΘ. Ὡς προθυμότατε Κλεινία, τί δ'; οὐ χαλεπά τέ ἐστι  
 συνακολουθεῖν λόγοις οὕτως εἰς πλήθη λεγόμενα, μήκη τε  
 αὖ κέκτηται διωλύγια;

ΚΛ. Τί δέ, ὦ ξένε; περὶ μέθης μὲν καὶ μουσικῆς οὕτω  
μακρὰ λέγοντας ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς περιεμείναμεν, περὶ θεῶν δὲ 5  
καὶ τῶν τοιούτων οὐχ ὑπομενοῦμεν; καὶ μὴν καὶ νομοθεσία  
γέ ἐστίν που τῇ μετὰ φρονήσεως μεγίστη βοήθεια, διότι  
τὰ περὶ νόμους προστάγματα ἐν γράμμασι τεθέντα, ὥς 891  
δῶσοντα εἰς πάντα χρόνον ἔλεγχον, πάντως ἡρεμεῖ, ὥστε  
οὐτ' εἰ χαλεπὰ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἀκούειν ἐστὶν φοβητέον, ἃ γ'  
ἔσται καὶ τῷ δυσμαθεῖ πολλάκις ἐπανιόντι σκοπεῖν, οὔτε  
εἰ μακρά, ὠφέλιμα δέ, διὰ ταῦτα λόγον οὐδαμῇ ἔχει οὐδὲ 5  
ὅσιον ἔμοιγε εἶναι φαίνεται τὸ μὴ οὐ βοθεῖν τούτοις τοῖς  
λόγοις πάντα ἄνδρα κατὰ δύναμιν.

ΜΕ. Ἄριστα, ὦ ξένε, δοκεῖ μοι λέγειν Κλεινίας.

ΑΘ. Καὶ μάλα γε, ὦ Μέγιλλε, ποιητέον τε ὥς λέγει. b  
καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ κατεσπαρμένοι ἦσαν οἱ τοιοῦτοι λόγοι ἐν τοῖς  
πᾶσιν ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἀνθρώποις, οὐδὲν ἂν ἔδει τῶν ἐπα-  
μυνούντων λόγων ὥς εἰσὶν θεοί· νῦν δὲ ἀνάγκη. νόμοις  
οὖν διαφθειρομένοις τοῖς μεγίστοις ὑπὸ κακῶν ἀνθρώπων 5  
τίνα καὶ μᾶλλον προσήκει βοθεῖν ἢ νομοθέτην;

ΜΕ. Οὐκ ἔστιν.

ΑΘ. Ἄλλὰ δὴ λέγε μοι πάλιν, Κλεινία, καὶ σύ—κοι-  
νωνὸν γὰρ δεῖ σε εἶναι τῶν λόγων—κινδυνεύει γὰρ ὁ λέγων c  
ταῦτα πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γῆν καὶ αἶρα πρῶτα ἡγείσθαι τῶν  
πάντων εἶναι, καὶ τὴν φύσιν ὀνομάζειν ταῦτα αὐτά, ψυχὴν  
δὲ ἐκ τούτων ὕστερον. ἔοικεν δὲ οὐ κινδυνεύειν ἀλλὰ  
ὄντως σημαίνειν ταῦτα ἡμῖν τῷ λόγῳ. 5

ΚΛ. Πάνν μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Ἄρ' οὖν πρὸς Διὸς οἶον πηγγὴν τίνα ἀνοήτου δόξης  
ἀνηυρήκαμεν ἀνθρώπων ὅποσοι πώποτε τῶν περὶ φύσεως  
ἐφήψαντο ζητημάτων; σκόπει πάντα λόγον ἐξετάζων· οὐ  
γὰρ δὴ σμικρόν γε τὸ διαφέρον, εἰ φανεῖεν οἱ λόγων ἀπτό- d  
μενοι ἀσεβῶν, ἄλλοις τε ἐξάρχοντες, μηδὲ εὖ τοῖς λόγοις  
ἀλλ' ἐξημαρτημένως χρώμενοι. δοκεῖ τοίνυν μοι ταῦτα  
οὕτως ἔχειν.

ΚΛ. Ἐδ' λέγεις· ἀλλ' ὅπη, πειρῶ φράζω.

ΑΘ. Ἐοικεν τοίνυν ἀθεστέρας ἀπτέον εἶναι λόγων. 5

ΚΛ. Οὐκ ὀκνητέον, ὦ ξένε. μαθάνω γὰρ ὥς νομο-  
θεσίας ἐκτὸς οἰήσῃ βαίνειν, ἐὰν τῶν τοιούτων ἀπτώμεθα  
λόγων. εἰ δὲ ἔστι μηδαμῇ ἑτέρως συμφωνῆσαι τοῖς νῦν e  
κατὰ νόμον λεγομένοις θεοῖς ὥς ὀρθῶς ἔχουσιν ἢ ταύτη,

λεκτέον, ὧ θαυμάσιε, καὶ ταύτῃ.

ΑΘ. Λέγοιμ' ἄν, ὥς ἔοικεν, ἤδη σχεδὸν οὐκ εἰωθότα  
 5 λόγον τινὰ τόνδε. ὁ πρῶτον γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς αἴτιον  
 πάντων, τοῦτο οὐ πρῶτον ἀλλὰ ὕστερον ἀπεφάνησαν εἶναι  
 γεγονὸς οἱ τὴν τῶν ἀσεβῶν ψυχὴν ἀπεργασάμενοι λόγοι, ὁ δὲ  
 ὕστερον, πρότερον· ὅθεν ἡμαρτήκασι περὶ θεῶν τῆς ὄντως  
 οὐσίας.

892 ΚΛ. Οὕτω μανθάνω.

ΑΘ. Ψυχὴν, ὧ ἐταῖρε, ἡγνοηκέναί κινδυνεύουσι μὲν  
 ὀλίγον σύμπαντες οἷόν τε ὃν τυγχάνει καὶ δύναμιν ἣν ἔχει,  
 τῶν τε ἄλλων αὐτῆς πέρι καὶ δὴ καὶ γενέσεως, ὥς ἐν  
 5 πρώτοις ἐστὶ, σωμάτων ἔμπροσθεν πάντων γενομένη, καὶ  
 μεταβολῆς τε αὐτῶν καὶ μετακοσμήσεως ἀπάσης ἄρχει  
 παντὸς μᾶλλον· εἰ δὲ ἔστιν ταῦτα οὕτως, ἄρ' οὐκ ἐξ ἀνάγκης  
 τὰ ψυχῆς συγγενῇ πρότερα ἢ εἴη γεγονότα τῶν σώματι  
 b προσηκόντων, οὔσης γ' αὐτῆς πρεσβυτέρας ἢ σώματος;

ΚΛ. Ἀνάγκη.

ΑΘ. Δόξα δὴ καὶ ἐπιμέλεια καὶ νοῦς καὶ τέχνη καὶ νόμος  
 σκληρῶν καὶ μαλακῶν καὶ βαρέων καὶ κούφων πρότερα ἢ  
 5 εἴη· καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ μεγάλα καὶ πρῶτα ἔργα καὶ πράξεις  
 τέχνης ἢ γίγνοιτο, ὄντα ἐν πρώτοις, τὰ δὲ φύσει καὶ  
 φύσις, ἣν οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐπονομάζουσιν αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ὕστερα καὶ  
 ἀρχόμενα ἢ ἐκ τέχνης εἴη καὶ νοῦ.

c ΚΛ. Πῶς οὐκ ὀρθῶς;

ΑΘ. Φύσιν βούλονται λέγειν γένεσιν τὴν περὶ τὰ  
 πρῶτα· εἰ δὲ φανήσεται ψυχὴ πρῶτον, οὐ πῦρ οὐδὲ ἀήρ,  
 ψυχὴ δ' ἐν πρώτοις γεγεννημένη, σχεδὸν ὀρθότατα λέγοιτ'  
 5 ἢ εἶναι διαφερόντως φύσει. ταῦτ' ἔσθ' οὕτως ἔχοντα, ἢ  
 ψυχὴν τις ἐπιδείξῃ πρεσβυτέραν οὔσαν σώματος, ἄλλως  
 δὲ οὐδαμῶς.

ΚΛ. Ἀληθέστατα λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπ' αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο στελ-  
 10 λώμεθα;

d ΚΛ. Τί μὴν;

ΑΘ. Φυλάττωμεν δὴ παντάπασιν ἀπατηλὸν λόγον, μὴ  
 πη πρεσβύτεας ἡμᾶς ὄντας νεοπρεπῆς ὢν παραπείσῃ καὶ  
 διαφυγῶν καταγελάστους ποιήσῃ, καὶ δόξωμεν μείζονα ἐπι-  
 5 βαλλόμενοι καὶ τῶν σμικρῶν ἀποτυχεῖν. σκοπεῖτε οὖν.  
 εἰ καθάπερ ποταμὸν ἡμᾶς ἔδει τρεῖς ὄντας διαβαίνειν ρέοντα



σφόδρα, νεώτατος δ' ἐγὼ τυγχάνων ἡμῶν καὶ πολλῶν ἔμ-  
 πειρος ρευμάτων, εἶπον ὅτι πρῶτον ἐμὲ χρῆναι πειραθῆναι  
 κατ' ἐμαυτόν, καταλιπόντα ὑμᾶς ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ, σκέψασθαι εἰ e  
 διαβατός ἐστι πρεσβυτέροις οὔσι καὶ ὑμῖν, ἢ πῶς ἔχει, καὶ  
 φανέντος μὲν ταύτῃ, καλεῖν ὑμᾶς τότε καὶ συνδιαβιβάζειν  
 ἐμπειρίᾳ, εἰ δὲ ἄβατος ᾗν ὡς ὑμῖν, ἐν ἐμοὶ τὸν κίνδυνον  
 γεγονέναι, μετρίως ἂν ἐδόκουν λέγειν, καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν ὁ 5  
 μέλλων ἐστὶ λόγος σφοδρότερος καὶ σχεδὸν ἴσως ἄβατος  
 ὡς τῇ σφῶν ῥώμῃ· μὴ δὴ σκοτοδινίαν ἱλιγγόν τε ὑμῖν  
 ἐμποίησιν παραφερόμενός τε καὶ ἐρωτῶν ἀήθεις ὄντας ἀπο- 893  
 κρίσεων, εἰτ' ἀσχημοσύνην ἀπρέπειάν τε ἐντέκῃ ἀηδῇ, δοκεῖ  
 δὴ μοι χρῆναι ποιεῖν οὕτως τὰ νῦν ἐμέ, ἀνερωτᾶν πρῶτον  
 ἐμαυτόν, ἀκουόντων ὑμῶν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπο-  
 κρίνασθαι πάλιν ἐμέ, καὶ τὸν λόγον ἅπαντα οὕτω διεξελεῖν, 5  
 μέχρι περ ἂν ψυχῆς περὶ διαπεράνηται καὶ δείξῃ πρότερον  
 ὃν ψυχὴν σώματος.

ΚΛ. Ἄριστ', ὦ ξέने, δοκεῖς ἡμῖν εἰρηκέναι, ποίει τε ὡς  
 λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Ἄγε δὴ, θεὸν εἴ ποτε παρακλητέον ἡμῖν, νῦν ἔστω b  
 τοῦτο οὕτω γενόμενον—ἐπὶ γε ἀποδείξιν ὡς εἰσὶν τὴν αὐτῶν  
 σπουδῇ πάσῃ παρακεκλήσθων—ἐχόμενοι δὲ ὡς τιнос ἀσφα-  
 λούς πείσματος ἐπεισβαίνωμεν εἰς τὸν νῦν λόγον. καὶ μοι  
 ἐλεγχομένῳ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐρωτήσεις τοιαῖσδε ἀσφαλέ- 5  
 στατα ἀποκρίνεσθαι φαίνεται κατὰ τάδε· ὦ ξέने, ὅποταν  
 φῇ τις, ἄρα ἔστηκε μὲν πάντα, κινεῖται δὲ οὐδέν; ἢ τούτῳ  
 πᾶν τὸνναντίον; ἢ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν κινεῖται, τὰ δὲ μένει;—  
 Τὰ μὲν κινεῖταιί που, φήσω, τὰ δὲ μένει.—Μὴ οὖν οὐκ ἐν c  
 χώρα τινὶ τὰ τε ἐστῶτα ἔστηκεν καὶ τὰ κινούμενα κινεῖται;  
 —Πῶς γὰρ οὔ;—Καὶ τὰ μὲν γε ἐν μιᾷ ἔδρᾳ που τοῦτο ἂν  
 δρώῃ, τὰ δὲ ἐν πλείοσιν.—Τὰ τὴν τῶν ἐστῶτων ἐν μέσῳ  
 λαμβάνοντα δύναμιν λέγεις, φήσομεν, ἐν ἐνὶ κινεῖσθαι, 5  
 καθάπερ ἢ τῶν ἐστάναι λεγομένων κύκλων στρέφεται περι-  
 φορά;—Ναί. μαυθάνομεν δὲ γε ὡς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ περιφορᾷ  
 τὸν μέγιστον καὶ τὸν σμικρότατον κύκλον ἅμα περιάγουσα  
 ἢ τοιαύτη κίνησις ἀνὰ λόγον ἑαυτὴν διανέμει σμικροῖς τε d  
 καὶ μείζουσιν, ἐλάττων τε οὔσα καὶ πλείων κατὰ λόγον· διὸ  
 δὴ τῶν θαυμαστῶν ἀπάντων πηγὴ γέγονεν, ἅμα μεγάλοις  
 καὶ σμικροῖς κύκλοις βραδυτήτάς τε καὶ τάχῃ ὁμολογούμενα  
 πορεύουσα, ἀδύνατον, ὡς ἂν τις ἐλπίσειε, γίγνεσθαι πάθος. 5

—'Αληθέστατα λέγεις.—Τὰ δέ γε κινούμενα ἐν πολλοῖς φαῖναι μοι λέγειν ὅσα φορᾷ κινεῖται μεταβαίνοντα εἰς ἕτερον αἰὲ τόπον, καὶ τότε μὲν ἔστιν ὅτε βάσιν ἐνὸς κεκτημένα  
 e τινὸς κέντρον, τότε δὲ πλείονα τῷ περικυλινδεῖσθαι. προσ-  
 τυγχάνοντα δ' ἐκάστοτε ἐκάστοις, τοῖς ἐστῶσι μὲν διασχί-  
 ζεται, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἐξ ἐναντίας ἀπαντῶσι καὶ φερομένοις  
 εἰς ἐν γιγνόμενα μέσα τε καὶ μεταξύ τῶν τοιούτων συγκρί-  
 5 νεται.—Λέγω γὰρ οὖν ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχοντα, ὥς σὺ λέγεις.  
 —Καὶ μὴν καὶ συγκρινόμενα μὲν αὐξάνεται, διακρινόμενα  
 δὲ φθίνει τότε, ὅταν ἡ καθεστηκυῖα ἐκάστων ἕξις διαμένη,  
 894 μὴ μενούσης δὲ αὐτῆς, δι' ἀμφοτέρα ἀπόλλυται. γίγνεται δὴ  
 πάντων γένεσις, ἡνίκ' ἂν τί πάθος ᾗ; δῆλον ὡς ὁπότεν  
 ἀρχὴ λαβοῦσα αὐξήν εἰς τὴν δευτέραν ἔλθῃ μετάβασιν καὶ  
 ἀπὸ ταύτης εἰς τὴν πλησίον, καὶ μέχρι τριῶν ἔλθοῦσα  
 5 αἰσθησιν σχῇ τοῖς αἰσθανομένοις. μεταβάλλον μὲν οὖν  
 οὕτω καὶ μετακινούμενον γίγνεται πᾶν· ἔστιν δὲ ὄντως ὄν,  
 ὁπότεν μένῃ, μεταβαλὼν δὲ εἰς ἄλλην ἕξιν διέφθαρται  
 παντελῶς. ἄρ' οὖν κινήσεις πάσας εἰρήκαμεν ὡς ἐν εἶδεσιν  
 b λαβεῖν μετ' ἀριθμοῦ, πλήν γε, ὦ φίλοι, δυοῖν;

ΚΛ. Ποίαιν δῆ;

ΑΘ. Σχεδόν, ὠγαθέ, ἐκείναιν ὧν ἕνεκα πᾶσα ἡμῖν ἐστὶν ἡ σκέψις τὰ νῦν.

5 ΚΛ. Λέγε σαφέστερον.

ΑΘ. Ψυχῆς ἦν ἕνεκά που;

ΚΛ. Πάνν μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Ἔστω τοίνυν ἡ μὲν ἕτερα δυναμένη κινεῖν κινήσεις, ἑαυτὴν δὲ ἀδυνατοῦσα, αἰὲ μία τις, ἡ δὲ αὐτὴν τ' αἰὲ καὶ  
 10 ἕτερα δυναμένη κατὰ τε συγκρίσεις ἐν τε διακρίσεσιν αὐξαις  
 τε καὶ τῷ ἐναντίῳ καὶ γενέσει καὶ φθοραῖς ἄλλη μία τις  
 c αὐτῶν πασῶν κινήσεων.

ΚΛ. Ἔστω γὰρ οὖν.

ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν τὴν μὲν ἕτερον αἰὲ κινοῦσαν καὶ μετα-  
 βαλλομένην ὑφ' ἐτέρου θήσομεν ἐνάτην αὖ, τὴν δὲ ἑαυτὴν  
 5 κινοῦσαν καὶ ἕτερον, ἐναρμόττουσαν πᾶσιν μὲν ποιήμασι,  
 πᾶσιν δὲ παθήμασι, καλουμένην τε ὄντως τῶν ὄντων  
 πάντων μεταβολὴν καὶ κίνησιν, ταύτην [δὲ] δεκάτην σχεδὸν  
 ἐροῦμεν.

ΚΛ. Παντάπασιν μὲν οὖν.

10 ΑΘ. Τῶν δὴ δέκα μάλιστα ἡμῖν κινήσεων τίν' ἂν προ-

κρίναιμεν ὀρθότατα πασῶν ἔρρωμενεστάτην τε εἶναι καὶ d  
πρακτικὴν διαφερόντως;

ΚΛ. Μυρίῳ ἀνάγκῃ που φάναι διαφέρειν τὴν αὐτὴν  
αὐτὴν δυναμένην κινεῖν, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πάσας ὑστέρας.

ΑΘ. Εὖ λέγεις. ἀρ' οὖν ἡμῖν τῶν νῦν οὐκ ὀρθῶς 5  
ῥηθέντων μεταθετέον ἐν ἧ καὶ δύο;

ΚΛ. Ποῖα φῆς;

ΑΘ. Τὸ τῆς δεκάτης ῥηθὲν σχεδὸν οὐκ ὀρθῶς εἴρηται.

ΚΛ. Πῆ;

ΑΘ. Πρῶτον γενέσει τέ ἐστὶν καὶ ῥώμῃ κατὰ λόγον· τὸ 10  
δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔχομεν τούτου δεύτερον, ἀρτι ῥηθὲν ἀτόπως e  
ἐνατον.

ΚΛ. Πῶς λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Ὡδε. ὅταν ἕτερον ἄλλο ἡμῖν μεταβάλῃ καὶ τοῦτο  
ἄλλο ἕτερον αἰεί, τῶν τοιούτων ἀρα ἔσται ποτέ τι πρῶτον 5  
μεταβάλλον; καὶ πῶς, ὃ γ' ἂν ὑπ' ἄλλου κινῆται, τοῦτ' ἔσται  
ποτέ τῶν ἀλλοιούντων πρῶτον; ἀδύνατον γάρ. ἀλλ' ὅταν  
ἄρα αὐτὸ αὐτὸ κινήσαν ἕτερον ἀλλοιώσῃ, τὸ δ' ἕτερον ἄλλο,  
καὶ οὕτω δὴ χίλια ἐπὶ μυρίοις γίνηται τὰ κινηθέντα, μὴν 895  
ἀρχή τις αὐτῶν ἔσται τῆς κινήσεως ἀπάσης ἄλλη πλὴν ἡ  
τῆς αὐτῆς αὐτὴν κινήσεως μεταβολή;

ΚΛ. Κάλιστα εἶπες, συγχωρητέα τε τούτοις.

ΑΘ. Ἔτι δὴ καὶ τῇδε εἵπωμεν, καὶ ἀποκρινώμεθα πάλιν 5  
ἡμῖν αὐτοῖσιν. εἰ σταίῃ πως τὰ πάντα ὁμοῦ γενόμενα,  
καθάπερ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν τοιούτων τολμῶσι λέγειν, τίν'  
ἄρα ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀνάγκη πρῶτην κίνησιν γενέσθαι τῶν εἰρη-  
μένων; τὴν αὐτὴν ἑαυτὴν δῆπου κινουσαν· ὑπ' ἄλλου γὰρ b  
οὐ μήποτε ἔμπροσθεν μεταπέση, μηδεμιᾶς γε ἐν αὐτοῖς  
οὔσης ἔμπροσθεν μεταπτώσεως. ἀρχὴν ἄρα κινήσεων πασῶν  
καὶ πρῶτην ἐν τε ἐστῶσιν γενομένην καὶ ἐν κινουμένοις οὔσαν  
τὴν αὐτὴν κινουσαν φήσομεν ἀναγκαίως εἶναι πρεσβυτάτην 5  
καὶ κρατίστην μεταβολῶν πασῶν, τὴν δὲ ἀλλοιουμένην ὑφ'  
ἐτέρου, κινουσαν τε ἕτερα δεύτεραν.

ΚΛ. Ἀληθέστατα λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Ὅποτε δὴ τοίνυν ἐνταῦθά ἐσμεν τοῦ λόγου, τόδε c  
ἀποκρινώμεθα.

ΚΛ. Τὸ ποῖον;

ΑΘ. Ἐὰν ἰδωμέν που ταύτην γενομένην ἐν τῷ γήινῳ 5  
ἢ ἐνύδρῳ ἢ πυροειδεῖ, κεχωρισμένῳ ἢ καὶ συμμιγεί, τί ποτε

φήσομεν ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ πάθος εἶναι;

ΚΛ. Μὴν ἄρα με ἐρωτᾷς εἰ ζῆν αὐτὸ προσερούμεν, ὅταν αὐτὸ αὐτὸ κινή;

ΑΘ. Ναί.

10 ΚΛ. Ζῆν· πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

ΑΘ. Τί δέ; ὁπόταν ψυχὴν ἐν τισιν ὀρώμεν, μὴν ἄλλο ἢ ταῦτόν τούτῳ; ζῆν ὁμολογητέον;

ΚΛ. Οὐκ ἄλλο.

d ΑΘ. Ἐχέ δὴ πρὸς Διός· ἄρ' οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλοις περὶ ἕκαστον τρία νοεῖν;

ΚΛ. Πῶς λέγεις;

5 ΑΘ. Ἐν μὲν τὴν οὐσίαν, ἐν δὲ τῆς οὐσίας τὸν λόγον, ἐν δὲ ὄνομα· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐρωτήσεις εἶναι περὶ τὸ ὄν ἅπαν δύο.

ΚΛ. Πῶς δύο;

ΑΘ. Τοτὲ μὲν ἡμῶν ἕκαστον τοῦνομα προτεινόμενον αὐτὸ τὸν λόγον ἀπαιτεῖν, τοτὲ δὲ τὸν λόγον αὐτὸν προτεινόμενον ἐρωτᾶν αὐ τοῦνομα.

10 ΚΛ. Ἄρα γε τὸ τοιόνδε αὐ βουλόμεθα νῦν λέγειν;

ΑΘ. Τὸ ποῖον;

e ΚΛ. Ἔστιν που δίχα διαιρούμενον ἐν ἄλλοις τε καὶ ἐν ἀριθμῷ· τούτῳ δὴ τῷ κατ' ἀριθμὸν ὄνομα μὲν ἄρτιον, λόγος δέ, ἀριθμὸς διαιρούμενος εἰς ἴσα δύο μέρη.

5 ΑΘ. Ναί. τὸ τοιοῦτον φράζω. μὴν οὖν οὐ ταῦτόν ἑκατέρως προσαγορεύομεν, ἂν τε τὸν λόγον ἐρωτῶμενοι τοῦνομα ἀποδιδῶμεν, ἂν τε τοῦνομα τὸν λόγον, ἄρτιον ὀνόματι, καὶ λόγῳ δίχα διαιρούμενον ἀριθμόν, προσαγορεύοντες ταῦτόν ὄν;

ΚΛ. Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν.

10 ΑΘ. Ὡς δὴ ψυχὴ τοῦνομα, τίς τούτου λόγος; ἔχομεν  
896 ἄλλον πλὴν τὸν νυνδὴ ρηθέντα, τὴν δυναμένην αὐτὴν αὐτὴν κινεῖν κίνησιν;

ΚΛ. Τὸ ἑαυτὸ κινεῖν φῆς λόγον ἔχειν τὴν αὐτὴν οὐσίαν, ἣν περ τοῦνομα ὃ δὴ πάντες ψυχὴν προσαγορεύομεν;

5 ΑΘ. Φημί γε· εἰ δ' ἔστι τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχον, ἄρα ἔτι ποθοῦμεν μὴ ἱκανῶς δεδειχθαι ψυχὴν ταῦτόν ὄν καὶ τὴν πρώτην γένεσιν καὶ κίνησιν τῶν τε ὄντων καὶ γεγονότων καὶ ἐσομένων καὶ πάντων αὐ τῶν ἐναντίων τούτοις, ἐπειδὴ γε

b ἀνεφάνη μεταβολῆς τε καὶ κινήσεως ἀπάσης αἰτία ἅπασιν;

ΚΛ. Οὐκ, ἀλλὰ ἱκανώτατα δέδεικται ψυχὴ τῶν πάντων



πρεσβυτάτη, γενομένη γε ἀρχὴ κινήσεως.

ΑΘ. Ἄρ' οὖν οὐχ ἡ δι' ἕτερον ἐν ἄλλῳ γιγνομένη κίνησις, αὐτὸ δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ μηδέποτε παρέχουσα κινεῖσθαι 5  
μηδέν, δευτέρα τε, καὶ ὁπόσων ἀριθμῶν βούλοιο ἂν τις ἀριθμεῖν αὐτὴν πολλοστήν, τοσούτων, σώματος οὔσα ὄντως αἰψύχον μεταβολή;

ΚΛ. Ὅρθως.

ΑΘ. Ὅρθως ἄρα καὶ κυρίως ἀληθέστατά τε καὶ τελεώ- 10  
τατα εἰρηκότες ἂν εἴμεν ψυχὴν μὲν προτέραν γεγονέναι C  
σώματος ἡμῖν, σῶμα δὲ δευτέρόν τε καὶ ὕστερον, ψυχῆς ἀρχούσης, ἀρχόμενον κατὰ φύσιν.

ΚΛ. Ἀληθέστατα μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Μεμνήμεθά γε μὴν ὁμολογήσαντες ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν 5  
ὥς, εἰ ψυχὴ φανείη πρεσβυτέρα σώματος οὔσα, καὶ τὰ ψυχῆς τῶν τοῦ σώματος ἔσοιτο πρεσβύτερα.

ΚΛ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Τρόποι δὲ καὶ ἦθη καὶ βουλήσεις καὶ λογισμοὶ καὶ δόξαι ἀληθεῖς ἐπιμέλειαί τε καὶ μνήμαι πρότερα μήκους d  
σωμάτων καὶ πλατύς καὶ βάθους καὶ ῥώμης εἴη γεγονότα ἂν, εἴπερ καὶ ψυχὴ σώματος.

ΚΛ. Ἀνάγκη.

ΑΘ. Ἄρ' οὖν τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ὁμολογεῖν ἀναγκαῖον τῶν 5  
τε ἀγαθῶν αἰτίαν εἶναι ψυχὴν καὶ τῶν κακῶν καὶ καλῶν καὶ αἰσchrῶν δικαίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐναντίων, εἴπερ τῶν πάντων γε αὐτὴν θήσομεν αἰτίαν;

ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ οὔ;

ΑΘ. Ψυχὴν δὴ διοικοῦσαν καὶ ἐνρικοῦσαν ἐν ᾗπασιν 10  
τοῖς πάντῃ κινουμένοις μῶν οὐ καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνάγκη e  
διοικεῖν φάναι;

ΚΛ. Τί μὴν;

ΑΘ. Μίαν ἢ πλείους; πλείους· ἐγὼ ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἀπο-  
κρινοῦμαι. δυοῖν μὲν γέ που ἔλαττον μηδὲν τιθῶμεν, τῆς 5  
τε εὐεργέτιδος καὶ τῆς τάναντία δυναμένης ἐξεργάζεσθαι.

ΚΛ. Σφόδρα ὀρθῶς εἴρηκας.

ΑΘ. Εἰεν. ἄγει μὲν δὴ ψυχὴ πάντα τὰ κατ' οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλατταν ταῖς αὐτῆς κινήσεσιν, αἷς ὀνόματά 897  
ἐστὶν βούλεσθαι, σκοπεῖσθαι, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, βουλευέσθαι, δοξάζειν ὀρθῶς ἐψευσμένως, χαίρουσαν λυπουμένην, θαρ-  
ροῦσαν φοβουμένην, μισοῦσαν στέργουσαν, καὶ πάσαις

οῖσαι τούτων συγγενεῖς ἢ πρωτουργοὶ κινήσεις τὰς δευτε-  
 5 ρουργοὺς αὐτὰ παραλαμβάνουσαι κινήσεις σωμάτων ἄγουσι  
 πάντα εἰς αὐξήσιν καὶ φθίσιν καὶ διάκρισιν καὶ σύγκρισιν  
 καὶ τούτοις ἐπομένως θερμότητος ψύξεως, βαρύτητος κου-  
 φότητος, σκληρόν καὶ μαλακόν, λευκόν καὶ μέλαν, αὐστηρόν  
 b καὶ γλυκύν, καὶ πᾶσιν οἷς ψυχὴ χρωμένη, νοῦν μὲν προσλα-  
 βούσα αἰεὶ θεὸν ὀρθῶς θεοῖς, ὀρθὰ καὶ εὐδαίμονα παιδαγωγεῖ  
 πάντα, ἀνοία δὲ συγγενομένη πάντα αὐτὴ τὰναντία τούτοις  
 ἀπεργάζεται. τιθώμεν ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχειν, ἢ ἔτι διστάζομεν  
 5 εἰ ἐτέρως πως ἔχει;

ΚΛ. Οὐδαμῶς.

ΑΘ. Πότερον οὖν δὴ ψυχῆς γένος ἐγκρατὲς οὐρανοῦ καὶ  
 γῆς καὶ πάσης τῆς περιόδου γεγονέναι φῶμεν; τὸ φρόνιμον  
 c καὶ ἀρετῆς πλήρες, ἢ τὸ μηδέτερα κεκτημένον; βούλεσθε οὖν  
 πρὸς ταῦτα ὧδε ἀποκρινώμεθα;

ΚΛ. Πῶς;

ΑΘ. Εἰ μὲν, ὦ θαυμάσιε, φῶμεν, ἢ σύμπασα οὐρανοῦ  
 5 ὁδὸς ἅμα καὶ φορὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ ὄντων ἀπάντων νοῦ  
 κινήσει καὶ περιφορᾷ καὶ λογισμοῖς ὁμοίαν φύσιν ἔχει καὶ  
 συγγενῶς ἔρχεται, δῆλον ὡς τὴν ἀρίστην ψυχὴν φατέον ἐπι-  
 μελεῖσθαι τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς καὶ ἄγειν αὐτὸν τὴν τοιαύτην  
 ὁδὸν ἐκείνην.

10 ΚΛ. Ὅρθως.

d ΑΘ. Εἰ δὲ μανικῶς τε καὶ ἀτάκτως ἔρχεται, τὴν κακὴν.

ΚΛ. Καὶ ταῦτα ὀρθῶς.

ΑΘ. Τίνα οὖν δὴ νοῦ κινήσεις φύσιν ἔχει; τοῦτο ἤδη  
 χαλεπόν, ὦ φίλοι, ἐρώτημα ἀποκρινόμενον εἰπεῖν ἐμφρόνως·  
 5 διὸ δὴ καὶ ἐμὲ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως ὑμῖν δίκαιον τὰ νῦν προσ-  
 λαμβάνειν.

ΚΛ. Εὖ λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Μὴ τοίνυν ἐξ ἐναντίας οἶον εἰς ἥλιον ἀποβλέποντες,  
 νύκτα ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ ἐπαγόμενοι, ποιησώμεθα τὴν ἀπόκρισιν,  
 10 ὡς νοῦν ποτε θνητοῖς ὄμμασιν ὀψόμενοι τε καὶ γνωσόμενοι  
 e ἱκανῶς· πρὸς δὲ εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐρωτωμένου βλέποντας ἀσφαλέ-  
 στερον ὁρᾶν.

ΚΛ. Πῶς λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Ἡ προσεοικὴν κινήσει νοῦς τῶν δέκα ἐκείνων  
 5 κινήσεων, τὴν εἰκόνα λάβωμεν· ἣν συναναμνησθεὶς ὑμῖν  
 ἐγὼ κοινῇ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ποιήσομαι.

ΚΛ. Κάλλιστα ἄν λέγοις.

ΑΘ. Μεμνήμεθα τοίνυν τῶν τότε ἔτι τοῦτό γε, ὅτι τῶν πάντων τὰ μὲν κινεῖσθαι, τὰ δὲ μένειν ἔθεμεν;

ΚΛ. Ναί.

ΑΘ. Τῶν δ' αὖ κινουμένων τὰ μὲν ἐν ἐνὶ τόπῳ κινεῖσθαι, τὰ δ' ἐν πλείοσιν φερόμενα.

ΚΛ. Ἔστι ταῦτα.

ΑΘ. Τούτοις δὴ τοῖν κινήσειον τὴν ἐν ἐνὶ φερομένην αἰεὶ περὶ γέ τι μέσον ἀνάγκη κινεῖσθαι, τῶν ἐντόρων οὖσαν μίμημά τι κύκλων, εἶναί τε αὐτὴν τῇ τοῦ νοῦ περιόδῳ πάντως ὡς δυνατόν οἰκειοτάτην τε καὶ ὁμοίαν.

ΚΛ. Πῶς λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Τὸ κατὰ ταῦτα δήπου καὶ ὡσαύτως καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ἀνὰ λόγον καὶ τάξιν μίαν ἄμφω κινεῖσθαι λέγοντες, νοῦν τὴν τε ἐν ἐνὶ φερομένην κίνησιν, [σφαίρας ἐντόρῳ ἀπεικασμένα φοραῖς,] οὐκ ἂν ποτε φανείμην φαῦλοι δημιουργοὶ λόγῳ καλῶν εἰκόνων.

ΚΛ. Ὅρθότατα λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν αὖ ἢ γε μηδέποτε ὡσαύτως μηδὲ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ μηδὲ ἐν ταυτῷ μηδὲ περὶ ταῦτα μηδὲ πρὸς ταῦτα μηδ' ἐν ἐνὶ φερομένη μηδ' ἐν κόσμῳ μηδ' ἐν τάξει μηδὲ ἐν τινι λόγῳ κινήσεις ἀνοίας ἂν ἀπάσης εἴη συγγενής;

ΚΛ. Εἴη γὰρ ἂν ἀληθέστατα.

ΑΘ. Νῦν δὴ χαλεπὸν οὐδὲν ἔτι διαρρήδην εἰπεῖν ὥς, ἐπειδὴ ψυχὴ μὲν ἐστὶν ἡ περιάγουσα ἡμῖν πάντα, τὴν δὲ οὐρανοῦ περιφορὰν ἐξ ἀνάγκης περιάγειν φατέον ἐπιμελουμένην καὶ κοσμοῦσαν ἥτοι τὴν ἀρίστην ψυχὴν ἢ τὴν ἐναντίαν—

ΚΛ. Ὡ ξένε, ἀλλὰ ἔκ γε τῶν νῦν εἰρημένων οὐδ' ὅσιν ἄλλως λέγειν ἢ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἔχουσιν ψυχὴν μίαν ἢ πλείους περιάγειν αὐτά.

ΑΘ. Κάλλιστα, ὦ Κλεινία, ὑπήκουσας τοῖς λόγοις· τόδε δὲ προσυπάκουσον ἔτι.

ΚΛ. Τὸ ποῖον;

ΑΘ. Ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἄστρα, εἶπερ ψυχὴ περιάγει πάντα, ἄρ' οὐ καὶ ἐν ἑκάστῳ;

ΚΛ. Τί μήν;

ΑΘ. Περὶ ἐνὸς δὴ ποιησώμεθα λόγους, οἳ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντα ἡμῖν ἄστρα ἀρμόττοντες φανοῦνται.

ΚΛ. Τίνας;

ΑΘ. Ἡλίου πᾶς ἄνθρωπος σῶμα μὲν ὄρᾱ, ψυχὴν δὲ  
 10 οὐδεὶς· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλον σώματος οὐδενὸς οὔτε ζῶντος οὔτε  
 ἀποθνήσκοντος τῶν ζῶων, ἀλλὰ ἐλπίς πολλή τὸ παράπαν  
 e τὸ γένος ἡμῖν τοῦτο ἀναίσθητον πάσαις ταῖς τοῦ σώματος  
 αἰσθήσεσι περιπεφυκέναι, νοητὸν δ' εἶναι. νῶ μόνῳ δὴ  
 καὶ διανοήματι λάβωμεν αὐτοῦ περί τὸ τοιόνδε.

ΚΛ. Ποῖον;

5 ΑΘ. Ἡλιον εἶπερ ἄγει ψυχὴν, τριῶν αὐτὴν ἐν λέγοντες  
 δρᾶν σχεδὸν οὐκ ἀποτευξόμεθα.

ΚΛ. Τίνων;

ΑΘ. Ὡς ἡ ἐνοῦσα ἐντὸς τῷ περιφερεῖ τούτῳ φαινομένῳ  
 σώματι πάντῃ διακομίζει τὸ τοιοῦτον, καθάπερ ἡμᾶς ἡ παρ'  
 10 ἡμῖν ψυχὴ πάντῃ περιφέρει· ἡ ποθεν ἔξωθεν, σῶμα αὐτῇ  
 899 πορισαμένη πυρὸς ἡ τινος ἀέρος, ὡς λόγος ἐστὶ τινων, ὠθεῖ  
 βία σώματι σῶμα· ἡ τρίτον αὐτὴ ψιλὴ σώματος οὔσα,  
 ἔχουσα δὲ δυνάμεις ἄλλας τινὰς ὑπερβαλλούσας θαύματι,  
 ποδηγεῖ.

5 ΚΛ. Ναί, τοῦτο μὲν ἀνάγκη, τούτων ἐν γέ τι δρῶσαν  
 ψυχὴν πάντα διάγειν.

ΑΘ. [Αὐτοῦ δὴ ἄμεινον] ταύτην <δὴ> τὴν ψυχὴν, εἴτε  
 ἐν ἄρμασιν ἔχουσα ἡμῖν ἥλιον ἄγει φῶς τοῖς ἅπασιν, εἴτε  
 ἔξωθεν, εἴθ' ὅπως εἴθ' ὅπη, θεὸν ἡγεῖσθαι χρεὼν πάντα  
 10 ἄνδρα. ἡ πῶς;

b ΚΛ. Ναί, τὸν γέ που μὴ ἐπὶ τὸ ἔσχατον ἀφιγμένον  
 ἀνοίας.

ΑΘ. Ἀστρων δὴ περί πάντων καὶ σελήνης, ἐνιαυτῶν  
 τε καὶ μηνῶν καὶ πασῶν ὥρων περί, τίνα ἄλλον λόγον  
 5 ἐρουῖμεν ἢ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον, ὡς ἐπειδὴ ψυχὴ μὲν ἡ ψυχὰι  
 πάντων τούτων αἰτιαὶ ἐφάνησαν, ἀγαθαὶ δὲ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν,  
 θεοὺς αὐτὰς εἶναι φήσομεν, εἴτε ἐν σώμασιν ἐνοῦσαι, ζῶα  
 ὄντα, κοσμοῦσιν πάντα οὐρανόν, εἴτε ὅπη τε καὶ ὅπως; ἔσθ'  
 ὅστις ταῦτα ὁμολογῶν ὑπομενεῖ μὴ "θεῶν εἶναι πλήρη  
 10 πάντα";

c ΚΛ. Οὐκ ἔστιν οὕτως, ὦ ξένε, παραφρονῶν οὐδεὶς.

ΑΘ. Τῷ μὲν τοίνυν μὴ νομίζοντι θεοὺς ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν  
 χρόνῳ, ὦ Μέγилλέ τε καὶ Κλεινία, εἰπόντες ὄρους ἀπαλ-  
 λαττώμεθα.

5 ΚΛ. Τίνας;



ΑΘ. Ἡ διδάσκειν ἡμᾶς ὥς οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγομεν τιθέμενοι ψυχὴν γενέσιν ἀπάντων εἶναι πρώτην, καὶ τᾶλλα ὅποσα τούτων συνεπόμενα εἶπομεν, ἢ μὴ δυνάμενον βέλτιον λέγειν ἡμῶν, ἡμῖν πείθεσθαι καὶ ζῆν θεοὺς ἡγούμενον εἰς τὸν ἐπίλοιπον βίον. ὁρῶμεν οὖν εἴτε ἱκανῶς ἤδη τοῖς οὐχ ἡγουμένοις θεοὺς εἰρήκαμεν ὥς εἰσὶν θεοί, εἴτε ἐπιδεῶς. d

ΚΛ. Ἡκιστὰ γε, ὦ ξένε, πάντων ἐπιδεῶς.

ΑΘ. Τούτοις μὲν τοίνυν ἡμῖν τὸ λόγων τέλος ἐχέτω· τὸν δὲ ἡγούμενον μὲν θεοὺς εἶναι, μὴ φροντίζειν δὲ αὐτοὺς 5 τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων, παραμυθητέον. Ὡς ἄριστε δὴ φῶμεν, ὅτι μὲν ἡγῆ θεοὺς, συγγένειά τις ἴσως σε θεία πρὸς τὸ σύμφυτον ἄγει τιμᾶν καὶ νομίζειν εἶναι· κακῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀδίκων τύχαι ἰδία καὶ δημοσία, ἀληθεία μὲν e οὐκ εὐδαίμονες, δόξαις δὲ εὐδαιμονιζόμεναι σφόδρα ἄλλ' οὐκ ἐμμελῶς, ἄγουσί σε πρὸς ἀσέβειαν, ἔν τε μούσαις οὐκ ὀρθῶς ὑμνούμεναι ἅμα καὶ ἐν παντοίοις λόγοις. ἢ καὶ πρὸς τέλος ἴσως ἀνθρώπους ὁρῶν ἐλθόντας γηραιούς, 5 παῖδας παίδων καταλιπόντας ἐν τιμαῖς ταῖς μεγίσταις, 900 ταραττή τὸ νῦν ἐν ᾧ πασι τούτοις ἰδὼν, ἢ δι' ἀκοῆς αἰσθόμενος ἢ καὶ παντάπασιν αὐτὸς αὐτόπτης, προστυχῆς πολλῶν ἀσεβημάτων καὶ δεινῶν γενομένων τισίν, δι' αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἐκ σμικρῶν εἰς τυραννίδας τε καὶ τὰ μέγιστα ἀφικομένους· 5 τότε διὰ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα δῆλος εἰ μέμφεσθαι μὲν θεοὺς ὥς αἰτίους ὄντας τῶν τοιούτων διὰ συγγένειαν οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλων, ἀγόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τε ἀλογίας ἅμα καὶ οὐ δυνάμενος δυσχεραίνειν θεοὺς, εἰς τοῦτο νῦν τὸ πάθος ἐλήλυθας, ὥστ' εἶναι b μὲν δοκεῖν αὐτοὺς, τῶν δὲ ἀνθρωπίνων καταφρονεῖν καὶ ἀμελεῖν πραγμάτων. ἵνα οὖν μὴ ἐπὶ μείζον ἔλθῃ σοι πάθος πρὸς ἀσέβειαν τὸ νῦν παρὸν δόγμα, ἀλλ' ἐάν πως οἶον ἀποδιοπομπήσασθαι λόγοις αὐτὸ προσιὸν γενώμεθα δυνατοί, 5 πειρώμεθα, συνάψαντες τὸν ἐξῆς λόγον ὧς πρὸς τὸν τὸ παράπαν οὐχ ἡγούμενον θεοὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς διεπερανάμεθα, τούτῳ τὰ νῦν προσχρήσασθαι. σὺ δ', ὦ Κλεινία τε καὶ c Μέγилле, ὑπὲρ τοῦ νέου καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἀποκρινόμενοι διαδέχεσθε· ἂν δέ τι δύσκολον ἐμπίπτῃ τοῖς λόγοις, ἐγὼ σφῶν ὥσπερ νυνδὴ δεξάμενος διαβιβῶ τὸν ποταμόν.

ΚΛ. Ὅρθῶς λέγεις· καὶ σύ τε οὕτω ταῦτα δρᾷ, ποιήσομέν 5 τε ἡμεῖς εἰς τὸ δυνατόν ἃ λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Ἄλλ' οὐδὲν τάχ' ἂν ἴσως εἷη χαλεπὸν ἐνδείξασθαι  
 τούτῳ γε, ὡς ἐπιμελεῖς σμικρῶν εἰσιν θεοὶ οὐχ ἥττον, μᾶλλον  
 d δέ, ἢ τῶν μεγέθει διαφερόντων. ἤκουε γάρ πον καὶ παρῆν  
 τοῖς νυνδὴ λεγομένοις, ὡς ἀγαθοὶ γε ὄντες πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν τὴν  
 τῶν πάντων ἐπιμέλειαν οἰκειοτάτην αὐτῶν οὖσαν κέκτηνται.

ΚΛ. Καὶ σφόδρα γε ἐπήκουεν.

5 ΑΘ. Τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο τοίνυν κοινῇ συνεξεταζόντων τίνα  
 λέγοντες ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν ὁμολογοῦμεν αὐτοὺς ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι.  
 φέρε, τὸ σωφρονεῖν νοῦν τε κεκτῆσθαι φαμεν ἀρετῆς, τὰ  
 δ' ἐναντία κακίας;

ΚΛ. Φαμέν.

e ΑΘ. Τί δέ; ἀρετῆς μὲν ἀνδρείαν εἶναι, δειλίαν δὲ  
 κακίας;

ΚΛ. Πάνν μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Καὶ τὰ μὲν αἰσχροὶα τούτων, τὰ δὲ καλὰ φήσομεν;

5 ΚΛ. Ἀνάγκη.

ΑΘ. Καὶ τῶν μὲν προσήκειν ἡμῖν, εἴπερ, ὅποσα φλαῦρα,  
 θεοῖς δὲ οὔτε μέγα οὔτε σμικρὸν τῶν τοιούτων μετὸν  
 ἐρούμεν;

ΚΛ. Καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτως ὁμολογοῖ πᾶς ἄν.

10 ΑΘ. Τί δέ; ἀμελείαν τε καὶ ἀργίαν καὶ τρυφὴν εἰς  
 ἀρετὴν ψυχῆς θήσομεν, ἢ πῶς λέγεις;

ΚΛ. Καὶ πῶς;

ΑΘ. Ἄλλ' εἰς τοῦναντίον;

ΚΛ. Ναί.

901 ΑΘ. Τὰναντία ἄρα τούτοις εἰς τοῦναντίον;

ΚΛ. Τοῦναντίον.

ΑΘ. Τί οὖν δῆ; τρυφῶν καὶ ἀμελῆς ἀργός τε, ὃν ὁ  
 ποιητὴς κηφήσι κοθούροις μάλιστα εἵκελον ἔφασκεν εἶναι,  
 5 γίγνοιτ' ἂν [ὁ] τοιοῦτος πᾶς ἡμῖν.

ΚΛ. Ὅρθότατά γε εἰπών.

ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν τόν γε θεὸν οὐ ῥητέον ἔχειν ἦθος τοιοῦτον,  
 ὃ γέ τοι αὐτὸς μισεῖ, τῷ τέ τι τοιοῦτον φθέγγεσθαι πειρω-  
 μένῳ οὐκ ἐπιτρεπτέον.

10 ΚΛ. Οὐ μὲν δῆ· πῶς γὰρ ἄν;

b ΑΘ. Ὡς δὲ προσήκει μὲν πράττειν καὶ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι  
 διαφερόντως τινός, ὃ δὲ τούτου γε νοῦς τῶν μὲν μεγάλων  
 ἐπιμελεῖται, τῶν σμικρῶν δὲ ἀμελεῖ, κατὰ τίνα ἐπαινοῦντες  
 τὸν τοιοῦτον λόγον οὐκ ἂν παντάπασι πλημμελοῖμεν; σκο-

πῶμεν δὲ ὦδε. ἄρ' οὐ κατὰ δύο εἶδη τὸ τοιοῦτον πράττει 5  
ὁ πράττων, εἴτε θεὸς εἴτ' ἄνθρωπος;

ΚΛ. Ποίω δὴ λέγομεν;

ΑΘ. Ἡ διαφέρων οὐδὲν οἰόμενος εἶναι τῷ ὅλῳ ἀμελου-  
μένων τῶν σμικρῶν, ἢ ῥαθυμία καὶ τρυφῇ, εἰ διαφέρει, ὁ δὲ C  
ἀμελεῖ. ἢ ἔστιν ἄλλως πως γιγνομένη ἀμέλεια; οὐ γάρ που  
ὅταν γε ἀδύνατον ἦ τῶν ἀπάντων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, τότε ἀμέλεια  
ἔσται τῶν σμικρῶν ἢ μεγάλων, μὴ ἐπιμελουμένων ὧν ἂν  
δυνάμει θεὸς ἢ φαῦλός τις ὧν ἐλλιπὴς καὶ μὴ δυνατὸς 5  
ἐπιμελεῖσθαι γίγνηται.

ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ ἂν;

ΑΘ. Νῦν δὴ δύ' ὄντες τρισὶν ἡμῖν οὖσιν ἀποκρινάσθωσαν  
οἱ θεοὺς μὲν ἀμφοτέροι ὁμολογοῦντες εἶναι, παραιτητοὺς d  
δὲ ἄτερος, ὁ δὲ ἀμελεῖς τῶν σμικρῶν. πρῶτον μὲν θεοὺς  
ἀμφοτέροί φατε γινώσκειν καὶ ὄραν καὶ ἀκούειν πάντα,  
λαθεῖν δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν δυνατὸν εἶναι τῶν ὁπόσων εἰσὶν αἱ  
αἰσθήσεις τε καὶ ἐπιστῆμαι· ταύτῃ λέγετε ἔχειν ταῦτα, ἢ 5  
πῶς;

ΚΛ. Οὕτως.

ΑΘ. Τί δέ; δύνασθαι πάντα ὁπόσων αὐτῷ δυνάμεις ἔστιν  
θνητοῖς τε καὶ ἀθανάτοις;

ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ συγχωρήσονται καὶ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχειν; 10

ΑΘ. Καὶ μὴν ἀγαθοὺς γε καὶ ἀρίστους ὠμολογήκαμεν e  
αὐτοὺς εἶναι πέντε ὄντες.

ΚΛ. Σφόδρα γε.

ΑΘ. Ἄρ' οὖν οὐ ῥαθυμία μὲν καὶ τρυφῇ ἀδύνατον αὐτοὺς  
ὁμολογεῖν πράττειν ὅτιοῦν τὸ παράπαν, ὄντας γε οἷους ὁμολο- 5  
γοῦμεν; δειλίας γὰρ ἕκγονος ἔν γε ἡμῖν ἀργία, ῥαθυμία δὲ  
ἀργίας καὶ τρυφῆς.

ΚΛ. Ἀληθέστατα λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Ἀργία μὲν δὴ καὶ ῥαθυμία οὐδεὶς ἀμελεῖ θεῶν· οὐ  
γὰρ μέτεστιν αὐτῷ που δειλίας. 10

ΚΛ. Ὁρθότατα λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν τὸ λοιπόν, εἴπερ ἀμελοῦσι τῶν σμικρῶν καὶ 902  
ὀλίγων τῶν περὶ τὸ πᾶν, ἢ γινώσκοντες ὡς τὸ παράπαν  
οὐδενὸς τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δεῖ, δρῶεν ἂν τοῦτο, ἢ τί  
τὸ λοιπόν πλην τῷ γινώσκειν τοῦναντίον;

ΚΛ. Οὐδέν.

ΑΘ. Πότερον οὖν, ὦ ἄριστε καὶ βέλτιστε, θῶμέν σε 5

λέγοντα ὡς ἀγνοοῦντάς τε καὶ δέον ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δι' ἄγνοιαν ἀμελοῦντας, ἢ γιγνώσκοντας ὅτι δεῖ, καθάπερ οἱ φαυλότατοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων λέγονται ποιεῖν, εἰδότες ἄλλα εἶναι βελτίω  
 b πράττειν ὧν δὴ πράττουσιν, διὰ τινας ἥττας ἡδονῶν ἢ λυπῶν οὐ ποιεῖν;

ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ ἄν;

ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν δὴ τά γε ἀνθρώπινα πράγματα τῆς τε  
 5 ἐμφύχου μετέχει φύσεως ἅμα, καὶ θεοσεβέστατον αὐτό ἐστι πάντων ζώων ἄνθρωπος;

ΚΛ. Ἐοικε γοῦν.

ΑΘ. Θεῶν γε μὴν κτήματά φαμεν εἶναι πάντα ὅποσα θνητὰ ζῶα, ὧν περ καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ὅλον.

10 ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

ΑΘ. Ἦδη τοίνυν σμικρὰ ἢ μεγάλα τις φάτω ταῦτα εἶναι  
 c τοῖς θεοῖς· οὐδετέρως γὰρ τοῖς κεκτημένοις ἡμᾶς ἀμελεῖν ἂν εἴη προσήκον, ἐπιμελεστάτοις γε οὖσι καὶ ἀρίστοις. σκοπῶμεν γὰρ δὴ καὶ τότε ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις.

ΚΛ. Τὸ ποῖον;

5 ΑΘ. Τὸ περὶ τε αἰσθήσεως καὶ δυνάμεως, ἅρ' οὐκ ἐναντίως ἀλλήλοιν πρὸς ῥαστώνην καὶ χαλεπότητά ἐστον πεφυκότε;

ΚΛ. Πῶς λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Ὅρᾱν μὲν που καὶ ἀκούειν τὰ σμικρὰ χαλεπώτερον  
 10 ἢ τὰ μεγάλα, φέρειν δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ κρατεῖν καὶ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν σμικρῶν καὶ ὀλίγων παντὶ ῥᾶον ἢ τῶν ἐναντίων.

d ΚΛ. Καὶ πολὺ γε.

ΑΘ. Ἰατρῷ δὲ προστεταγμένον ὅλον τι θεραπεύειν, βουλομένῳ καὶ δυναμένῳ [τῶν] μὲν μεγάλων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, τῶν μορίων δὲ καὶ σμικρῶν ἀμελοῦντι, ἔξει ποτὲ καλῶς αὐτῷ  
 5 τὸ πᾶν;

ΚΛ. Οὐδαμῶς.

ΑΘ. Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ κυβερνήταις οὐδὲ στρατηγοῖς οὐδ' οἰκονόμοις, οὐδ' αὖ τισὶν πολιτικοῖς οὐδ' ἄλλῳ τῶν τοιούτων οὐδενί, χωρὶς τῶν ὀλίγων καὶ σμικρῶν πολλὰ ἢ μεγάλα· οὐδὲ  
 e γὰρ ἄνευ σμικρῶν τοὺς μεγάλους φασὶν λιθολόγοι λίθους εὖ κείσθαι.

ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ ἄν;

ΑΘ. Μὴ τοίνυν τόν γε θεὸν ἀξιόσωμέν ποτε θνητῶν  
 5 δημιουργῶν φαυλότερον, οἱ τὰ προσήκοντα αὐτοῖς ἔργα,



ὅσῳ περ ἂν ἀμείνους ὦσιν, τόσῳ ἀκριβέστερα καὶ τελεώτερα  
 μιᾷ τέχνῃ σμικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἀπεργάζονται· τὸν δὲ θεὸν  
 ὄντα τε σοφώτατον βουλομένον τ' ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ δυνά-  
 μενον, ὧν μὲν ῥᾶον ἦν ἐπιμεληθῆναι σμικρῶν ὄντων, μηδαμῇ 903  
 ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καθάπερ ἄργον ἢ δειλὸν τινα διὰ πόνους  
 ῥαθυμοῦντα, τῶν δὲ μεγάλων.

ΚΛ. Μηδαμῶς δόξαν τοιαύτην περὶ θεῶν, ὧ ξέने, ἀποδε-  
 χώμεθα· οὐδαμῇ γὰρ οὔτε ὅσιον οὔτ' ἀληθές τὸ διανόημα 5  
 διανοοίμεθ' ἂν.

ΑΘ. Δοκοῦμεν δέ μοι νῦν ἤδη μάλιστα μετρίως διειλέχθαι  
 τῷ φιλατιῷ τῆς ἀμελείας πέρι θεῶν.

ΚΛ. Ναί.

ΑΘ. Τῷ γε βιάζεσθαι τοῖς λόγοις ὁμολογεῖν αὐτὸν μὴ 10  
 λέγειν ὀρθῶς· ἐπιδῶν γε μὴν προσδεῖσθαι μοι δοκεῖ μύθων b  
 ἔτι τινῶν.

ΚΛ. Ποίων, ὠγαθέ;

ΑΘ. Πείθωμεν τὸν νεανίαν τοῖς λόγοις ὡς τῷ τοῦ παντὸς  
 ἐπιμελουμένῳ πρὸς τὴν σωτηρίαν καὶ ἀρετὴν τοῦ ὅλου πάντ' 5  
 ἐστὶ συντεταγμένα, ὧν καὶ τὸ μέρος εἰς δύναμιν ἕκαστον  
 τὸ προσῆκον πάσχει καὶ ποιεῖ. τούτοις δ' εἰσὶν ἄρχοντες  
 προστεταγμένοι ἐκάστοις ἐπὶ τὸ σμικρότατον αἰεὶ πάθης καὶ  
 πράξεως, εἰς μερισμὸν τὸν ἔσχατον τέλος ἀπειργασμένοι·  
 ὧν ἓν καὶ τὸ σόν, ὧ σχέτλιε, μόριον εἰς τὸ πᾶν συντείνει c  
 βλέπον αἰεὶ, καί περ πάνσμικρον ὄν, σὲ δὲ λέληθεν περὶ τοῦτο  
 αὐτὸ ὡς γένεσις ἔνεκα ἐκείνου γίνεται πᾶσα, ὅπως ἦ τῷ  
 τοῦ παντὸς βίῳ ὑπάρχουσα εὐδαίμων οὐσία, οὐχ ἔνεκα σοῦ  
 γιγνομένη, σὺ δ' ἔνεκα ἐκείνου. πᾶς γὰρ ἰατρὸς καὶ πᾶς 5  
 ἔντεχνος δημιουργὸς παντὸς μὲν ἔνεκα πάντα ἐργάζεται, πρὸς  
 τὸ κοινῇ συντεῖνον βέλτιστον μέρος μὴν ἔνεκα ὅλου καὶ οὐχ  
 ὅλον μέρους ἔνεκα ἀπεργάζεται· σὺ δὲ ἀγανακτεῖς, ἀγνοῶν d  
 ὅπῃ τὸ περὶ σὲ ἄριστον τῷ παντὶ συμβαίνει καὶ σοὶ κατὰ  
 δύναμιν τὴν τῆς κοινῆς γενέσεως. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἰεὶ ψυχὴ συντε-  
 ταγμένη σώματι τοτὲ μὲν ἄλλῳ, τοτὲ δὲ ἄλλῳ, μεταβάλλει  
 παντοίας μεταβολὰς δι' ἑαυτὴν ἢ δι' ἑτέραν ψυχὴν, οὐδὲν 5  
 ἄλλο ἔργον τῷ πεττευτῇ λείπεται πλὴν μετατιθέσθαι τὸ μὲν  
 ἄμεινον γιγνόμενον ἦθος εἰς βελτίῳ τόπον, χεῖρον δὲ εἰς τὸν  
 χεῖρονα, κατὰ τὸ πρόπον αὐτῶν ἕκαστον, ἵνα τῆς προσηκούσης  
 μοίρας λαγχάνῃ. e

ΚΛ. Πῇ λέγεις;

11 ΑΘ. Ἦτις ἂν ἔχοι ῥαστώνης ἐπιμελείας θεοῖς τῶν πάντων, ταύτη μοι δοκῶ φράζειν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὸ  
 5 ὅλον αἰὲ βλέπων πλάττοι τις μετασχηματίζων τὰ πάντα, οἷον ἐκ πυρὸς ὕδωρ ἔμψυχον, καὶ μὴ σύμπολλα ἐξ ἑνὸς ἢ  
 904 ἐκ πολλῶν ἓν, πρώτης ἢ δευτέρας ἢ καὶ τρίτης γενέσεως μετεληφότα πλήθεσιν ἄπειρ' ἂν εἴη τῆς μετατιθεμένης κοσμήσεως· νῦν δ' ἔστι θαυμαστὴ ῥαστώνη τῷ τοῦ παντός ἐπιμελουμένῳ.

5 ΚΛ. Πῶς αὖ λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Ὡςδε. ἐπειδὴ κατείδεν ἡμῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐμψύχους οὕσας τὰς πράξεις ἀπάσας καὶ πολλὴν μὲν ἀρετὴν ἐν αὐταῖς οὖσαν, πολλὴν δὲ κακίαν, ἀνώλεθρον δὲ ὃν γενόμενον, ἀλλ' οὐκ αἰώνιον, ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα, καθάπερ οἱ κατὰ νόμον ὄντες  
 b θεοί—γένεσις γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἦν ζῶων ἀπολομένου τούτοις θατέρου—καὶ τὸ μὲν ὠφελεῖν αἰὲ πεφυκός, ὅσον ἀγαθὸν ψυχῆς, διανοήθη, τὸ δὲ κακὸν βλέπτειν· ταῦτα πάντα συνιδὼν, ἐμμηχανήσατο ποῦ κείμενον ἕκαστον τῶν μερῶν νικῶσαν  
 5 ἀρετὴν, ἡττωμένην δὲ κακίαν, ἐν τῷ παντὶ παρέχοι μάλιστ' ἂν καὶ ῥᾶστα καὶ ἄριστα. μεμνηχάνηται δὴ πρὸς πᾶν τοῦτο τὸ ποῖόν τι γιγνόμενον αἰὲ ποῖαν ἔδραν δεῖ μεταλαμβάνον οἰκίεσθαι καὶ τίνας ποτὲ τόπους· τῆς δὲ γενέσεως τοῦ  
 c ποίου τινὸς ἀφῆκε ταῖς βουλήσεσιν ἐκάστων ἡμῶν τὰς αἰτίας. ὅπῃ γὰρ ἂν ἐπιθυμῇ καὶ ὁποῖός τις ὦν τὴν ψυχὴν, ταύτη σχεδὸν ἐκάστοτε καὶ τοιοῦτος γίγνεται ἅπας ἡμῶν ὡς τὸ πολὺ.

5 ΚΛ. Τὸ γοῦν εἰκός.

ΑΘ. Μεταβάλλει μὲν τοίνυν πάνθ' ὅσα μέτοχά ἐστιν ψυχῆς, ἐν ἑαυτοῖς κεκτημένα τὴν τῆς μεταβολῆς αἰτίαν, μεταβάλλοντα δὲ φέρεται κατὰ τὴν τῆς εἰμαρμένης τάξιν καὶ νόμον· σμικρότερα μὲν τῶν ἡθῶν μεταβάλλοντα ἐλάττω κατὰ  
 10 τὸ τῆς χώρας ἐπίπεδον μεταπορεύεται, πλείω δὲ καὶ ἀδικώτερα  
 d μεταπεσόντα, εἰς βάθος τά τε κάτω λεγόμενα τῶν τόπων, ὅσα Ἰδαίην τε καὶ τὰ τούτων ἐχόμενα τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπονομάζοντες σφόδρα φοβοῦνται καὶ ὀνειροπολοῦσιν ζῶντες διαλυθέντες τε τῶν σωμάτων. μείζω δὲ δὴ ψυχὴ κακίας ἢ ἀρετῆς  
 5 ὁπόταν μεταλάβῃ διὰ τὴν αὐτῆς βούλησιν τε καὶ ὁμιλίαν γενομένην ἰσχυράν, ὁπόταν μὲν ἀρετῇ θείᾳ προσμείξασα γίγνηται διαφερόντως τοιαύτη, διαφέροντα καὶ μετέβαλεν  
 e τόπον ἅγιον ὅλον, μετακομισθεῖσα εἰς ἀμείνω τινὰ τόπον

ἕτερον· ὅταν δὲ τάναντία, ἐπὶ τάναντία μεθιδρύσασα τὸν αὐτῆς βίον.

Αὕτη τοι δίκη ἐστὶ θεῶν οἱ Ὀλυμπον ἔχουσιν,

ὦ παῖ καὶ νεανίσκε ἀμελεῖσθαι δοκῶν ὑπὸ θεῶν, κακίῳ μὲν 5  
 γιγνόμενον πρὸς τὰς κακίους ψυχάς, ἀμείνω δὲ πρὸς τὰς  
 ἀμείνους πορευόμενον, ἔν τε ζωῇ καὶ ἐν πᾶσι θανάτοις πᾶσχειν  
 τε ἃ προσήκον δρᾶν ἐστὶ τοῖς προσφερέσι τοὺς προσφερεῖς  
 καὶ ποιεῖν. ταύτης τῆς δίκης οὔτε σὺ μὴ ποτε οὔτε εἰ ἄλλος 905  
 ἀτυχῆς γενόμενος ἐπεύξεται περιγενέσθαι θεῶν· ἦν πασῶν  
 δικῶν διαφερόντως ἔταξάν τε οἱ τάξαντες χρεῶν τε ἐξευλα-  
 βεῖσθαι τὸ παράπαν. οὐ γὰρ ἀμεληθήσῃ ποτὲ ὑπ' αὐτῆς·  
 οὐχ οὕτω σμικρὸς ὢν δύσῃ κατὰ τὸ τῆς γῆς βάθος, οὐδ' 5  
 ὑψηλὸς γενόμενος εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναπτῆσθαι, τείσεις δὲ  
 αὐτῶν τὴν προσήκουσαν τιμωρίαν εἴτ' ἐνθάδε μένων εἴτε καὶ  
 ἐν Ἄιδου διαπορευθεὶς εἴτε καὶ τούτων εἰς ἀγριώτερον ἔτι b  
 διακομισθεὶς τόπον. ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ λόγος σοι καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων  
 ἂν εἴη, τῶν οὓς σὺ κατιδὼν ἐκ σμικρῶν μεγάλους γεγονότας  
 ἀνοσιουργήσαντας ἢ τι τοιοῦτον πράξαντας ὥρῃς ἐξ ἀθλίων  
 εὐδαίμονας γεγονέναι, κᾶτα ὡς ἐν κατόπτροις αὐτῶν ταῖς 5  
 πράξεσιν ἡγήσω καθεωρακέσαι τὴν πάντων ἀμέλειαν θεῶν,  
 οὐκ εἰδὼς αὐτῶν τὴν συντέλειαν ὅπῃ ποτὲ τῷ παντὶ συμ-  
 βάλλεται. γινώσκειν δὲ αὐτήν, ὦ πάντων ἀνδρειότατε, πῶς c  
 οὐ δεῖν δοκεῖς; ἦν τις μὴ γινώσκων οὐδ' ἂν τύπον ἴδοι ποτέ,  
 οὐδὲ λόγον συμβάλλεσθαι περὶ βίου δυνατὸς ἂν γένοιτο εἰς  
 εὐδαιμονίαν τε καὶ δυσδαίμονα τύχην. ταῦτα εἰ μὲν σε πείθει  
 Κλεινίας ὅδε καὶ σύμπασα ἡμῶν ἥδε ἡ γερουσία, περὶ θεῶν 5  
 ὡς οὐκ οἶσθα ὅτι λέγεις, καλῶς ἂν σοι θεὸς αὐτὸς συλλαμ-  
 βάνοι· εἰ δ' ἐπιδεῆς ἔτι λόγου τινὸς ἂν εἴης, λεγόντων ἡμῶν  
 πρὸς τὸν τρίτον ἐπάκουε, εἰ νοῦν καὶ ὁπωσοῦν ἔχεις. ὅτι d  
 μὲν γὰρ θεοὶ τ' εἰσὶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐπιμελοῦνται, ἔγωγε οὐ  
 παντάπασιν φαύλως ἂν φαίην ἡμῖν ἀποδεδεῖχθαι· τὸ δὲ  
 παραιτητοὺς αὐ θεοὺς εἶναι τοῖσιν ἀδικούσι, δεχομένους δῶρα,  
 οὔτε τινὶ συγχωρητέον παντὶ τ' αὐ κατὰ δύναμιν τρόπῳ 5  
 ἐλεγκτέον.

ΚΛ. Κάλλιςτ' εἶπες, ποιῶμέν τε ὡς λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Φέρε δὴ πρὸς θεῶν αὐτῶν, τίνα τρόπον παραιτητοὶ  
 γίνονται ἂν ἡμῖν, εἰ γίνοντο αὐ; καὶ τίνες ἢ ποιοὶ τινες e  
 ὄντες; ἄρχοντας μὲν ἀναγκαῖόν που γίνεσθαι τοὺς γε



διοικήσοντας τὸν ἅπαντα ἐντελεχῶς οὐρανόν.

ΚΛ. Οὕτως.

- 5 ΑΘ. Ἄλλ' ἄρα τίσιν προσφερεῖς τῶν ἀρχόντων; ἢ τίνες  
τούτοις, ὧν δυνατὸν ἡμῖν ἀπεικάζουσι τυγχάνειν μείζουσιν  
ἐλάττωνας; πότερον ἡνίοχοί τινες ἂν εἶεν τοιοῦτοι ζευγῶν  
ἀμιλλωμένων ἢ πλοίων κυβερνῆται; τάχα δὲ καὶ ἀπει-  
10 κασθεῖεν στρατοπέδων ἄρχουσί τισιν· εἴη δ' ἂν καὶ νόσων  
906 πόλεμον εὐλαβουμένοις ἰατροῖς ἐοικέναι περὶ σώματα, ἢ  
γεωργοῖς περὶ φυτῶν γένεσιν εἰωθυίας ὥρας χαλεπὰς διὰ  
φόβων προσδεχομένοις, ἢ καὶ ποιμνίων ἐπιστάταις. ἐπειδὴ  
γὰρ συγκεχωρήκαμεν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς εἶναι μὲν τὸν οὐρανὸν  
πολλῶν μεστὸν ἀγαθῶν, εἶναι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων, πλειόνων  
5 δὲ τῶν μὴ, μάχη δὴ, φαμέν, ἀθάνατός ἐσθ' ἢ τοιαύτη καὶ  
φυλακῆς θαυμαστῆς δεομένη, σύμμαχοι δὲ ἡμῖν θεοί τε ἅμα  
καὶ δαίμονες, ἡμεῖς δ' αὖ κτῆμα θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων· φθείρει  
δὲ ἡμᾶς ἀδικία καὶ ὕβρις μετὰ ἀφροσύνης, σώζει δὲ δικαιοσύνη  
b καὶ σωφροσύνη μετὰ φρονήσεως, ἐν ταῖς τῶν θεῶν ἐμφύχοις  
οἰκοῦσαι δυνάμεσιν, βραχὺ δέ τι καὶ τῇδε ἂν τις τῶν τοιούτων  
ἐνοικοῦν ἡμῖν σαφὲς ἴδοι. ψυχὰι δέ τινες ἐπὶ γῆς οἰκοῦσαι  
καὶ ἄδικον λῆμμα κεκτημέναι δῆλον ὅτι θηριώδεις, πρὸς τὰς  
5 τῶν φυλάκων ψυχὰς ἄρα κυνῶν ἢ τὰς τῶν νομέων ἢ πρὸς  
τὰς τῶν παντάπασιν ἀκροτάτων δεσποτῶν προσπίπτουσαι,  
πείθουσιν θωπείαις λόγων καὶ ἐν εὐκταίαις τισὶν ἐπωδαῖς,  
c ὥς αἱ φῆμαί φασιν αἱ τῶν κακῶν, ἐξεῖναι πλεονεκτοῦσιν  
σφίσιν ἐν ἀνθρώποις πάσχειν μηδὲν χαλεπόν· φαμέν δ'  
εἶναί που τὸ νῦν ὀνομαζόμενον ἀμάρτημα, τὴν πλεονεξίαν,  
ἐν μὲν σαρκίνοις σώμασι νόσημα καλούμενον, ἐν δὲ ὥραις  
5 ἐτῶν καὶ ἐνιαυτοῖς λοιμόν, ἐν δὲ πόλεσι καὶ πολιτείαις τοῦτο  
αὐτό, ῥήματι μετεσχηματισμένον, ἀδικίαν.

ΚΛ. Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν.

- ΑΘ. Τοῦτον δὴ τὸν λόγον ἀναγκαῖον λέγειν τὸν λέγοντα  
d ὥς εἰσὶν συγγνώμονες αἰεὶ θεοὶ τοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀδίκους καὶ  
ἀδικοῦσιν, ἂν αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀδικημάτων τις ἀπονέμη· καθάπερ  
κυσὶν λύκοι τῶν ἀρπασμάτων σμικρὰ ἀπονέμοιεν, οἱ δὲ  
ἡμερούμενοι τοῖς δώροις συγχωροῖεν τὰ ποίμνια διαρπάξαι.  
5 ἀρ' οὐχ οὗτος ὁ λόγος ὁ τῶν φασκόντων παραιτητοὺς εἶναι  
θεούς;

ΚΛ. Οὗτος μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Τίσιν οὖν δὴ τῶν προρρηθέντων ἀπεικάζων ὁμοίους



φύλακας εἶναι θεοὺς οὐκ ἂν καταγέλαστος γίγνοιτο ἀνθρώπων  
ὅστισοῦν; πότερον κυβερνήταις, λοιβῇ τε οἴνου κνίσῃ e  
τε παρατρεπομένοις αὐτοῖς, ἀνατρέπουσι δὲ ἑαυτοὺς τε καὶ  
ναύτας;

ΚΛ. Μηδαμῶς.

ΑΘ. Ἄλλ' οὐτι μὴν ἡνιόχοισί γε ἐν ἀμίλλῃ συντε- 5  
ταγμένοις, πεισθεῖσιν ὑπὸ δωρεᾶς ἐτέροισι τὴν νίκην ζεύγεσι  
προδοῦναι.

ΚΛ. Δεινὴν γὰρ εἰκόνα λέγοις ἂν λέγων τὸν λόγον  
τοῦτον.

ΑΘ. Οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ στρατηγοῖς γε οὐδ' ἰατροῖς οὐδὲ γεωρ- 10  
γοῖς, οὐδὲ νομεῦσιν μὴν οὐδέ τισι κυσὶν κεκλημημένοις ὑπὸ  
λύκων.

ΚΛ. Εὐφήμει· πῶς γὰρ ἂν;

ΑΘ. Ἄλλ' οὐ πάντων φυλάκων εἰσὶ μέγιστοι καὶ περὶ τὰ 907  
μέγιστα ἡμῖν οἱ πάντες θεοί;

ΚΛ. Πολύ γε.

ΑΘ. Τοὺς δὴ κάλλιστά τε πράγματα φυλάττοντας, δια- 5  
φέροντάς τε αὐτοὺς φυλακῇ πρὸς ἀρετὴν, κυνῶν χείρους  
καὶ ἀνθρώπων μέσων εἶναι φήσομεν, οἳ τὸ δίκαιον οὐκ ἂν  
ποτε προδοῖεν ἕνεκα δώρων παρὰ ἀδίκων ἀνδρῶν ἀνοσίως  
διδομένων;

ΚΛ. Οὐδαμῶς· οὔτε ἀνεκτὸς λόγων, τῶν τε περὶ πᾶσαν b  
ἀσέβειαν ὄντων κινδυνεύει πᾶς ὁ ταύτης τῆς δόξης ἀντεχό-  
μενος πάντων ἂν τῶν ἀσεβῶν κεκρίσθαι δικαιοτάτα κάκιστός  
τε εἶναι καὶ ἀσεβέστατος.

ΑΘ. Τὰ μὲν δὴ προτεθέντα τρία, θεοὶ τε ὥς εἰσὶν, καὶ ὥς 5  
ἐπιμελεῖς, καὶ παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον ὥς παντάπασιν ἀπαραίτητοι,  
φῶμεν ἱκανῶς ἀποδεδείχθαι πον;

ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ; καὶ σύμφηφοί γε τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις  
ἔσμεν.

ΑΘ. Καὶ μὴν εἴρηνται γέ πως σφοδρότερον διὰ φιλονικίαν 10  
τῶν κακῶν ἀνθρώπων· τούτου γε μὴν ἕνεκα, ᾧ φίλε Κλεινία, c  
πεφιλονίκηνται, μὴ ποτε λόγοις ἡγῶνται κρατοῦντες ἐξουσίαν  
εἶναι σφίσιν ἃ βούλονται πράττειν οἱ κακοί, ἃ δὴ καὶ ὅσα  
καὶ οἷα περὶ θεοὺς διανοοῦνται. προθυμία μὲν δὴ διὰ ταῦτα  
νεωτέρως εἰπεῖν ἡμῖν γέγονεν· εἰ δέ τι καὶ βραχὺ προὔργου 5  
πεποιήκαμεν εἰς τὸ πείθειν πῃ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἑαυτοὺς μὲν  
μισῆσαι, τὰ δ' ἐναντία πως ἦθη στέρξαι, καλῶς ἡμῖν εἰρημένον

d ἂν εἴη τὸ προοίμιον ἀσεβείας πέρι νόμων.

ΚΛ. Ἀλλὰ ἐλπίς· εἰ δὲ μή, τό γε τοῦ λόγου γένος οὐκ αἰτιάσεται τὸν νομοθέτην.

ΑΘ. Μετὰ τὸ προοίμιον τοίνυν λόγος οἶος ἂν τῶν νόμων  
 5 ἑρμηνεὺς ὀρθῶς γίγνοιτο ἡμῖν, προαγορεύων ἐξίστασθαι πᾶσι τοῖς ἀσεβέσι τρόπων τῶν αὐτῶν εἰς τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς. τοῖς δὲ μὴ πειθομένοις ἀσεβείας ὅδε ἔστω πέρι νόμος· Ἐάν τις  
 e ἀσεβῇ λόγοις εἴτ' ἔργοις, ὁ παρατυγχάνων ἀμυνέτω σημαίνων πρὸς ἄρχοντας, τῶν δὲ ἀρχόντων οἱ πρῶτοι πυθόμενοι πρὸς τὸ περὶ τούτων ἀποδεδειγμένον κρίνειν δικαστήριον εἰσαγα-  
 γόντων κατὰ τοὺς νόμους· ἐὰν δέ τις ἀκούσασα ἀρχὴ μὴ  
 5 δρᾷ ταῦτα, αὐτὴ ἀσεβείας ὑπόδικος γιγνέσθω τῷ ἐθέλοντι τιμωρεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων. ἐὰν δέ τις ὄφλη, τιμάτω τὸ δικαστήριον ἐν ἐκάστῳ τῶν καθ' ἐν ἀσεβούντων τίμημα.  
 908 δεσμός μὲν οὖν ὑπαρχέτω πᾶσιν· δεσμωτηρίων δὲ ὄντων ἐν τῇ πόλει τριῶν, ἐνὸς μὲν κοινοῦ τοῖς πλείστοις περὶ ἀγοράν, σωτηρίας ἕνεκα τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν σωματῶν, ἐνὸς δὲ περὶ τὸν τῶν νύκτωρ συλληγομένων σύλλογον, σωφρονιστήριον ἐπονο-  
 5 μαζόμενον, ἐνὸς δὲ αὖ κατὰ μέσσην τὴν χώραν, ὅπῃ περ ἂν ἔρημός τε καὶ ὥς ὅτι μάλιστα ἀγριώτατος ἢ τόπος, τιμωρίας ἔχων ἐπωνυμίαν φήμην τινά· περὶ ἀσεβείαν δὲ ὄντων αἰτίαις  
 b μὲν τρισίν, αἷσπερ καὶ διήλθομεν, δύο δὲ ἐξ ἐκάστης τῆς τοιαύτης αἰτίας γενομένων, ἐξ ἂν γίγνοιτο ἅ καὶ διακρίσεως ἄξια γένη τῶν περὶ τὰ θεῖα ἑξαμαρτανόντων, οὐκ ἴσης οὐδ' ὁμοίας δίκης δεόμενα. ὧ γὰρ ἂν μὴ νομίζοντι θεοὺς εἶναι  
 5 τὸ παράπαν ἦθος φύσει προσγένηται δίκαιον, μισοῦντές τε γίνονται τοὺς κακοὺς, καὶ τῷ δυσχεραίνειν τὴν ἀδικίαν οὔτε τὰς τοιαύτας πράξεις προσίενται πράττειν, τοὺς τε μὴ  
 c δικαίους τῶν ἀνθρώπων φεύγουσι καὶ τοὺς δικαίους στέργουσιν· οἷς δ' ἂν πρὸς τῇ δόξῃ τῇ θεῶν ἔρημα εἶναι πάντα ἀκράτειαί τε ἡδονῶν καὶ λυπῶν προσπέσωσι, μνημαί τε ἰσχυραὶ καὶ μαθήσεις ὀξεῖαι παρῶσι, τὸ μὲν μὴ νομίζειν  
 5 θεοὺς ἀμφοῖν ἂν ἐνυπάρχον κοινὸν πάθος, τῇ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων λώβῃ τὸ μὲν ἐλάττω, τὸ δὲ πλείω κακὰ ἐργάζουτ' ἂν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ λόγῳ τε ἂν περὶ θεοὺς παρρησίας εἴη μεστός καὶ περὶ θυσίας τε καὶ ὄρκους, καὶ ὥς τῶν ἄλλων καταγελῶν  
 d τάχ' ἂν ἐτέρους τοιούτους ἀπεργάζουτο, δίκης μὴ τυγχάνων· ὁ δὲ δὴ δοξάζων μὲν καθάπερ ἄτερος, εὐφυῆς δὲ ἐπικαλούμενος, δόλου δὲ καὶ ἐνέδρας πλήρης, ἐξ ὧν μάντις τε

κατασκευάζονται πολλοὶ καὶ περὶ πᾶσαν τὴν μαγγανείαν  
κεκηνημένοι, γίνονται δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ τύραννοι 5  
καὶ δημηγόροι καὶ στρατηγοί, καὶ τελεταῖς δὲ ἰδίαις ἐπιβεβου-  
λευκότες, σοφιστῶν τε ἐπικαλουμένων μηχαναί. τούτων δὴ  
πολλὰ μὲν εἶδη γένοιτ' ἂν, τὰ δὲ νόμων ἄξια θέσεως δύο, ὧν e  
τὸ μὲν εἰρωνικὸν οὐχ ἐνὸς οὐδὲ δυοῖν ἄξια θανάτῳ ἀμαρ-  
τάνων, τὸ δὲ νοθετήσεως ἅμα καὶ δεσμῶν δεόμενον.  
ὥσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὸ θεοὺς νομίζον ἀμελεῖν δὴ ἕτερα γεννᾷ,  
καὶ τὸ παραιτητοὺς ἄλλα δύο. τούτων δὴ ταύτῃ διεστη- 5  
κότων, τοὺς μὲν ὑπ' ἀνοίας ἄνευ κάκης ὀργῆς τε καὶ ἡθους  
γεγεννημένους εἰς τὸ σωφρονιστήριον ὁ δικαστὴς τιθέμενος 909  
νόμῳ τιθέσθω μηδὲν ἔλαττον ἐτῶν πέντε, ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ  
χρόνῳ μηδεὶς τῶν πολιτῶν αὐτοῖς ἄλλος συγγιγνέσθω πλήν  
οἱ τοῦ νυκτερινοῦ συλλόγου κοινωνοῦντες, ἐπὶ νοθετήσει  
τε καὶ τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς σωτηρίᾳ ὁμιλοῦντες· ὅταν δ' ὁ χρόνος 5  
αὐτοῖς ἐξέλθῃ τῶν δεσμῶν, ἐὰν μὲν δοκῇ τις σωφρονεῖν αὐτῶν,  
οἰκείτω μετὰ τῶν σωφρόνων, ἐὰν δὲ μή, ὀφείλῃ δ' αὖθις τὴν  
τοιαύτην δίκην, θανάτῳ ζημιούσθω. ὅσοι δ' ἂν θηριώδεις  
γένωνται πρὸς τῷ θεοῦ μὴ νομίζειν ἢ ἀμελεῖς ἢ παραιτητοὺς b  
εἶναι, καταφρονοῦντες δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ψυχαγωγῶσι μὲν  
πολλοὺς τῶν ζώντων, τοὺς δὲ τεθνεώτας φάσκοντες ψυχα-  
γωγεῖν καὶ θεοὺς ὑπισχνόμενοι πείθειν, ὥς θυσίαις τε καὶ  
εὐχαῖς καὶ ἐπωδαῖς γοητεύοντες, ἰδιώτας τε καὶ ὅλας οἰκίας 5  
καὶ πόλεις χρημάτων χάριν ἐπιχειρῶσιν κατ' ἄκρας ἐξαιρεῖν,  
τούτων δὲ ὅς ἂν ὀφλῶν εἶναι δόξῃ, τιμάτω τὸ δικαστήριον  
αὐτῷ κατὰ νόμον δεδέσθαι μὲν ἐν τῷ τῶν μεσογέων δε- c  
σμωτηρίῳ, προσιέναι δὲ αὐτοῖς μηδένα ἐλεύθερον μηδέποτε,  
τακτὴν δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν νομοφυλάκων αὐτοὺς τροφήν παρὰ τῶν  
οἰκετῶν λαμβάνειν. ἀποθανόντα δὲ ἔξω τῶν ὀρίων ἐκβάλ-  
λειν ἄταφον· ἐὰν δὲ τις ἐλεύθερος συνθάπῃ, δίκας ἀσεβείας 5  
τῷ ἐθέλοντι λαγχάνειν ὑπεχέτω. παῖδας δὲ ἂν μὲν καταλείπῃ  
τῇ πόλει ἱκανούς, οἱ τῶν ὀρφανῶν ἐπιμελούμενοι καὶ τούτων  
ὥς ὄντων ὀρφανῶν ἐπιμελείσθω μηδὲν· χεῖρον τῶν ἄλλων d  
ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμέρας ἧς ἂν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῶν ὀφλῇ τὴν δίκην.

Κοινὸν δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις πᾶσι νόμον κείσθαι χρεῶν, ὅς  
ἐλάττω τε εἰς θεοὺς αὐτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ  
πλημμελεῖν ἂν ποιοῖ, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀνοήτους ἦττον γίνεσθαι, 5  
διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐξεῖναι θεοπολεῖν παρὰ νόμον. ἔστω γὰρ νόμος  
ὅδε τοῖς σύμπασιν κείμενος ἀπλῶς· Ἱερὰ μηδὲ εἰς ἐν ἰδίαις



- οἰκίαις ἐκτῆσθω· θύειν δ' ὅταν ἐπὶ νοῦν ἦη τινί, πρὸς τὰ  
 δημόσια ἴτω θύσων, καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν τε καὶ ἱερείαις ἐγχει-  
 e ριζέτω τὰ θύματα, οἷς ἀγνεῖαι τούτων ἐπιμελεῖς. συνενεξάσθω  
 δὲ αὐτός τε καὶ ὃν ἂν ἐθέλῃ μετ' αὐτοῦ συνενέχεσθαι. ταῦτα  
 δὲ γιννόμενα τῶν τοιῶνδε χάριν ἔστω. ἱερά καὶ θεοὺς οὐ  
 5 ράδιον ἰδρύνεσθαι, μεγάλης δὲ διανοίας τινὸς ὀρθῶς δρᾶν τὸ  
 τοιοῦτον, ἔθος τε γυναιξί τε δὴ διαφερόντως πάσαις καὶ τοῖς  
 ἀσθενοῦσι πάντῃ καὶ κινδυνεύουσι καὶ ἀποροῦσιν, ὅπῃ τις  
 ἂν ἀπορῇ, καὶ τοῦναντίον ὅταν εὐπορίας τινὸς λάβωνται,  
 καθιεροῦν τε τὸ παρὸν αἰεὶ καὶ θυσίας εὐχεσθαι καὶ ἰδρύσεις  
 910 ὑπισχνεῖσθαι θεοῖς καὶ δαίμοσιν καὶ παισὶν θεῶν, ἔν τε  
 φάσμασιν ἐργηγορότας διὰ φόβους καὶ ἐν ὀνείροις, ὥς δ'  
 αὐτως ὅψεις πολλὰς ἀπομνημονεύοντας ἐκάσταισί τε αὐτῶν  
 ἄκη ποιουμένους βωμοὺς καὶ ἱερά, πάσας μὲν οἰκίας, πάσας  
 5 δὲ κώμας ἔν τε καθαροῖς ἰδρυομένους ἐμπιμπλάναι καὶ ὅπῃ  
 τις ἔτυχε τῶν τοιούτων. ὦν ἔνεκα χρή πάντων ποιεῖν κατὰ  
 τὸν νῦν λεγόμενον νόμον· πρὸς τούτοις δὲ ἔνεκα τῶν ἀσε-  
 b βούντων, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ταῦτα κλέπτοντες ταῖς πράξεσιν, ἱερά  
 τε καὶ βωμοὺς ἐν ἰδίαις οἰκίαις ἰδρύνόμενοι, λάθρα τοὺς θεοὺς  
 ἴλεως οἰόμενοι ποιεῖν θυσίαις τε καὶ εὐχαῖς, εἰς ἄπειρον τὴν  
 ἀδικίαν ἀυξάνοντες αὐτοῖς τε ἐγκλήματα πρὸς θεῶν ποιῶνται  
 5 καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτρέπουσιν, οὕσιν αὐτῶν βελτίουσιν, καὶ πᾶσα  
 οὕτως ἢ πόλις ἀπολαύῃ τῶν ἀσεβῶν τρόπον τινὰ δικαίως.  
 τὸν μὲν δὴ νομοθέτην ὁ θεὸς οὐ μέμψεται· κείσθω γὰρ νόμος  
 οὗτος· Μὴ κεκτῆσθαι θεῶν ἐν ἰδίαις οἰκίαις ἱερά, τὸν δὲ  
 c φανέντα κεκτημένον ἕτερα καὶ ὀργιάζοντα πλὴν τὰ δημόσια,  
 εἰ μὲν ἄδικον μηδὲν τῶν μεγάλων καὶ ἀνοσίων εἰργα-  
 σμένος ἀνὴρ ἢ καὶ γυνὴ κεκτῆταί τις, ὁ μὲν αἰσθανόμενος  
 καὶ εἰσαγγελλέτω τοῖς νομοφύλαξιν, οἱ δὲ προσταττόντων  
 5 εἰς τὰ δημόσια ἀποφέρειν ἱερά τὰ ἴδια, μὴ πείθοντες δὲ  
 ζημιούντων ἕως ἂν ἀπενεχθῇ· εἰ δέ τις ἀσεβήσας μὴ  
 παιδίων ἀλλ' ἀνδρῶν ἀσέβημα ἀνοσίων γένηται φανερός,  
 εἴτε ἐν ἰδίῳ ἰδρυσάμενος εἴτ' ἐν δημοσίοις θύσας ἱερά θεοῖς  
 d οἰσισινοῦν, ὥς οὐ καθαρὸς ὦν θύων θανάτῳ ζημιούσθω.  
 τὸ δὲ παίδειον ἢ μὴ κρίναντες οἱ νομοφύλακες, εἰς τὸ  
 δικαστήριον οὕτως εἰσαγαγόντες, τὴν τῆς ἀσεβείας δίκην  
 τούτοις ἐπιτελούντων.



## BOOK XI

### SHORT ANALYSIS

**913-915.**—Legal definition of and limitations to the right to property.

**916-917.**—State regulations as to buying and selling. Honesty in trade.

**918-920 c.**—State restrictions on retail trade and inn-keeping.

**920 d-922 a 5.**—Actions for breach of contract—including the failure duly to honour professional soldiers.

**922 a 6-928 d 4.**—Laws regulating the power of testamentary disposition; and the position and care of orphans.

**928 d 5-929.**—The decision of disputes between fathers and sons.

**930.**—Disputes between husbands and wives. Divorce.

**931-932.**—Respect to be shown to old age.

**933 a-e 6.**—Injuries by (a) noxious drugs, (b) magic charms or philtres.

**933 e-934 c 6.**—Thefts and acts of violence.

**934 c 7-936 b 2.**—Laws dealing with (a) madmen, (b) violent ill-temper and personal abuse, (c) limitations to the use of public ridicule.

**936 b 3-c 7.**—Mendicancy absolutely prohibited.

**936 c 8-e 5.**—Masters to be responsible for injuries committed by slaves (except in cases of collusion or culpable negligence on the part of the injured).

**936 e 6-937 d 5.**—Laws dealing with witnesses in courts of justice.

**937 d 6-938 c 5.**—Professional advocacy absolutely forbidden.

### IA

ΑΘ. Τὸ δὴ μετὰ ταῦτ' εἷη συμβολαίων ἂν πρὸς ἀλλή- 913  
λους ἡμῖν δεόμενα προσηκούσης τάξεως. ἀπλοῦν δέ γέ

- ἐστίν που τό γε τοιοῦτον· μήτε οὖν τις τῶν ἐμῶν χρημάτων  
 ἄπτοιτο εἰς δύναμιν, μηδ' αὖ κινήσειεν μηδὲ τὸ βραχύτατον  
 5 ἐμέ μηδαμῇ μηδαμῶς πείθων· κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ ταῦτα καὶ  
 περὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐγὼ δρώην, νοῦν ἔχων ἔμφρονα. θη-  
 σαυρὸν δὴ [λέγωμεν] πρῶτον τῶν τοιούτων ὃν τις αὐτῷ καὶ  
 τοῖς αὐτοῦ κειμήλιον ἔθετο, μὴ τῶν ἐμῶν ὣν πατέρων, μήθ'  
 b εὐρεῖν ποτε θεοῖς εὐξαίμην μήθ' εὐρὼν κινήσαιμι, μηδ' αὖ  
 τοῖς λεγομένοις μάντεσιν ἀνακοινώσαιμι τοῖς ἁμῶς γέ πῶς  
 μοι συμβουλευούσιν ἀνελεῖν τὴν γῆν παρακαταθήκην. οὐ  
 γάρ ποτε τοσοῦτον εἰς χρημάτων ὠφεληθεῖην ἢ κτήσιν  
 5 ἀνελών, ὅσον εἰς ὄγκον πρὸς ἀρετὴν ψυχῆς καὶ τὸ δίκαιον  
 ἐπιδιδοίην μὴ ἀνελόμενος, κτῆμα ἀντὶ κτήματος ἄμεινον  
 ἐν ἀμείνονι κτησάμενος, δίκην ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ πλούτου προτι-  
 μήσας ἐν οὐσίᾳ κεκτῆσθαι πρότερον· ἐπὶ πολλοῖς γὰρ δὴ  
 λεγόμενον εὖ τὸ μὴ κινεῖν τὰ ἀκίνητα καὶ περὶ τούτου  
 c λέγοιτ' ἢ ὡς ἐνὸς ἐκείνων ὄντος. πείθεσθαι δὲ χρὴ καὶ  
 τοῖς περὶ ταῦτα λεγομένοις μύθοις, ὡς εἰς παίδων γενεὰν  
 οὐ σύμφορα τὰ τοιαῦτα· ὃς δ' ἢ παίδων τε ἀκηδῆς γένηται  
 καί, τοῦ θέντος τὸν νόμον ἀμελήσας, ἢ μήτε αὐτὸς κατέθετο  
 5 μήτε αὖ πατέρων τις πατήρ, μὴ πείσας τὸν θέμενον ἀν-  
 ἔλγεται, κάλλιστον νόμων διαφθείρων, ἀπλούστατον καὶ  
 οὐδαμῇ ἀγεννοῦς ἀνδρὸς νομοθέτημα, ὃς εἶπεν· Ἄ μὴ κατέ-  
 d θου, μὴ ἀνέλγῃ—τούτοις δυοῖν νομοθέταιν καταφρονή-  
 σαντα καὶ ἀνελόμενον, οὐτι σμικρόν, ὃ μὴ κατέθετο αὐτός,  
 πλήθος δ' ἔστιν ὅτε θησαυροῦ παμμέγεθες, τί χρὴ πάσχειν;  
 ὑπὸ μὲν δὴ θεῶν, ὃ θεὸς οἶδεν· ὃ δὲ κατιδὼν πρῶτος ἀγγελ-  
 5 λέτω, ἔαν μὲν ἐν ἄστει γίγνηται τὸ τοιοῦτον, τοῖς ἀστυνόμοις,  
 ἔαν δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐν ἀγορᾷ που, τοῖσιν ἀγορανόμοις, ἔαν  
 914 δὲ τῆς ἄλλης χώρας, ἀγρονόμοις τε καὶ τοῖς τούτων ἄρχουσι  
 δηλωσάτω. δηλωθέντων δέ, ἢ πόλις εἰς Δελφοὺς πεμπέτω·  
 ὅτι δ' ἢ ὃ θεὸς ἀναιρῇ περὶ τε τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τοῦ κινή-  
 σαντος, τούτο ἢ πόλις ὑπηρετοῦσα ταῖς μαντείαις δράτω τοῦ  
 5 θεοῦ. καὶ ἔαν μὲν ἐλεύθερος ὁ μηνύσας ἦ, δόξαν ἀρετῆς  
 κεκτῆσθω, μὴ μηνύσας δέ, κακίας· δοῦλος δ' ἔαν ἦ, μηνύσας  
 μὲν ἐλεύθερος ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ὀρθῶς γίγνοιτ' ἢ ἀποδι-  
 δούσης τῷ δεσπότῃ τὴν τιμὴν, μὴ μηνύων δὲ θανάτῳ ζη-  
 b μιούσθω. τούτῳ δ' ἐπόμενον ἐξῆς ἢ γίγνοιτο τὸ περὶ  
 σμικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα ταῦτόν τοῦτο νόμιμον συνακολουθεῖν.  
 ἢ τις τῶν αὐτοῦ τι καταλείπη που ἐκὼν εἴτ' ἄκων, ὃ

προστυγχάνων ἑάτω κείσθαι, νομίζων φυλάττειν ἐνοδίαν  
 δαίμονα τὰ τοιαῦτα ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου τῇ θεῷ καθιερωμένα. 5  
 ἂν δὲ παρὰ ταῦτά τις ἀπειθῶν ἀναιρούμενος οἴκαδε φέρη,  
 ἂν μὲν σμικρὰς τιμῆς ἄξιον ὦν δοῦλος, ὑπὸ τοῦ προστυγχά-  
 νοντος μὴ ἔλαττον τριακονταέτους πολλὰς πληγὰς μαστι-  
 γούσθω· ἐὰν δέ τις ἐλεύθερος, πρὸς τῷ ἀνελεύθερος εἶναι c  
 δοκεῖν καὶ ἀκοινώνητος νόμων, δεκαπλάσιον τῆς τιμῆς τοῦ  
 κινήεντος ἀποτινέτω τῷ καταλιπόντι. ἐὰν δέ τις ἐπαι-  
 τιᾶται τῶν αὐτοῦ χρημάτων ἔχειν τινὰ πλεόν ἢ καὶ σμικρό-  
 τερον, ὃ δὲ ὁμολογῇ μὲν ἔχειν, μὴ τὸ ἐκείνου δέ, ἂν μὲν 5  
 ἀπογεγραμμένον ἢ παρὰ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν τὸ κτῆμα κατὰ νόμον,  
 τὸν ἔχοντα καλείσθω πρὸς τὴν ἀρχήν, ὃ δὲ καθιστάτω.  
 γενομένου δὲ ἐμφανούς, ἐὰν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασιν ἀπογεγραμ-  
 μένον φαίνεται ποτέρου τῶν ἀμφισβητούντων, ἔχων οὗτος d  
 ἀπίτω· ἐὰν δέ τις ἄλλου τῶν μὴ παρόντων, ὁπότερος ἂν  
 παράσχη τὸν ἐγγυητὴν ἀξιόχρεων, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀπόντος ὡς  
 παραδώσων ἐκείνῳ κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνου ἀφαίρεσιν ἀφαιρείσθω.  
 ἐὰν, δὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἄρχουσι τὸ ἀμφισβητούμενον μὴ ἀπο- 5  
 γεγραμμένον ᾖ, κείσθω μὲν μέχρι δίκης παρὰ τρισὶ τῶν  
 ἀρχόντων τοῖς πρεσβυτάτοις, ἐὰν δὲ τὸ μεσεγγυωθὲν θρέμμα  
 ᾖ, τὸν νικηθέντα περὶ αὐτοῦ δίκη τὴν τροφήν ἐκτίνειν τοῖς  
 ἄρχουσιν· τὴν δὲ κρίσιν διαδικάζειν ἐντὸς τριῶν ἡμερῶν e  
 τοὺς ἄρχοντας.

Ἀγέτω τὸν ἑαυτοῦ δοῦλον ὃ βουλόμενος, ἐὰν ἔμφρων  
 ᾖ, χρῆσόμενος ὅτι ἂν ἐθέλῃ τῶν ὁπόσα ὅσια· ἀγέτω δὲ καὶ  
 ὑπὲρ ἄλλου τῶν οἰκείων ἢ φίλων τὸν ἀφεστῶτα ἐπὶ σω- 5  
 τηρία· ἐὰν δέ τις ἀφαιρῇται τινα εἰς ἐλευθερίαν ὡς δοῦλον  
 ἀγόμενον, μεθιέτω μὲν ὃ ἄγων, ὃ δὲ ἀφαιρούμενος ἐγγυητὰς  
 τρεῖς ἀξιόχρεως καταστήσας, οὕτως ἀφαιρείσθω κατὰ ταῦτα,  
 ἄλλως δὲ μὴ· ἐὰν δὲ παρὰ ταῦτά τις ἀφαιρῇται, τῶν βιαίων  
 ἔνοχος ἔστω, καὶ ἄλους τὴν διπλασίαν τοῦ ἐπιγραφέντος 915  
 βλάβους τῷ ἀφαιρεθέντι τινέτω. ἀγέτω δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀπε-  
 λεύθερον, ἐὰν τις μὴ θεραπείῃ τοὺς ἀπελευθερώσαντας ἢ  
 μὴ ἱκανῶς· θεραπεία δὲ φοιτᾷν τρεῖς τοῦ μηνὸς τὸν ἀπε-  
 λευθερωθέντα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ἀπελευθερώσαντος ἐστίαν, 5  
 ἐπαγγελλόμενον ὅτι χρή δρᾶν τῶν δικαίων καὶ ἅμα δυνατῶν,  
 καὶ περὶ γάμου ποιεῖν ὅτιπερ ἂν συνδοκῇ τῷ γενομένῳ  
 δεσπότῃ. πλουτεῖν δὲ τοῦ ἀπελευθερώσαντος μὴ ἐξεῖναι  
 μᾶλλον· τὸ δὲ πλεόν γιγνέσθω τοῦ δεσπότου. μὴ πλείω b

δὲ εἴκοσιν ἔτων μένειν τὸν ἀφεθέντα, ἀλλὰ καθάπερ καὶ τοὺς  
 ἄλλους ξένους ἀπιέναι λαβόντα τὴν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν οὐσίαν,  
 εἴαν μὴ πείσῃ τοὺς τε ἄρχοντας καὶ τὸν ἀπελευθερώσαντα.  
 5 εἴαν δὲ τῷ ἀπελευθερωθέντι ἢ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῷ ξένων  
 οὐσία πλείων γίγηται τοῦ τρίτου μεγέθει τιμήματος, ἢ ἂν  
 τοῦτο ἡμέρα γένηται, τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς  
 c ἡμέρας λαβὼν ἀπίτω τὰ ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ μηδεμία τῆς μονῆς  
 παραίτησις ἔτι τούτῳ παρ' ἀρχόντων γιγνέσθω· εἴαν δέ τις  
 ἀπειθὼν τούτοις εἰσαχθεὶς εἰς δικαστήριον ὄφλῃ, θανάτῳ  
 τε ζημιούσθω καὶ τὰ χρήματα αὐτοῦ γιγνέσθω δημόσια.  
 5 δίκαι δ' ἔστωσαν τούτων ἐν ταῖς φυλετικαῖσιν δίκαις, εἴαν  
 μὴ πρότερον ἐν γείτοσιν ἢ ἐν αἵρετοῖσιν δικασταῖς ἀπαλλάτ-  
 τωνται πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν ἐγκλημάτων. εἴαν δὲ ὡς αὐτοῦ  
 ἐφάπτηται ζῶου καὶ ὄτουοῦν ἢ τινος ἐτέρου τῶν αὐτοῦ  
 d χρημάτων, ἀναγέτω μὲν ὁ ἔχων εἰς πρατήρα ἢ τὸν δόντα  
 ἀξιόχρεόν τε καὶ ἔνδικον ἢ τινι τρόπῳ παραδόντα ἄλλῳ  
 κυρίως, εἰς μὲν πολίτην ἢ καὶ μέτοικον τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει  
 ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα, εἰς δὲ ξενικὴν παράδοσιν πέντε μηνῶν,  
 5 οἷς μέσος ὁ μὲν ἐν ᾧ τρέπεται θερινὸς ἥλιος εἰς τὰ χειμε-  
 ρινά. ὅσα δὲ διὰ τινος ὥνῃς ἢ καὶ πράσεως ἀλλάττηται  
 τις ἕτερος ἄλλῳ, διδόντα ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ τεταγμένη ἐκάστοις  
 κατ' ἀγορὰν καὶ δεχόμενον ἐν τῷ παραχρήμα τιμῇν, οὕτως  
 e ἀλλάττεσθαι, ἄλλοθι δὲ μηδαμοῦ, μηδ' ἐπὶ ἀναβολῇ πράσιν  
 μηδὲ ὥνῃν ποιεῖσθαι μηδενός· εἴαν δὲ ἄλλως ἢ ἐν ἄλλοις  
 τόποις ὅτιοῦν ἀνθ' ὅτουοῦν διαμείβηται ἕτερος ἄλλῳ, πι-  
 στεύων πρὸς ὃν ἂν ἀλλάττηται, ποιείτω ταῦτα ὡς οὐκ οὐσῶν  
 5 δικῶν κατὰ νόμον περὶ τῶν μὴ πραθέντων κατὰ τὰ νῦν  
 λεγόμενα. ἐράνων δὲ πέρι, τὸν βουλούμενον ἐρανίζειν φίλον  
 παρὰ φίλοις· εἴαν δέ τις διαφορὰ γίγηται περὶ τῆς ἐρανί-  
 σεως, οὕτω πράττειν ὡς δικῶν μηδενὶ περὶ τούτων μηδαμῶς  
 ἔσομένων. ὅς δ' ἂν ἀποδόμενος τιμῇν τοῦ λάβῃ μὴ ἐλάττω  
 10 δραχμῶν πεντήκοντα, παραμενέτω κατὰ πόλιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης  
 916 δέκα ἡμέρας, ὁ δὲ πριάμενος ἴστω τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν τοῦ ἀποδο-  
 μένου, τῶν περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐγκλημάτων εἰωθότων γίγνεσθαι  
 χάριν καὶ τῶν ἀναγωγῶν τῶν κατὰ νόμους εἵνεκα· ἢ δὲ κατὰ  
 νόμους ἀναγωγῇ καὶ μὴ τῇδε ἔστω. εἴαν τις ἀνδράποdon  
 5 ἀποδῶται κάμνον φθόῃ ἢ λιθῶν ἢ στραγγουριῶν ἢ τῇ καλου-  
 μένῃ ἱερᾷ νόσῳ ἢ καὶ ἐτέρῳ τινὶ ἀδήλῳ τοῖς πολλοῖς νοσή-  
 ματι μακρῷ καὶ δυσιάτῳ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα ἢ κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν,



ἐὰν μὲν ἰατρῷ τις ἢ γυμναστῇ, μὴ ἀναγωγῆς ἔστω τοῦτω  
 πρὸς τὸν τοιοῦτον τυγχάνειν, μηδ' ἐὰν τάληθές τις προειπὼν **b**  
 ἀποδῶταί τω· ἐὰν δέ τις ἰδιώτῃ τι τῶν τοιούτων ἀποδῶται  
 δημιουργός, ὁ πριάμενος ἐντὸς ἐκμήνου ἀναγέτω, πλὴν τῆς  
 ἱερᾶς, ταύτης δ' ἐντὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ τὴν ἀναγωγὴν ἐξέστω  
 ποιεῖσθαι τῆς νόσου. διαδικαζέσθω δὲ ἐν τισι τῶν ἰατρῶν, **5**  
 οὓς ἂν κοινῇ προβαλόμενοι ἔλωνται· τὸν δὲ ὀφλόντα τὴν  
 δίκην διπλάσιον ἀποτίνειν τῆς τιμῆς ἧς ἂν ἀποδῶται. ἐὰν  
 δὲ ἰδιώτῃ τις ἰδιώτης, ἀναγωγὴν μὲν εἶναι, καθάπερ καὶ **c**  
 τοῖς πρόσθεν ἐρρήθη, καὶ τὴν διαδικασίαν, ὁ δὲ ὀφλὼν τὴν  
 τιμὴν ἀπλὴν ἀποτινέτω. ἐὰν δὲ ἀνδροφόνον ἀποδῶταί τις  
 τινι εἰδότι μὲν εἰδώς, μὴ τυγχανέτω ἀναγωγῆς τοῦ τοιούτου  
 τῆς πράσεως, μὴ δὲ εἰδότι τὴν μὲν ἀναγωγὴν εἶναι τότε ὅταν **5**  
 τις αἰσθηται τῶν πριαμένων, ἐν πέντε δὲ τῶν νομοφυλάκων  
 τοῖς νεωτάτοις εἶναι τὴν κρίσιν, εἰδώς δὲ ἂν κριθῇ, τὰς τε  
 οἰκίας τοῦ πριαμένου καθηράτω κατὰ τὸν τῶν ἐξηγητῶν  
 νόμον, τῆς τιμῆς τε ἀποδότω τῷ πριαμένῳ τριπλάσιον· **d**

Ὁ δὲ ἀλλαττόμενος ἢ νόμισμα ἀντὶ νομίματος, ἢ καὶ  
 τῶν ἄλλων ζώων ὅτιοις ἢ καὶ μὴ ζώων, ἀκίβδηλον πᾶν  
 διδότη καὶ δεχέσθω τῷ νόμῳ συνεπόμενος· προοίμιον δέ,  
 καθάπερ ἄλλων νόμων, δεξώμεθα καὶ περὶ ὅλης ταύτης τῆς **5**  
 κάκης. κιβδηλείαν δὲ χρῆ πάντα ἄνδρα διανοηθῆναι καὶ  
 ψεῦδος καὶ ἀπάτην ὡς ἐν τι γένος ὄν, τοῦτο ᾧ τὴν φήμην  
 ἐπιφέρειν εἰώθασιν οἱ πολλοί, κακῶς λέγοντες, ὡς ἐν καιρῷ  
 γιγνόμενον ἐκάστοτε τὸ τοιοῦτον πολλάκις ἂν ὀρθῶς ἔχοι, **e**  
 τὸν καιρὸν δὲ καὶ ὅπου καὶ ὁπότε ἀτάκτως καὶ ἀορίστως  
 ἔωντες, τῇ λέξει ταύτῃ πολλὰ ζημιοῦνται τε καὶ ζημιούσιν  
 ἑτέρους. νομοθέτῃ δὲ οὐκ ἐγχωρεῖ τοῦτο ἀόριστον εἶναι,  
 ἀλλὰ ἢ μείζους ἢ ἐλάττους ὅρους αἰεὶ δεῖ διασαφεῖν, καὶ δὴ **5**  
 καὶ νῦν ὠρίσθω. Ψεῦδος μηδεὶς μηδὲν μηδ' ἀπάτην μηδέ  
 τι κίβδηλον, γένος ἐπικαλούμενος θεῶν, μήτε λόγῳ μήτε  
 ἔργῳ πράξειεν, ὁ μὴ θεομισέστατος ἔσεσθαι μέλλων· οὗτος **917**  
 δ' ἐστὶν ὃς ἂν ὄρκους ὁμνῇ ψευδεῖς μηδὲν φροντίζῃ θεῶν,  
 δεύτερος δὲ ὃς ἂν ἐναντίον τῶν κρείττωνων αὐτοῦ ψεύδῃται.  
 κρείττους δὲ οἱ ἀμείνους τῶν χειρόνων, πρεσβῦταί τε ὡς ἐπὶ  
 τὸ πᾶν εἰπεῖν τῶν νέων, διὸ καὶ γονῆς κρείττους ἐκγόνων, **5**  
 καὶ ἄνδρες δὴ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων, ἄρχοντές τε ἀρχομένων·  
 οὓς αἰδεῖσθαι πᾶσιν πάντας πρέπον ἂν εἴη ἐν ἄλλῃ τε ἀρχῇ  
 πάσῃ καὶ ἐν ταῖς πολιτικαῖς δὴ μάλιστα ἀρχαῖς; ὅθεν ὁ νῦν

- παρὼν ἡμῖν λόγος ἐλήλυθεν. πᾶς γὰρ τῶν κατ' ἀγορὰν  
b ὁ κιβδηλεύων τι ψεύδεται καὶ ἀπατᾷ καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς παρα-  
καλῶν ἐπὶ μνυσιν ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἀγορανόμων νόμοισιν τε καὶ  
φυλακτηρίοις, οὔτε ἀνθρώπους αἰδούμενος οὔτε θεοὺς σεβό-  
μενος. πάντως μὲν δὴ καλὸν ἐπιτήδευμα θεῶν ὀνόματα  
5 μὴ χραίνειν ῥαδίως, ἔχοντα ὡς ἔχουσιν ἡμῶν ἐκάστοτε τὰ  
πολλὰ οἱ πλείστοι καθαρότητός τε καὶ ἀγνείας τὰ περὶ  
τοὺς θεοὺς· εἰ δ' οὖν μὴ πείθοιτο, ὅδε νόμος· Ὁ πωλῶν  
ὅτιοῦν ἐν ἀγορᾷ μηδέποτε δύο εἴπη τιμὰς ὧν ἂν πωλῇ,  
c ἀπλὴν δὲ εἰπὼν, ἂν μὴ τυγχάνῃ ταύτης, ἀποφέρων ὀρθῶς  
ἂν ἀποφέρει πάλιν, καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας μὴ τιμήσῃ πλείονος  
μηδὲ ἐλάττονος, ἔπαινος δὲ ὄρκος τε περὶ παντός τοῦ πω-  
λουμένου ἀπέστω· ἐὰν δέ τις ἀπειθῇ τούτοις, ὁ παρα-  
5 τυγχάνων τῶν ἀστών, μὴ ἔλαττον ἢ τριάκοντα γεγονώς ἔτη,  
κολάζων μὲν τὸν ὀμνύντα ἀνατὶ τυπτέτω τις, ἀφροντιστῶν  
δὲ καὶ ἀπειθῶν ἔνοχος ἔστω ψόγῳ προδοσίας τῶν νόμων.  
τὸν δὲ δὴ κιβδηλὸν τι πωλοῦντα, καὶ μὴ δυνάμενον τοῖς  
d νῦν πείθεσθαι λόγοις, ὁ προστυγχάνων τῶν γιγνωσκόντων,  
δυνατὸς ὧν ἐξελέγχειν, ἐναντίον ἐλέγξας τῶν ἀρχόντων,  
ὁ μὲν δοῦλος φερέσθω τὸ κιβδηλευθέν καὶ ὁ μέτοικος, ὁ δὲ  
πολίτης μὴ ἐλέγγων μὲν ὡς ἀποστερῶν τοὺς θεοὺς κακὸς  
5 ἀγορευέσθω, ἐλέγξας δὲ ἀναθέτω τοῖς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔχουσιν  
θεοῖς. ὁ δὲ δὴ φανερός γενόμενός τι πωλῶν τοιοῦτον,  
πρὸς τῷ στερηθῆναι τοῦ κιβδηλευθέντος, ὁπόσης ἂν τιμῆς  
ἀξιώσῃ τὸ πωλούμενον, κατὰ δραχμὴν ἐκάστην τῇ μάστιγι  
e τυπτέσθω πληγὰς ὑπὸ κήρυκος ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ κηρύξαντος ὧν  
ἔνεκα μέλλει τύπτεσθαι. τὰ δὲ κιβδηλεύματά τε καὶ κακουρ-  
γίας τῶν πωλούντων οἳ τε ἀγορανόμοι καὶ οἱ νομοφύλακες  
πυθόμενοι τῶν ἐμπείρων περὶ ἕκαστα, ἀναγραφάντων ἃ τε  
5 χρὴ ποιεῖν τὸν πωλοῦντα καὶ ἃ μὴ, καὶ πρόσθε τοῦ ἀγορα-  
νομίου θέντων ἐν στήλῃ γράψαντες νόμους εἶναι τοῖς περὶ  
918 τὴν τῆς ἀγορᾶς χρεῖαν μηνυτὰς σαφεῖς. τὰ δὲ περὶ τῶν  
ἀστυνόμων ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν ἱκανῶς εἴρηται· ἐὰν δέ τι προσ-  
δεῖν δοκῇ, νομοφύλαξιν ἐπανακοινώσαντες καὶ γράψαντες τὸ  
δοκοῦν ἐλλιπεῖν, εἰς ἀστυνόμιον θέντων ἐν στήλῃ τὰ τε  
5 πρῶτα καὶ τὰ δεύτερα τεθέντα αὐτοῖσιν τῆς ἀρχῆς νόμιμα.

Κιβδήλοισ δ' ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἔπεται κατὰ πόδα καπηλείας  
ἐπιτηδεύματα· ταύτης δὲ πέρι συμπάσης συμβουλὴν πρῶτον  
δόντες καὶ λόγον, ἐπ' αὐτῇ νόμον ὕστερον ἐπιθώμεθα. κα-

πηλεία γὰρ κατὰ πόλιν πᾶσα γέγονεν οὐ βλάβης ἔνεκα τό  
 γε κατὰ φύσιν, πᾶν δὲ τοῦναντίον· πῶς γὰρ οὐκ εὐεργέτης  
 πᾶς ὃς ἂν οὐσίαν χρημάτων ὠντινωοῦν, ἀσύμμετρον οὖσαν  
 καὶ ἀνώμαλον, ὁμαλήν τε καὶ σύμμετρον ἀπεργάζηται· τοῦτο  
 ἡμῖν χρή φάναι καὶ τὴν τοῦ νομίσματος ἀπεργάζεσθαι  
 δύναμιν, καὶ τὸν ἔμπορον ἐπὶ τούτῳ τετάχθαι δεῖ λέγειν.  
 καὶ μισθωτὸς καὶ πανδοκεὺς καὶ ἄλλα, τὰ μὲν εὐσχημονέ-  
 στερα, τὰ δὲ ἀσχημονέστερα γινόμενα, τοῦτό γε πάντα  
 δύναται, πᾶσιν ἐπικουρίαν ταῖς χρεαῖαις ἐξευπορεῖν καὶ ὁμα-  
 λότητα ταῖς οὐσίαις. τί ποτε δὴ τὸ μὴ καλὸν αὐτὸ μὴδ'  
 εὐσχημον δοκεῖν εἶναι, καὶ τί τὸ διαβεβληκὸς τυγχάνει,  
 ἴδωμεν, ἵνα εἰ μὴ καὶ τὸ ὅλον, ἀλλ' οὖν μέρη γε ἐξιασώ-  
 μεθα νόμῳ. πρᾶγμ' ἔσθ', ὥς ἔοικεν, οὐ φαῦλον, οὐδὲ  
 σμικρὰς δεόμενον ἀρετῆς.

ΚΛ. Πῶς λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Ὡ φίλε Κλεινία, σμικρὸν γένος ἀνθρώπων καὶ  
 φύσει ὀλίγον καὶ ἄκρα τροφῇ τεθραμμένον, ὅταν εἰς χρεαῖας  
 τε καὶ ἐπιθυμίας τινῶν ἐμπίπτῃ, καρτερεῖν πρὸς τὸ μέτριον  
 δυνατόν ἐστιν, καὶ ὅταν ἐξῇ χρήματα λαβεῖν πολλά, νήφει  
 καὶ πρότερον αἰρεῖται τοῦ πολλοῦ τὸ τοῦ μέτρου ἐχόμενον·  
 τὰ δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πλήθῃ πᾶν τοῦναντίον ἔχει τούτοις·  
 δεόμενά τε ἀμέτρως δεῖται καὶ ἐξὸν κερδαίνειν τὰ μέτρια,  
 ἀπλήστως αἰρεῖται κερδαίνειν, διὸ πάντα τὰ περὶ τὴν καπη-  
 λείαν καὶ ἐμπορίαν καὶ πανδοκειάν γένη διαβέβληταί τε καὶ  
 ἐν αἰσχροῖς γέγονεν ὀνειδέσιν. ἐπεὶ εἴ τις, ὃ μὴ ποτε  
 γένοιτο οὐδ' ἔσται, προσαναγκάσειεν—γελοῖον μὲν εἰπεῖν,  
 ὅμως <δὲ> εἰρήσεται—πανδοκεῦσαι τοὺς πανταχῇ ἀρίστους  
 ἄνδρας ἐπὶ τινα χρόνον, ἢ καπηλεύειν ἢ τι τῶν τοιούτων  
 πράττειν, ἢ καὶ γυναῖκας ἔκ τινος ἀνάγκης εἰμαρμένης τοῦ  
 τοιούτου μετασχεῖν τρόπου, γνοίημεν ἂν ὥς φίλον καὶ ἀγα-  
 πητόν ἐστιν ἕκαστον τούτων, καὶ εἰ κατὰ λόγον ἀδιάφθορον  
 γίγνοιτο, ἐν μητρὸς ἂν καὶ τροφῶς σχήματι τιμῶτο τὰ  
 τοιαῦτα πάντα· νῦν δὲ ὁπόταν εἰς ἐρήμους τις καπηλείας  
 ἔνεκα τόπους καὶ πανταχόσε μήκη ἔχοντας ὁδῶν ἰδρυσάμενος  
 οἰκῆσεις, ἐν ἀπορίᾳ γιγνομένους καταλύσειν ἀγαπηταῖς  
 δεχόμενος ἢ ὑπὸ χειμῶνων ἀγρίων βία ἐλαυνομένους, εὐ-  
 δεινὴν γαλήνην παρασχὼν ἢ πνίγεσιν ἀναισυχὴν, τὰ μετὰ  
 ταῦτα οὐχ ὥς ἐταίρους δεξάμενος φιλικὰ παράσχη ξένια  
 ἐπόμενα ταῖς ὑπόδοχαῖς, ὥς δ' ἐχθροὺς αἰχμαλώτους κεχει-



ρωμένους ἀπολυτρώσῃ τῶν μακροτάτων καὶ ἀδίκων καὶ ἀκα-  
 θάρτων λύτρων, ταῦτά ἐστιν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐν σύμπασιν  
 τοῖς τοιούτοις [ὀρθῶς] ἁμαρτανόμενα τὰς διαβολὰς τῇ τῆς  
 ἀπορίας ἐπικουρήσει παρεσκευακότα. τούτων οὖν χρή φάρ-  
 μακον αἰεὶ τέμνειν τὸν νομοθέτην. ὀρθὸν μὲν δὴ πάλαι  
 5 τε εἰρημένον ὥς πρὸς δύο μάχεσθαι καὶ ἐναντία χαλεπόν,  
 καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς νόσοις πολλοῖς τε ἄλλοισιν· καὶ δὴ καὶ  
 νῦν ἢ τούτων καὶ περὶ ταῦτα ἐστὶν πρὸς δύο μάχῃ, πενίαν  
 καὶ πλοῦτον, τὸν μὲν ψυχὴν διεφθαρκότα τρυφῇ τῶν ἀνθρώ-  
 10 πων, τὴν δὲ λύπαις προτετραμμένην εἰς ἀναισχυντίαν αὐτήν.  
 τίς οὖν δὴ τῆς νόσου ταύτης ἀρωγὴ γίγνεται· ἂν ἐν νοῦν  
 ἐχούσῃ πόλει; πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι σμικροτάτῳ χρήσθαι κατὰ  
 15 δύναμιν τῷ τῶν καπήλων γένει, ἔπειτα τούτοις τῶν ἀνθρώ-  
 πων προστάττειν ὧν διαφθειρομένων οὐκ ἂν γίγνοιτο μεγάλη  
 λύμη τῇ πόλει, τρίτον δὲ αὐτοῖς τοῖς μετασχοῦσι τούτων  
 τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων εὐρεῖν μηχανὴν ὅπως ἦθῃ μὴ ἀνέδην  
 20 ἀναισχυντίας τε καὶ ἀνελευθέρου ψυχῆς μέτοχα συμβήσεται  
 γίνεσθαι ῥαδίως. μετὰ δὴ τὰ νῦν εἰρημένα, περὶ ταῦτα  
 νόμος ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ τοιόσδε ἡμῖν γιγνέσθω· Μαγνήτων, οὓς  
 25 ὁ θεὸς ἀνορθῶν πάλιν κατοικίζει, γεωμόροι ὅσοι τῶν τετταρά-  
 κοντα καὶ πεντακισχιλίων ἐστίων εἰσιν, μήτε κάπηλος ἐκὼν  
 μηδ' ἄκων μηδεὶς γιγνέσθω μηδ' ἔμπορος μήτε διακονίαν μηδ'  
 30 ἥντινα κεκτημένος ἰδιώταις τοῖς μὴ ἐξ ἴσου ἑαυτῷ, πλὴν  
 πατρὶ καὶ μητρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἔτι τούτων εἰς τὸ ἄνω γένεσιν καὶ  
 πᾶσι τοῖς αὐτοῦ πρεσβυτέροις ὅσοι ἐλεύθεροι ἐλευθέρως.  
 35 τὸ δ' ἐλευθερικὸν καὶ ἀνελευθέρον ἀκριβῶς μὲν οὐ ῥάδιον  
 νομοθετεῖν, κρινέσθω γε μὴν ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ ἀριστεία εἰληφό-  
 40 των τῷ ἐκείνων μίσει τε καὶ ἀσπασμῷ. ὃς δ' ἂν καπηλείας  
 τῆς ἀνελευθέρου τέχνης τινὶ μετὰσχῃ, γραφέσθω μὲν αὐτὸν  
 γένους αἰσχύνης ὁ βουλόμενος πρὸς τοὺς ἀρετῇ πρώτους  
 45 κεκριμένους, εἰ δὲ δόξῃ ἀναξίῳ ἐπιτηδεύματι καταρρυπαί-  
 νειν τὴν αὐτοῦ πατρίαν ἐστίαν, δεθεὶς ἐνιαυτὸν ἀποσχέσθω  
 920 τοῦ τοιούτου, καὶ εἰ ἀνθὶς, ἔτῃ δύο, καὶ ἐφ' ἐκάστης ἀλώ-  
 σεως τοὺς δεσμοὺς μὴ πανέσθω διπλασιάζων [τὸν ἔμπροσθεν  
 χρόνον]. δεύτερος μὲν νόμος· Μέτοικον εἶναι χρεὼν ἢ ξένον,  
 5 ὃς ἂν μέλλῃ καπηλεύσειν· τὸ δὲ τρίτον καὶ τρίτος· Ὅπως  
 ὡς ἄριστος ἢ καὶ κακὸς ὡς ἥκιστα ὁ τοιοῦτος ἡμῖν ἢ σύνοικος  
 ἐν τῇ πόλει, τοὺς νομοφύλακας χρή νοῆσαι φύλακας εἶναι  
 μὴ μόνον ἐκείνων οὓς φυλάττειν ῥάδιον μὴ παρανόμους



καὶ κακοὺς γίνεσθαι, ὅσοι γενέσει καὶ τροφαῖς εὖ πεπαί-  
 δευνται, τοὺς δὲ μὴ τοιούτους ἐπιτηδεύματά τε ἐπιτηδεύοντας b  
 ἃ ῥοπήν ἔχει τινὰ ἰσχυρὰν πρὸς τὸ προτρέπειν κακοὺς  
 γίνεσθαι, φυλακτέον μᾶλλον. ταύτη δὴ τὰ περὶ τὴν  
 καπηλείαν πολλὴν οὖσαν καὶ πολλὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα τοιαῦτα  
 κεκτημένην, ὅσαπερ ἂν αὐτῶν λειφθῇ δόξαντα ἐκ πολλῆς 5  
 ἀνάγκης ἐν τῇ πόλει δεῖν εἶναι, συνελθεῖν αὖ χρεῶν περὶ  
 ταῦτα τοὺς νομοφύλακας μετὰ τῶν ἐμπείρων ἐκάστης καπη-  
 λείας, καθάπερ ἐμπροσθεν ἐπετάξαμεν τῆς κιβδηλείας πέρι, c  
 συγγενοῦς τούτῳ πράγματος, συνελθόντας δὲ ἰδεῖν λήμμά  
 τε καὶ ἀνάλωμα τί ποτε τῷ καπήλῳ κέρδος ποιεῖ τὸ μέτριον,  
 γράψαντας δὲ θεῖναι τὸ γιγνόμενον ἀνάλωμα καὶ λῆμμα  
 καὶ φυλάττειν, τὰ μὲν ἀγορανόμους, τὰ δὲ ἀστυνόμους, τὰ 5  
 δὲ ἀγρονόμους· καὶ σχεδὸν οὕτως ἂν καπηλεία τὰ μὲν ὠφελοῖ  
 ἐκάστους, σμικρότατα δὲ ἂν βλάπτοι τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι  
 χρωμένους.

Ὅσα τις ἂν ὁμολογῶν συνθέσθαι μὴ ποιῇ κατὰ τὰς d  
 ὁμολογίας, πλὴν ὧν ἂν νόμοι ἀπείργωσιν ἢ ψήφισμα, ἢ  
 τινος ὑπὸ ἀδίκου βιασθεῖς ἀνάγκης ὁμολογήσῃ, καὶ ἐὰν  
 ἀπὸ τύχης ἀπροσδοκίτου τις ἄκων κωλυθῇ, δίκας εἶναι τῶν  
 ἄλλων ἀτελοῦς ὁμολογίας ἐν ταῖς φυλετικαῖσιν δίκαις, ἐὰν ἐν 5  
 διαιτηταῖς ἢ γείτοσιν ἐμπροσθεν μὴ δύνωνται διαλλάττεσθαι.  
 Ἡφαίστου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν τὸ τῶν δημιουργῶν γένος, οἱ  
 τὸν βίον ἡμῖν συγκατεσκευάκασιν τέχναις, Ἄρεως δ' αὖ καὶ e  
 Ἀθηνᾶς οἱ τὰ τῶν δημιουργῶν σῶζοντες τέχναισιν ἐτέραις  
 ἀμυντηρίοις ἔργα· δικαίως δὲ καὶ τὸ τούτων γένος ἱερὸν  
 ἐστὶ τούτων τῶν θεῶν. οὗτοι δὴ πάντες χώραν καὶ δῆμον  
 θεραπεύοντες διατελοῦσιν, οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντες τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον 5  
 ἀγώνων, οἱ δὲ ὀργάνων τε καὶ ἔργων ἀποτελοῦντες γενέσιν  
 ἔμμισθον· οἷς δὴ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐ πρόπον ἂν εἶη ψεῦδεσθαι,  
 θεοὺς προγόνους αὐτῶν αἰδουμένους. ἂν δὴ τις δημιουργῶν 921  
 εἰς χρόνον εἰρημένον ἔργον μὴ ἀποτελέσῃ διὰ κάκην, μηδὲν  
 τὸν βιοδότην θεὸν ἐπαιδεσθεῖς, ἡγούμενος ὡς οἰκεῖον συγγνώ-  
 μονα εἶναι θεόν, οὐδὲν τῷ νῶ βλέπων, πρῶτον μὲν δίκην  
 τῷ θεῷ ὑφέξει, δεῦτερον δὲ ἐπόμενος αὐτῷ νόμος κείσθω· 5  
 τὴν τιμὴν τῶν ἔργων ὀφειλέτω ὧν ἂν τὸν ἐκδόντα ψεύσῃται  
 καὶ πάλιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐν τῷ ῥηθέντι χρόνῳ προῖκα ἐξεργα-  
 ζέσθω. καὶ ἀναιρουμένῳ δ' ἔργον συμβουλευτῆς νόμος, ἅπερ  
 τῷ πωλοῦντι συνεβούλευεν, μὴ πλέονος τιμᾶν διαπειρώμενον b

ἀλλ' ὥς ἀπλούστατα τῆς ἀξίας, ταῦτόν δὴ προστάττει καὶ  
 τῷ ἀναιρουμένῳ· γινώσκει γὰρ ὁ γε δημιουργὸς τὴν ἀξίαν.  
 ἐν ἐλευθέρῳ οὖν πόλεσιν οὐ δὴ ποτε χρή τέχνη, σαφεῖ  
 5 τε καὶ ἀψευδεῖ φύσει πράγματι, διαπειρᾶσθαι τῶν ἰδιωτῶν  
 τεχνάζοντα αὐτὸν τὸν δημιουργόν, δίκας δὲ εἶναι τούτων  
 τῷ ἀδικουμένῳ πρὸς τὸν ἀδικούντα. εἰ δέ τις ἐκδοὺς αὐ  
 c δημιουργῷ μὴ ἀποδῷ τοὺς μισθοὺς ὀρθῶς κατὰ τὴν ἔννομον  
 ὁμολογίαν γενομένην, Δία δὲ πολιούχον καὶ Ἀθηνᾶν κοινω-  
 νοὺς πολιτείας ἀτιμάζων, βραχὺ κέρδος ἀγαπῶν, λύη μεγάλας  
 κοινωνίας, νόμος ὁ βοηθῶν ἔστω τῷ τῆς πόλεως συνδέσμῳ  
 5 μετὰ θεῶν· Ὃς γὰρ ἂν προαμειψάμενος ἔργον μισθοὺς μὴ  
 ἀποδιδῷ ἐν χρόνοις τοῖς ὁμολογηθεῖσιν, διπλοῦν πραττέσθω·  
 εἰ δέ ἐνιαυτὸς ἐξέλθῃ, τῶν ἄλλων ἀτόκων ὄντων χρημάτων,  
 d ὅποσα δανεισμῷ συμβάλλει τις, οὗτος τῇ δραχμῇ ἐκάστου  
 μηνὸς ἐπωβελίαν κατατιθέτω, δίκας δὲ εἶναι τούτων ἐν τοῖς  
 κατὰ φυλὰς δικαστηρίοις.

Ὡς δὲ ἐν παρέργῳ περὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον δημιουργῶν  
 5 ὄντων σωτηρίας, στρατηγῶν τε καὶ ὅσοι περὶ ταῦτα τεχνικοί,  
 δίκαιον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τὸ παράπαν ἐμνήσθημεν δημιουργῶν· Ὃς  
 τούτοις αὐ, καθάπερ ἐκείνοις, οἷον ἑτέροις οὖσιν δημιουργοῖς,  
 εἰ δέ τις ἄρα καὶ τούτων ἀνελόμενος δημόσιον ἔργον εἴθ' ἐκὼν  
 e εἴτε προσταχθὲν καλῶς ἐξεργάσῃται, τὰς τιμὰς, οἳ δὲ μισθοὶ  
 πολεμικοῖς ἀνδράσιν εἰσὶν, ἀποδιδῷ δικαίως, ὁ νόμος αὐτὸν  
 ἐπαινῶν οὐποτε καμείνεται· εἰ δέ προαμειψάμενος ἔργον τι  
 τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον καλῶν ἔργων μὴ ἀποδιδῷ, μέμψεται.  
 5 νόμος οὖν οὗτος ἐπαίνῳ περὶ τούτων ἡμῖν μεμειγμένος  
 κείσθω, συμβουλευτικός, οὐ βιαστικός, τῷ πλήθει τῶν πολι-  
 922 τῶν, τιμᾶν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἀνδρας, ὅσοι σωτῆρες τῆς πόλεως  
 εἰσι συμπάσης εἴτε ἀνδρείαις εἴτε πολεμικαῖς μηχαναῖς,  
 δευτέρους· πρώτοις γὰρ τὸ μέγιστον γέρας δεδοσθῶ τοῖς  
 τὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν νομοθετῶν γράμματα τιμᾶν διαφερόντως  
 5 δυνηθείσιν.

Τὰ μὲν δὴ μέγιστα τῶν συμβολαίων, ὅσα πρὸς ἀλλήλους  
 ἀνθρωποὶ συμβάλλουσιν, πλήν γε ὀρφανικῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν  
 ἐπιτρόπων ἐπιμελείας τῶν ὀρφανῶν, σχεδὸν ἡμῖν διατέτακται·  
 b ταῦτα δὲ δὴ μετὰ τὰ νῦν εἰρημένα ἀναγκαῖον ἀμῶς γέ πως  
 τάξασθαι. τούτων δὲ ἀρχαὶ πάντων αἷ τε τῶν τελευτῶν  
 μελλόντων ἐπιθυμία τῆς διαθέσεως αἷ τε τῶν μηδὲν τὸ  
 παράπαν διαθεμένων τύχαι· ἀναγκαῖον δὲ εἶπον, ᾧ Κλεινία,

βλέψας αὐτῶν πέρι πρὸς τε τὸ δύσκολον καὶ χαλεπὸν. οὐδὲ 5  
 γὰρ ἄτακτον δυνατόν ἐστ' αὐτὸ εἶναι· πολλὰ γὰρ ἕκαστοι καὶ  
 διάφορα ἀλλήλων καὶ ἐναντία τιθεῖντ' ἂν τοῖς τε νόμοις  
 καὶ τοῖς τῶν ζώντων ἡθεσιν καὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν  
 πρὶν διατίθεσθαι μέλλειν, εἴ τις ἐξουσίαν δώσει ἀπλῶς οὕτως c  
 κυρίαν εἶναι διαθήκην ἣν ἂν τις διαθήται ὅπως οὖν ἔχων  
 πρὸς τῷ τοῦ βίου τέλει. ἀνοήτως γὰρ δὴ καὶ διατεθρυμμένως  
 τινὰ τρόπον ἔχομεν οἱ πλείστοι, ὅταν ἤδη μέλλειν ἡγώμεθα  
 τελευτᾶν.

5

ΚΛ. Πῶς τοῦτο, ὦ ξένε, λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Χαλεπὸν ἐστ', ὦ Κλεινία, μέλλων ἄνθρωπος τελευ-  
 τήσῃ, καὶ μεστὸν λόγου τοῖς νομοθέταις εὖ μάλα φοβεροῦ  
 καὶ δυσχεροῦς.

ΚΛ. Πῇ;

ΑΘ. Ζητῶν εἶναι κύριος ἀπάντων, εἴωθε μετ' ὀργῆς d  
 λέγειν.

10

ΚΛ. Ποῖα δῆ;

ΑΘ. Δεινὸν γε, ὦ θεοί, φησὶν, εἰ τὰμὰ ἐμοὶ μηδαμῶς  
 ἐξέσται δοῦναί τε ὅτῳ ἂν ἐθέλω καὶ μή, καὶ τῷ μὲν πλείω, 5  
 τῷ δ' ἐλάττονα, τῶν ὁπόσοι περὶ ἐμὲ φαῦλοι καὶ ὅσοι ἀγαθοὶ  
 γεγόνασιν φανερώς, βασανισθέντες ἱκανῶς ἐν νόσοις, οἱ δ'  
 ἐν γήρᾳ καὶ ἄλλαις παντοίαισι τύχαις.

5

ΚΛ. Οὐκοῦν, ὦ ξένε, καλῶς δοκοῦσίν σοι λέγειν;

ΑΘ. Μαλθακοὶ ἔμοιγ', ὦ Κλεινία, δοκοῦσιν οἱ πάλοι e  
 νομοθετοῦντες γεγονέναι καὶ ἐπὶ σμικρὸν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων  
 πραγμάτων βλέποντές τε καὶ διανοοῦμενοι νομοθετεῖν.

ΚΛ. Πῶς λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, ὠγαθέ, φοβούμενοι, τὸν νόμον 5  
 ἐτίθεσαν τὸν ἐξεῖναι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ διατίθεσθαι ἀπλῶς ὅπως ἂν  
 τις ἐθέλῃ τὸ παράπαν, ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ σὺ τοῖς ἐν τῇ σῇ πόλει 923  
 μέλλουσι τελευτᾶν ἀποκρινόμεθα ἐμμελέστερόν πως. ὦ  
 φίλοι, φήσομεν, καὶ ἀτεχνῶς ἐφήμεροι, χαλεπὸν ὑμῖν ἐστὶν  
 γινώσκειν τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν χρήματα καὶ πρὸς γε ὑμᾶς  
 αὐτούς, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ τῆς Πυθίας γράμμα φράζει, τὰ νῦν. 5  
 ἔγωγ' οὖν νομοθέτης ὢν οὐθ' ὑμᾶς ὑμῶν αὐτῶν εἶναι τίθημι  
 οὔτε τὴν οὐσίαν ταύτην, σύμπαντος δὲ τοῦ γένους ὑμῶν τοῦ  
 τε ἔμπροσθεν καὶ τοῦ ἔπειτα ἐσομένου, καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον τῆς  
 πόλεως εἶναι τό τε γένος πᾶν καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν· καὶ οὕτω b  
 τούτων ἐχόντων, οὐκ, εἴαν τις ὑμᾶς θωπεῖαις ὑποδραμῶν ἐν

b



νόσοις ἢ γήρα σαλεύοντας παρὰ τὸ βέλτιστον διατίθεσθαι  
 πείθῃ, συγχωρήσομαι ἐκὼν, ὅτι δὲ τῇ πόλει τε ἄριστον πάσῃ  
 5 καὶ γένει, πρὸς πᾶν τοῦτο βλέπων νομοθετήσω, τὸ ἐνὸς  
 ἐκάστου κατατιθεὶς ἐν μοίραις ἐλάττωσι δικαίως. ὑμεῖς δὲ  
 ἡμῖν ἱλεώ τε καὶ εὐμενεῖς ὄντες πορεύοισθε ἥπερ κατὰ φύσιν  
 νῦν πορεύεσθε τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην· ἡμῖν δὲ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν  
 c ὑμετέρων μελήσει, κηδομένοις ὅτι μάλιστα εἰς δύναμιν, οὐ  
 τῶν μὲν, τῶν δὲ οὐ. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν παραμύθια τε καὶ  
 προοίμια τῶν τε ζώντων, ὦ Κλεινία, καὶ τῶν τελευτώντων  
 ἔστω, νόμος δὲ ὁδε· Ὅς ἂν διαθήκην γράφῃ τὰ αὐτοῦ διατιθέ-  
 5 μενος, παίδων ὧν πατήρ, πρῶτον μὲν τῶν ὑέων κληρονόμον  
 ὃν ἂν ἀξιώσῃ γίνεσθαι γραφέτω, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων παίδων, ὃν  
 ἂν μὲν ἐτέρῳ ποιείσθαι διδῶ δεχομένῳ, γραφέσθω τοῦτο αὐτό·  
 d εἰ δὲ περιγίγνηται τις τῶν ὑέων αὐτῷ μὴ ἐπὶ τινι κλήρῳ  
 πεποιημένος, ὃν κατὰ νόμον ἐλπίς εἰς ἀποικίαν ἐκπεμφθή-  
 σεσθαι, τούτῳ τῶν ἄλλων χρημάτων ἐξέστω τῷ πατρὶ διδόναι  
 ὅσα ἂν ἐθέλῃ, πλην τοῦ πατρῷου κλήρου καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν  
 5 κλῆρον κατασκευῆς πάσης, καὶ εἰς πλείους ὥσιν, πρὸς μέρος  
 ὁ πατήρ ὅπῃ ἂν ἐθέλῃ νεμέτω τὰ περιόντα τοῦ κλήρου. ὅτῳ  
 δ' ἂν τῶν ὑέων ὑπάρχων οἶκος ᾗ, μὴ νέμειν τούτῳ τῶν χρη-  
 μάτων, θυγατρί τε ὡσαύτως, ᾗ μὲν ἂν ἐγγεγνημένος ὡς ἀνὴρ  
 e ἐσόμενος ᾗ, μὴ νέμειν, ᾗ δ' ἂν μή, νέμειν· εἰ δὲ τῷ τῶν  
 ὑέων ἢ καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων φανῇ κλῆρος ἐπιχώριος τῆς  
 διαθήκης γενόμενος ὕστερον, τῷ κληρονόμῳ τοῦ τὴν διαθήκην  
 διαθεμένου καταλειπέτω. εἰ δὲ ἄρρενας μὲν μὴ λείπῃ,  
 5 θηλείας δέ, ὁ διατιθέμενος, ἄνδρα μὲν τῶν θυγατέρων ᾗτινι  
 ἂν ἐθέλῃ, ὅν δὲ αὐτῷ καταλειπέτω, γράψας κληρονόμον·  
 εἰ δὲ ὕος τῷ τελευτήσῃ παῖς ὢν, πρὶν εἰς ἄνδρα δύνατὸς  
 εἶναι τελεῖν, εἴτε γεννητὸς ὢν εἴτε ποιητός, γραφέτω καὶ  
 924 περὶ τῆς τοιαύτης τύχης ὁ τὴν διαθήκην γράφων τίνα χρῆ  
 παῖδα αὐτῷ δευτέρον ἐπὶ τύχαις ἀμείνοσιν γίνεσθαι. εἰ δὲ  
 τις ἄπαις ὢν τὸ παράπαν διαθήκην γράφῃ, τὸ τῆς ἐπι-  
 κτήτου δεκατημόριον ἐξελόμενος, εἰ δὲ ἐθέλῃ τῷ δωρεῖσθαι,  
 5 δωρεῖσθω· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα παραδιδούς πάντα τῷ ποιηθέντι  
 ἄμεμπτος ἵλεων ὅν αὐτὸν ποιείσθω σὺν νόμῳ. ὦ δ' ἂν  
 ἐπιτρόπων οἱ παῖδες δέωνται, εἰ μὲν διαθέμενος τελευτᾷ  
 καὶ γράψῃ ἀπιτρόπους τοῖς παισὶν ἐκόντας τε καὶ ὁμολο-  
 b γοῦντας ἐπιτροπεύσειν οὐστιασοῦν καὶ ὁπόσους ἂν ἐθέλῃ,  
 κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ γραφέντα ἢ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων αἵρεσις γιγνέσθω



κυρία· εἴαν δὲ ἡ τὸ παράπαν μὴ διαθέμενος τελευτήσῃ τις ἡ  
τῆς τῶν ἐπιτρόπων αἰρέσεως ἑλλιπής, ἐπιτρόπους εἶναι τοὺς  
ἐγγύτατα γένει πρὸς πατρός καὶ μητρός κυρίου, δύο μὲν 5  
πρὸς πατρός, δύο δὲ πρὸς μητρός, ἓνα δ' ἐκ τῶν τοῦ τελευτή-  
σαντος φίλων, τοὺτους δ' οἱ νομοφύλακες καθιστάντων τῷ  
δεομένῳ τῶν ὀρφανῶν. καὶ πάσης τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς καὶ τῶν  
ὀρφανῶν πεντεκαίδεκα τῶν νομοφυλάκων οἱ πρεσβύτατοι c  
πάντων ἐπιμελείσθων αἰεὶ κατὰ πρέσβιν καὶ κατὰ τρεῖς διελό-  
μενοι σφᾶς αὐτούς, κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τρεῖς καὶ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν  
ἄλλον ἕτεροι τρεῖς, ἕως ἂν αἱ πέντε περίοδοι γίνωνται κύκλῳ·  
καὶ τοῦτο ἐκλιπέτω μηδέποτε κατὰ δύναμιν. 5

“Ὅς δ' ἂν μηδὲν τὸ παράπαν διαθέμενος ἀποθάνῃ, παῖδας  
μὲν καταλιπὼν δεομένους ἐπιτροπῆς, τῶν αὐτῶν νόμων  
τούτων ἡ χρεία τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ μετεχέτω· θηλείας δὲ ἂν d  
καταλείπῃ τις ἀπροσδοκῆτω τύχῃ χρησάμενος, συγγνώμην  
τῷ τιθέντι τὸν νόμον ἔχέτω, εἴαν τῶν τριῶν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὰ  
δύο ἐπισκοπῶν τὴν ἔκδοσιν τῶν θυγατέρων ποιῆται, πρὸς  
τε τὴν τοῦ γένους ἀγχιστείαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ κλήρου σωτηρίαν, 5  
τὸ δὲ τρίτον, ὅπερ ἂν πατὴρ διασκέψαιτο, ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν  
πολιτῶν βλέπων εἰς ἣν τε καὶ τρόπους τὸν ἐπιτήδειον  
αὐτῷ μὲν ὕόν, νυμφίον δ' εἶναι τῇ θυγατρί, τοῦτο δὲ παρα-  
λείπῃ διὰ τὴν ἀδύνατον σκέψιν. νόμος τοίνυν εἰς δύναμιν e  
ὁδε περὶ τῶν τοιούτων κείσθω· Ἐάν ὁ μὴ διαθέμενος  
θυγατέρας λείπῃ, τοῦδε ἀποθανόντος, ἀδελφὸς ὁμοπάτωρ  
ἢ ἄκληρος ὁμομήτριος ἔχέτω τὴν θυγατέρα καὶ τὸν κλῆρον  
τοῦ τελευτήσαντος· εἴαν δὲ μὴ ἡ ἀδελφός, ἀδελφοῦ δὲ παῖς, 5  
ὡσαύτως, εἴαν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὦσιν· εἴαν δὲ μηδὲ  
εἰς τούτων, ἀδελφῆς δὲ παῖς ἢ, κατὰ ταῦτά· τέταρτος δὲ  
πατὴρ ἀδελφός, πέμπτος δὲ τούτου παῖς, ἕκτος δὲ ἀδελφῆς  
πατὴρ ἕκγονος. ὡσαύτως δὲ τὸ γένος αἰεὶ πορευέσθω κατ'  
ἀγχιστείαν, εἴαν τις παῖδας θηλείας καταλείπῃ, δι' ἀδελφῶν 10  
τε καὶ ἀδελφιδῶν ἐπανιόν, ἔμπροσθε μὲν τῶν ἀρρένων, 925  
ὑστερον δὲ θηλειῶν ἐνὶ γένει. τὴν δὲ τούτων γάμου χρόνον  
συμμετρίαν τε καὶ ἀμετρίαν ὁ δικαστὴς σκοπῶν κρινέτω,  
γυμνοὺς μὲν τοὺς ἄρρενας, γυμνὰς δὲ ὀμφαλοῦ μέχρι θεώ-  
μενος τὰς θηλείας. εἴαν δὲ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἀπορία συγγενῶν 5  
ἢ μέχρι μὲν ἀδελφοῦ υἱδῶν, μέχρι δὲ πάππου παίδων ὡσαύτως,  
τῶν ἄλλων ὄντιν' ἂν ἡ παῖς μετ' ἐπιτρόπων αἰρήται τῶν  
πολιτῶν ἐκούσιον ἐκουσία, κληρονόμος γιγνέσθω τοῦ τελευτή- b

σαντος καὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς νυμφίος. ἔτι δὲ πολλὰ πολλῶν, καὶ πλείων ἀπορία τῶν τοιούτων γίγνεται ἂν ἔστιν ὅτ' ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει· ἂν οὖν δὴ τις ἀπορουμένη τῶν αὐτόθεν ὁρᾷ τινα  
 5 εἰς ἀποικίαν ἀπεσταλμένον, ἥ δὲ κατὰ τοῦν αὐτῇ κληρονόμον ἐκείνον γίγνεσθαι τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς, ἔαν μὲν συγγενὴς ἦ, κατὰ τὴν τάξιν τοῦ νόμου ἐπὶ τὸν κλῆρον πορευέσθω, ἔαν δὲ ἐκτὸς γένους, τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ὄντων ἕξω τῆς συγγενείας, κύριος  
 c ἔστω κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἐπιτρόπων καὶ τῆς παιδὸς τοῦ τελευτήσαντος αἵρεσιν γῆμαι καὶ τὸν κλῆρον ἐπανελθὼν οἴκαδε λαβεῖν τοῦ μὴ διαθεμένου. ἅπαις δὲ ἀρρένων τε καὶ θηλειῶν τὸ παράπαν ὃς ἂν μὴ διαθέμενος τελευτᾷ, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα περὶ  
 5 τοῦ τοιούτου κατὰ τὸν ἔμπροσθεν ἐχέτω νόμον, θήλεια δὲ καὶ ἄρρην οἶον σύννομοι ἴτωσαν ἐκ τοῦ γένους εἰς τὸν ἐξηρημωμένον ἐκάστοτε οἶκον, ὧν ὁ κλῆρος γιγνέσθω κυρίως,  
 d ἀδελφῇ μὲν πρῶτον, ἀδελφοῦ δὲ θυγατρὶ δευτέρα, τρίτῃ δὲ ἔκγονος ἀδελφῆς, τετάρτῃ δὲ πατρὸς ἀδελφῇ, καὶ πέμπτῃ πατρὸς ἀδελφοῦ παῖς, ἕκτη δὲ ἀδελφῆς πατρὸς ἂν εἴη παῖς· συνοικίζειν δὲ ταύτας ἐκείνοις κατ' ἀγχιστείαν καὶ θέμιν,  
 5 ὡς ἔμπροσθεν ἐνομοθετήσαμεν. μὴ δὲ λανθανέτω τὸ τῶν τοιούτων νόμων ἡμᾶς βάρος, ὡς χαλεπῶς ἔστιν ὅτε προστάττει τῷ τοῦ τελευτήσαντος κατὰ γένος οἰκείῳ γαμεῖν τὴν συγγενῇ, μὴ δοκεῖ δὲ σκοπεῖν ἂ μύρια ἐν ἀνθρώποις  
 e ἐμπόδια γίγνεται τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐπιτάγμασιν τοῦ μήτινα ἐθέλειν πείθεσθαι, πρότερον δὲ οὐστinas ὅτιοι ἂν βουληθῆναι παθεῖν, ὁπόταν ἢ σωμάτων νοσήματα καὶ πηρώσεις ἢ διανοίας ἔν τισιν τῶν ἐπιταττομένων γαμεῖν ἢ γαμεῖσθαι  
 5 γίγνηται. τούτων δὲ μηδὲν φροντίζειν τάχ' ἂν ὁ νομοθέτης δόξειεν τισιν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς δοκοῦν. ἔστω τοίνυν εἰρημένον ὑπὲρ τε νομοθέτου καὶ ὑπὲρ νομοθετουμένου σχεδὸν οἶον κοινὸν προοίμιον, συγγνώμην μὲν τῷ νομοθέτῃ τοὺς ἐπιταττομένους δεόμενον ἔχειν, ὅτι τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμελούμενος οὐκ ἂν ποτε  
 10 δύναιτο διοικεῖν ἅμα καὶ τὰς ἰδίας ἐκάστῳ γιγνομένης συμ-  
 926 φοράς, συγγνώμην δ' αὖ καὶ τοῖς νομοθετουμένοις, ὡς τὰ τοῦ νομοθετοῦντος εἰκότως ἐνίοτε οὐ δύνανται προστάγματα τελεῖν, ἂ μὴ γινώσκων προστάττει.

ΚΛ. Τί δὲ τις οὖν, ὦ ξένε, δρῶν πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα  
 5 ἐμμετρότατος ἂν εἴη;

ΑΘ. Διαιτητάς, ὦ Κλεινία, τοῖς τοιούτοις νόμοις καὶ νομοθετουμένοις ἀναγκαῖον αἰρεῖσθαι.

ΚΛ. Πῶς λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Ἔστιν ὅτε πλουσίον πατὺρ ἀδελφιδοῦς τὴν τοῦ  
 θείου θυγατέρα ἐκὼν οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλοι λαμβάνειν, τρυφῶν b  
 καὶ ἐπὶ μείζουσι γάμοις τὴν διάνοιαν ἐπέχων· ἔστιν δ' ὅτε  
 καὶ συμφορὰν τὴν μεγίστην τοῦ νομοθέτου προστάττοντος,  
 ἀπειθεῖν ἀναγκάζοιτ' ἂν τῷ νόμῳ, μαινόμενα κηδεύματα  
 ἀναγκάζοντος λαμβάνειν ἢ δεινὰς ἄλλας σωμάτων ἢ ψυχῶν 5  
 συμφορὰς, ὥς ἀβίωτον ζῆν κεκτημένῳ. ὁ δὲ νῦν λόγος ἡμῖν  
 περὶ τούτων ὅδε νόμος κείσθω· Ἐάν τινες ἄρα περὶ διαθήκης  
 ἐγκαλῶσι τοῖς κειμένοις νόμοις, περὶ τε ἄλλων ὠντινωνοῦν c  
 καὶ δὴ καὶ περὶ γάμων, ἢ μὴν παρόντα καὶ ζῶντα αὐτὸν τὸν  
 νομοθέτην μήποτ' ἂν ἀναγκάσαι πράττειν οὕτω, μηδὲ γῆμαι  
 μηδὲ γήμασθαι, τοὺς νῦν ἀναγκαζομένους ἐκάτερα δρᾶν, ὁ δέ 5  
 τις τῶν οἰκείων ἢ τις ἐπίτροπος φῆ, διαιτητὰς φάναι καὶ  
 πατέρας τοὺς πεντεκαίδεκα τῶν νομοφυλάκων καταλιπεῖν τοῖς  
 ὀρφανοῖς καὶ ὀρφαναῖς τὸν νομοθέτην· πρὸς οὓς ἐπανιόντες  
 διαδικαζέσθων οἱ περὶ τίνος τῶν τοιούτων ἀμφισβητοῦντες, d  
 κύρια τελοῦντες τὰ τούτων δόγματα. ἂν δὲ τῷ μείζων  
 δύναμις ἐπανατίθεται δοκῇ τοῖς νομοφύλαξιν, εἰς τὸ τῶν  
 ἐκκρίτων δικαστῶν δικαστήριον εἰσάγων αὐτοὺς διαδικαζέσθω  
 περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων· τῷ δὲ ἡττηθέντι παρὰ τοῦ 5  
 νομοθέτου ψόγος καὶ ὄνειδος κείσθω, πολλῶν χρημάτων νοῦν  
 κεκτημένῳ ζημία βαρυτέρα.

Νῦν δὲ τοῖς ὀρφανοῖς παισὶ γένεσις οἶον δευτέρα τις  
 γίγνοιτ' ἂν. μετὰ μὲν οὖν τὴν πρώτην ἐκάστοις εἴρηται e  
 τροφαὶ καὶ παιδεύσεις· μετὰ δὲ τὴν δευτέραν, ἔρημον  
 πατέρων γενομένην, μηχανᾶσθαι δεῖ τίνα τρόπον ἢ τῆς  
 ὀρφανίας τύχῃ τοῖς γενομένοις ὀρφανοῖς ὥς ἥκιστα ἔλεον  
 ἔξει τῆς συμφορᾶς. πρῶτον μὲν δὴ [φαμεν] νομοθετεῖν 5  
 αὐτοῖς τοὺς νομοφύλακας ἀντὶ γεννητόρων πατέρας οὐ  
 χείρους, καὶ δὴ καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν <τρεις> ὥς  
 οἰκείων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι προστάττομεν, ἐμμελῇ τούτοις τε  
 αὐτοῖς περὶ τροφῆς ὀρφανῶν προοιμιασάμενοι καὶ τοῖς  
 ἐπιτρόποις. εἷς τινα γὰρ οὖν μοι καιρὸν φαινόμεθα τοὺς 10  
 ἔμπροσθεν λόγους διεξελθεῖν, ὥς ἄρα αἱ τῶν τελευτη- 927  
 σάντων ψυχαὶ δύναμιν ἔχουσιν τινα τελευτήσασαι, ἢ τῶν  
 κατ' ἀνθρώπους πραγμάτων ἐπιμελοῦνται· ταῦτα δὲ ἀληθεῖς  
 μὲν μακροὶ δ' εἰσὶν περιέχοντες λόγοι· πιστεύειν δὲ ταῖς  
 ἄλλαις φήμαις χρεὼν περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, οὕτω πολλαῖσιν καὶ 5



- σφόδρα παλαιαῖς οὔσαις, πιστεύειν δ' αὖ καὶ τοῖς νομοθε-  
 τοῦσιν ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχειν, ἄνπερ μὴ παντάπασιν ἄφρονες  
 φαίνωνται. ταύτῃ δὲ εἰ ταῦτ' ἐστὶν κατὰ φύσιν, πρῶτον  
 b μὲν τοὺς ἄνω θεοὺς φοβεῖσθων, οἱ τῶν ὀρφανῶν τῆς ἐρημίας  
 αἰσθήσεις ἔχουσιν, εἴτα τὰς τῶν κεκμηκότων ψυχάς, αἷς ἐστὶν  
 ἐν τῇ φύσει τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκγόνων κήδεσθαι διαφερόντως καὶ  
 5 τιμῶσιν τε αὐτοὺς εὐμενεῖς εἶναι καὶ ἀτιμάζουσιν δυσμενεῖς,  
 ἔτι δὲ τὰς τῶν ζώντων μέν, ἐν γῇρ' αὖ δὲ ὄντων καὶ ἐν μεγί-  
 σταις τιμαῖς, ὅπου περ πόλις εὐνομοῦσα εὐδαιμονεῖ, τούτους  
 οἱ παῖδες παίδων φιλοστοργοῦντες ζῶσι μεθ' ἡδονῆς· καὶ τὰ  
 c περὶ ταῦτα ὁξὺ μὲν ἀκούουσιν βλέπουσιν τε ὁξὺ, τοῖς τε  
 αὖ τοῖς εἰς ὀρφανὰ καὶ ἔρημα ὑβρίζουσιν, παρακαταθήκη  
 εἶναι μεγίστην ἡγούμενοι καὶ ἱερωτάτην. οἷς ἐπίτροπον καὶ  
 ἄρχοντα πᾶσι δεῖ τὸν νοῦν, ᾧ καὶ βραχὺς ἐνείη, προσέχοντα,  
 5 καὶ εὐλαβούμενον περὶ τροφήν τε καὶ παιδείαν ὀρφανῶν, ὥς  
 ἔρανον εἰσφέροντα ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ, κατὰ δύναμιν  
 πάντως πᾶσαν εὐεργετεῖν. ὁ μὲν δὴ πεισθεὶς τῷ πρὸ τοῦ  
 νόμου μύθῳ καὶ μηδὲν εἰς ὀρφανὸν ὑβρίσας οὐκ εἴσεται  
 d ἐναργῶς τὴν περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὀργὴν νομοθέτου, ὁ δὲ ἀπειθής  
 καὶ τινα πατρός ἢ μητρὸς ἔρημον ἀδικῶν διπλὴν τινέτω  
 πᾶσαν τὴν βλάβην ἢ περὶ τὸν ἀμφιβαλῇ γενόμενος κακός.  
 τὴν δὲ ἄλλην νομοθεσίαν ἐπιτρόποισιν τε περὶ ὀρφανούς  
 5 ἄρχουσιν τε περὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν ἐπιτρόπων, εἰ μὲν μὴ  
 παράδειγμά τε τροφῆς παίδων ἐλευθέρων ἐκέκτηντο αὐτοὶ  
 τρέφοντες τοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν οἰκείων χρημάτων ἐπιμελού-  
 e μενοι, ἔτι δὲ νόμους περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων μετρίως διειρημένους  
 εἶχον, εἶχέν τινα λόγον ἂν ἐπιτροπικούς τινας νόμους, ὥς  
 ὄντας ἰδίᾳ διαφέροντας πολὺ, τιθέναι, ποικίλλοντας ἐπιτηδεύ-  
 μασιν ἰδίῳ τὸν τῶν ὀρφανῶν βίον παρὰ τὸν τῶν μὴ· νῦν  
 5 δὲ εἰς μὲν τὰ τοιαῦτα σύμπαντα οὐ πολὺ διαφέρουν ἢ παρ'  
 ἡμῖν ὀρφανία κέκτηται τῆς πατρονομικῆς, τιμαῖς δὲ καὶ  
 ἀτιμίαις ἅμα καὶ ἐπιμελείαισιν οὐδαμῶς ἐξισοῦσθαι φιλεῖ.  
 928 διὸ δὴ περὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸ τὴν ὀρφανῶν πέρι νομοθεσίαν παρα-  
 μυθούμενός τε καὶ ἀπειλῶν ὁ νόμος ἐσπούδακεν. ἔτι δ'  
 ἀπειλή τις ἂν τοιάδε εἴη μάλα ἔγκαιρος· Ὅς ἂν θῆλυν εἴτε  
 ἄρρενα ἐπιτροπεύῃ, καὶ ὅς ἂν ἐπιτρόπου φύλαξ τῶν νομοφυ-  
 5 λάκων καταστὰς ἐπιμελῇται, μὴ χεῖρον ἀγαπάτω τῶν αὐτοῦ  
 τέκνων τὸν τῆς ὀρφανικῆς μετεिल्φότα τύχης, μηδὲ τῶν



οἰκείων τῶν τοῦ τρεφομένου χεῖρον χρημάτων ἐπιμελείσθω, βέλτιον δὲ [ἢ τῶν αὐτοῦ] κατὰ προθυμίαν. ἓνα δὲ τοῦτον νόμον ἔχων ὀρφανῶν περί πᾶς ἐπιτροπενέτω· ἐὰν δὲ ἄλλως τις περί τὰ τοιαῦτα πράττῃ παρὰ τὸν νόμον τόνδε, ὁ μὲν ἄρχων ζημιούτω τὸν ἐπίτροπον, ὁ δὲ ἐπίτροπος τὸν ἄρχοντα εἰς τὸ τῶν ἐκκρίτων δικαστήριον εἰσάγων ζημιούτω τῷ δόξαντι τιμῇματι τῷ δικαστηρίῳ διπλῇ. ἐὰν δ' ἐπίτροπος ἀμελεῖν ἢ κακουργεῖν δοκῇ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἢ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινὶ πολιτῶν, εἰς ταῦτόν ἀγέτω δικαστήριον· ὅτι δ' ἂν ὄφλη, τετραπλασίαν μὲν τούτου τίνειν, γιγνέσθω δὲ τὸ μὲν ἡμισυ τοῦ παιδός, τὸ δ' ἡμισυ τοῦ καταδικασαμένου τὴν δίκην. ἄμα δ' ἂν ἡβήσῃ τις τῶν ὀρφανῶν, ἐὰν ἡγῆται κακῶς ἐπιτροπενθῆναι, μέχρι πέντε ἐτῶν ἐξηκούσης τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς ἔστω δίκην λαχεῖν ἐπιτροπίας· ἐὰν δέ τις ὄφλη τῶν ἐπιτρόπων, τιμᾶν τὸ δικαστήριον ὅτι χρή παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτίνειν, ἐὰν δὲ δὴ τῶν ἀρχόντων, ἀμελείᾳ μὲν δόξας κακῶσαι τὸν ὀρφανόν, ὅτι χρή τίνειν αὐτόν τῷ παιδί, τιμάτω τὸ δικαστήριον, ἐὰν δὲ ἀδικία, πρὸς τῷ τιμῇματι, τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν νομοφυλάκων ἀφιστάσθω, τὸ δὲ κοινὸν τῆς πόλεως ἕτερον νομοφύλακα ἀντὶ τούτου καθιστάτω τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ τῇ πόλει.

Διαφοραὶ πατέρων τε πρὸς αὐτῶν παῖδας γίνονται καὶ παιδῶν πρὸς γεννητὰς μείζους ἢ χρεῶν, ἐν αἷς οἱ τε πατέρες ἡγοῦντ' ἂν δεῖν τὸν νομοθέτην νομοθετεῖν ἐξεῖναί σφισιν, ἐὰν βούλωνται, τὸν ὅν ὑπὸ κήρυκος ἐναντίον ἀπάντων ἀπειπεῖν ὅν κατὰ νόμον μηκέτ' εἶναι, ὑεῖς τ' αὐτὸ σφίσι πατέρας ὑπὸ νόσων ἢ γήρως διατιθεμένους αἰσχυρῶς ἐξεῖναι παρανοίας γράφεσθαι· ταῦτα δὲ ὄντως ἐν παγκάκων ἡθесιν ἀνθρώπων γίνεσθαι φιλεῖ, ἐπεὶ ἡμίσεών γε ὄντων τῶν κακῶν, οἷον μὴ κακοῦ μὲν πατρός, ὑεός δέ, ἢ τοῦναντίον, οὐ γίνονται συμφοραὶ τηλικαύτης ἔχθρας ἔκγονοι. ἐν μὲν οὖν ἄλλῃ πολιτείᾳ παῖς ἀποκεκηρυγμένος οὐκ ἂν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀπολις εἴη, ταύτης δέ, ἧς οἶδε οἱ νόμοι ἔσονται, ἀναγκαίως ἔχει εἰς ἄλλην χώραν ἐξοικίζεσθαι τὸν ἀπάτορα—πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς τετταράκοντα καὶ πεντακισχιλίοις οἴκοις οὐκ ἔστιν ἓνα προσγενέσθαι—διὸ δὴ δεῖ τὸν ταῦτα πεισόμενον ἐν δίκῃ μὴ ὑπὸ ἐνὸς πατρός, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ γένους ἀπορρηθῆναι παντός. ποιεῖν δὲ χρή τῶν τοιούτων περί κατὰ νόμον τοιόνδε τινά· “Ὅν ἂν θυμὸς ἐπὶ μηδαμῶς εὐτυχῆς, εἴτ' οὖν ἐν δίκῃ εἴτε καὶ μὴ, ὃν ἔτεκέ τε καὶ ἐξεθρέψατο, τοῦτον ἐπιθυμεῖν ἀπαλ-

- λάξαι τῆς αὐτοῦ συγγενείας, μὴ φαύλως οὕτως ἐξέστω μηδ'  
 b εὐθὺς τοῦτο δρᾶν, πρῶτον δὲ συλλεξάτω τοὺς αὐτοῦ συγγενεῖς  
 μέχρι ἀνεψιῶν καὶ τοὺς τοῦ υἱοῦ ὡσαύτως τοὺς πρὸς μητρός,  
 κατηγορεῖται δὲ ἐν τούτοις, διδάσκων ὡς ἄξιος ἅπασιν ἐκ τοῦ  
 γένους ἐκκεκηρῦχθαι, δότω δὲ καὶ τῷ υἱεὶ λόγους τοὺς ἴσους  
 5 ὡς οὐκ ἄξιός ἐστι τούτων οὐδὲν πᾶσχειν· καὶ ἐὰν μὲν πείθῃ  
 ὁ πατήρ καὶ συμψήφους λάβῃ πάντων τῶν συγγενῶν ὑπὲρ  
 ἡμῖν, πλὴν πατρός διαψηφίζομένων καὶ μητρός καὶ τοῦ  
 c φεύγοντος, τῶν τε ἄλλων ὅποσοι περ ἂν ὦσιν γυναικῶν εἴτε  
 ἀνδρῶν <μῇ> τέλειοι, ταύτῃ μὲν καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐξέστω τῷ  
 πατρὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἀποκηρύττειν, ἄλλως δὲ μηδαμῶς. τὸν δ'  
 ἀποκηρυχθέντα ἐὰν τις τῶν πολιτῶν υἱὸν βούληται θέσθαι,  
 5 μηδεὶς νόμος ἀπειργέτω ποιεῖσθαι—τὰ γὰρ τῶν νέων ἦθη  
 πολλὰς μεταβολὰς ἐν τῷ βίῳ μεταβάλλειν ἐκάστοτε πέφυκεν  
 —ἀποκηρυχθέντα δὲ ἂν τις δέκα ἐτῶν μὴ ἐπιθυμήσῃ θετὸν  
 d υἱὸν ποιήσασθαι, τοὺς τῶν ἐπιγόνων ἐπιμελητὰς τῶν εἰς τὴν  
 ἀποικίαν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ τούτων, ὅπως ἂν μετάσχωσι τῆς  
 αὐτῆς ἀποικίας ἐμμελῶς. ἐὰν δὲ τίς τινα νόσος ἢ γῆρας  
 ἢ καὶ τρόπων χαλεπότης ἢ καὶ σύμπαντα ταῦτα ἐκφρονα  
 5 ἀπεργάζεται διαφερόντως τῶν πολλῶν, καὶ λανθάνῃ τοὺς  
 ἄλλους πλὴν τῶν συνδιαιτωμένων, οἰκοφθορῇ δὲ ὡς ὦν τῶν  
 αὐτοῦ κύριος, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς ἀπορῇ καὶ ὀκνῇ τὴν τῆς παρανοίας  
 e γράφεσθαι δίκην, νόμος αὐτῷ κείσθω πρῶτον μὲν πρὸς τοὺς  
 πρεσβυτάτους τῶν νομοφυλάκων ἐλθόντα διηγῆσασθαι τὴν  
 τοῦ πατρὸς συμφορὰν, οἱ δὲ κατιδόντες ἱκανῶς συμβου-  
 λευόντων ἐὰν τε δέῃ γράφεσθαι καὶ ἐὰν μὴ τὴν γραφήν, ἐὰν  
 5 δὲ συμβουλευσώσιν, γιγνέσθωσαν τῷ γραφομένῳ μάρτυρες  
 ἅμα καὶ σύνδικοι· ὁ δὲ ὀφλὼν τοῦ λοιποῦ χρόνου ἄκυρος ἔστω  
 τῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ σμικρότατον διατίθεσθαι, καθάπερ παῖς δὲ  
 οἰκείῳ τὸν ἐπίλοιπον βίον.  
 Ἐὰν δὲ ἀνὴρ καὶ γυνὴ μηδαμῇ συμφέρωνται τρόπων  
 10 ἀτυχία χρώμενοι, δέκα μὲν ἄνδρας τῶν νομοφυλάκων ἐπι-  
 930 μελεῖσθαι τῶν τοιούτων αἰεὶ χρεὼν τοὺς μέσους, δέκα δὲ τῶν  
 περὶ γάμους γυναικῶν ὡσαύτως· καὶ ἐὰν μὲν δὴ συναλλάττειν  
 δύνωνται, ταῦτ' ἔστω κύρια, ἐὰν δ' αἱ ψυχαὶ κυμαίνωσιν  
 μειζόνως αὐτῶν, ζητεῖν κατὰ δύναμιν οἵτινες ἐκατέρῳ συνοί-  
 5 σουσιν. εἰκὸς δὲ εἶναι τοὺς τοιούτους μὴ πράεσιν ἤθεσιν  
 κεκρημένους· βαθύτερα δὲ τούτοις καὶ πραότερα τρόπων ἦθη  
 σύννομα πειράσθαι προσαρμόττειν. καὶ ὅσοι μὲν ἂν ἄπαιδες

αὐτῶν ἢ ὀλιγόπαιδες ὄντες διαφέρωνται, καὶ παίδων ἕνεκα  
 τὴν συνοίκησιν ποιεῖσθαι· ὅσοι δ' ἂν ἱκανῶν ὄντων παίδων, b  
 τῆς συγκαταγῆρας ἕνεκα καὶ ἐπιμελείας ἀλλήλων τὴν  
 διάζευξίν τε καὶ σύζευξιν ποιεῖσθαι χρεών. ἐὰν δὲ τελευτᾷ  
 γυνὴ καταλείπουσα παῖδας θηλείας τε καὶ ἄρρενας, συμβου-  
 λευτικός ἂν εἴη νόμος ὁ τιθέμενος, οὐκ ἀναγκαστικός, τρέφειν 5  
 τοὺς ὄντας παῖδας μὴ μητρὸν ἐπαγόμενον· μὴ δὲ ὄντων, ἐξ  
 ἀνάγκης γαμεῖν, μέχρι περ ἂν ἱκανοὺς γεννήσῃ παῖδας τῷ  
 τε οἴκῳ καὶ τῇ πόλει. ἦν δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀποθάνῃ παῖδας ἱκανοὺς c  
 λιπών, ἢ μήτηρ τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ μένουσα τρεφέτω· νεωτέρα  
 δ' ἂν δοκῇ τοῦ δέοντος εἶναι πρὸς τὸ ζῆν αὐτῷ ὑγιαίνουσα  
 ἄνθρωπος, οἱ προσήκοντες πρὸς τὰς τῶν γάμων ἐπιμελου-  
 μένας γυναῖκας κοινούμενοι, τὸ δοκοῦν αὐτοῖς τε καὶ ἐκείναις 5  
 περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ποιούντων, ἐὰν δὲ ἐνδεεῖς τέκνων ᾖσιν,  
 καὶ παίδων ἕνεκα, παίδων δὲ ἱκανότης ἀκριβὴς ἄρρην καὶ  
 θήλειαν ἔστω τῷ νόμῳ. ὅταν δὲ ὁμολογῇται μὲν τὸ γενό- d  
 μενον εἶναι τῶν ποιουμένων ἔκγονον, δέχεται δὲ κρίσεως τί-  
 νι τὸ γεννηθὲν ἔπεσθαι χρεών, δούλῃ μὲν ἐὰν συμμείξῃ δούλῳ  
 ἢ ἐλευθέρῳ ἢ ἀπελευθέρῳ, πάντως τοῦ δεσπότου ἔστω τῆς  
 δούλης τὸ γεννώμενον, ἐὰν δὲ τις ἐλευθέρῳ δούλῳ συγ- 5  
 γίγνηται, τοῦ δεσπότου ἔστω τὸ γιγνόμενον [τοῦ δούλου].  
 ἐὰν δ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ δούλης ἢ ἐκ δούλου εἰαυτῆς, καὶ περιφανὲς  
 τοῦτ' ᾦ, τὸ μὲν τῆς γυναικὸς αἰ γυναῖκες εἰς ἄλλην χώραν  
 ἐκπεμπόντων σὺν τῷ πατρί, τὸ δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οἱ νομοφύλακες e  
 σὺν τῇ γεννησάσῃ.

Γονέων δὲ ἀμελεῖν οὔτε θεὸς οὔτε ἄνθρωπος νοῦν ἔχων  
 σύμβουλός ποτε γένοιτ' ἂν οὐδεὶς οὐδενί· φρονῆσαι δὲ χρὴ  
 περὶ θεῶν θεραπείας τοιόνδε προοίμιον ἂν γενόμενον εἰς τὰς 5  
 τῶν γεννησάντων τιμὰς τε καὶ ἀτιμίας ὀρθῶς συντεταγμένον·  
 Νόμοι περὶ θεοὺς ἀρχαῖοι κεῖνται πᾶσιν διχῇ. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ  
 τῶν θεῶν ὀρῶντες σαφῶς τιμῶμεν, τῶν δ' εἰκόνας ἀγάλματα 931  
 ἰδρυσάμενοι, οὓς ἡμῖν ἀγάλλουσι καί περ ἀψύχους ὄντας, ἐκεί-  
 νους ἡγοῦμεθα τοὺς ἐμψύχους θεοὺς πολλὴν διὰ ταῦτ' εὖνοϊαν  
 καὶ χάριν ἔχειν. πατὴρ οὖν ὅτῳ καὶ μήτηρ ἢ τούτων πατέρες  
 ἢ μητέρες ἐν οἰκίᾳ κεῖνται κειμήλιοι ἀπειρηκότες γῆρα, μηδεὶς 5  
 διανοηθῆτω ποτὲ ἄγαλμα αὐτῷ, τοιοῦτον ἐφέστιον ἱδρυμα  
 [ἐν οἰκίᾳ] ἔχων, μᾶλλον κύριον ἔσεσθαι, ἐὰν δὴ κατὰ τρόπον  
 γε ὀρθῶς αὐτὸ θεραπεύῃ ὁ κεκτημένος.

ΚΛ. Τίνα δὴ τὴν ὀρθότητα εἶναι φράξεις;



ΑΘ. Ἐγὼ ἐρῶ· καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἄξιον, ὦ φίλοι, ἀκούειν τά γε δὴ τοιαῦτα.

ΚΛ. Λέγε μόνον.

- 5 ΑΘ. Οἰδίπους, φάμεν, ἀτιμασθεὶς ἐπηύξατο τοῖς αὐτοῦ τέκνοις ἃ δὴ καὶ πᾶς ὕμνεῖ τέλεα καὶ ἐπήκοα γενέσθαι παρὰ θεῶν, Ἀμύντορά τε Φοίνικι τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπαρᾶσθαι παιδὶ θυμωθέντα καὶ Ἱππολύτῳ Θησέα καὶ ἑτέρους ἄλλοις μυρίους  
c μυρίοις, ὧν γέγονε σαφές ἐπηκόους εἶναι γονεῦσι πρὸς τέκνα θεοῦς· ἀραίος γὰρ γονεὺς ἐκγόνοις ὥς οὐδεὶς ἕτερος ἄλλοις, δικαιοτάτα. μὴ δὴ τις ἀτιμαζομένῳ μὲν διαφερόντως πατρὶ πρὸς παίδων καὶ μητρὶ θεὸν ἐπήκοον ἐν εὐχαῖς ἡγείσθω  
5 γίγνεσθαι κατὰ φύσιν, τιμωμένῳ δὲ ἄρα καὶ περιχαρεῖ σφόδρα γενομένῳ, καὶ διὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα εὐχαῖς λιπαρῶς εἰς ἀγαθὰ τοῖς παισὶ παρακαλοῦντος θεοῦς, οὐκ ἄρα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀκούειν ἐξ  
d ἴσου καὶ νέμειν ἡμῖν αὐτοὺς ἡγησόμεθα; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ποτε δίκαιοι νομῆς εἶεν ἀγαθῶν, ὃ δὴ φάμεν ἥκιστα θεοῖς εἶναι πρέπον.

ΚΛ. Πολύ γε.

- 5 ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν διανοηθῶμεν, ὃ σμικρῷ πρότερον εἵπομεν, ὥς οὐδὲν πρὸς θεῶν τιμιώτερον ἄγαλμ' ἂν κητσαίμεθα πατρὸς καὶ προπάτορος παρειμένων γήρα καὶ μητέρων τὴν αὐτὴν δύναμιν ἔχουσῶν, οὓς ὅταν ἀγάλλῃ τις τιμαῖς, γέγηθεν ὁ θεός· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐπήκοος ἦν αὐτῶν. θαυμαστὸν γὰρ δήπου  
e τὸ προγόνων ἴδρυμα ἡμῖν ἐστίν, διαφερόντως τῶν ἀψύχων· τὰ μὲν γὰρ θεραπευόμενα ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ὅσα ἔμψυχα, συνεύχεται ἐκάστοτε, καὶ ἀτιμαζόμενα τάναντία, τὰ δ' οὐδέτερα, ὥστε ἂν ὀρθῶς τις χρῆται πατρὶ καὶ προπάτορι καὶ πᾶσι  
5 τοῖς τοιούτοις, πάντων πρὸς θεοφιλῇ μοῖραν κυριώτατα ἀγαλμάτων ἂν κεκτῇτο.

ΚΛ. Κάλλιστ' εἶπες.

- 932 ΑΘ. Πᾶς δὴ νοῦν ἔχων φοβεῖται καὶ τιμᾷ γονέων εὐχάς, εἰδὼς πολλοῖς καὶ πολλάκις ἐπιτελεῖς γενομένης· τούτων οὖν οὕτω φύσει διατεταγμένων, τοῖς μὲν ἀγαθοῖς ἔρμαιον πρόγονοι γηραιοί, ζῶντες μέχρι τῶν ἐσχάτων τοῦ βίου, καὶ ἀπιόντες νέοις σφόδρα ποθεινοί, τοῖς δὲ κακοῖς εὖ μάλα φοβεροί. πᾶς δὴ τιμάτω πάσαις τιμαῖς ταῖς ἐννόμοις τοὺς  
5 αὐτοῦ γεννήτορας τοῖς νῦν πεισθεὶς λόγοις· εἰ δ' οὖν τινα κατέχοι φήμη κωφῶν τῶν τοιούτων προοιμίων, νόμος ὃδε ἐπὶ τούτοις ὀρθῶς κείμενος ἂν εἴη· Ἐάν τις ἐν τῇδε τῇ πόλει



γονέων ἀμελέστερον ἔχη τοῦ δέοντος, καὶ μὴ τῶν υἱέων καὶ  
 πάντων τῶν ἐκγόνων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἑαυτοῦ μειζόνως εἰς ἅπαντα b  
 ἐπιτρέπων καὶ ἀποπληρῶν ἢ τὰς βουλήσεις, ἐξαγγελλέτω  
 μὲν ὁ πάσχων τι τοιοῦτον, εἴτε αὐτὸς εἴτε τινὰ πέμπων,  
 πρὸς τρεῖς μὲν τῶν νομοφυλάκων τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους, τρεῖς  
 δ' αὖ τῶν περὶ γάμους γυναικῶν ἐπιμελουμένων· οἱ δ' ἐπι- 5  
 μελείσθωσαν, κολάζοντες τοὺς ἀδικούντας νέους μὲν ὄντας  
 ἔτι πληγαῖς καὶ δεσμοῖς, μέχρι περ ἂν ἐτῶν ἄνδρες μὲν  
 τυγχάνωσιν ὄντες τριάκοντα, γυναῖκες δὲ δέκα πλείουςιν c  
 ἔτεσιν κολαζέσθωσαν ταῖς αὐταῖς κολάσεσιν. ἐὰν δὲ πορ-  
 ρωτέρω τούτων τῶν ἐτῶν ὄντες τῶν αὐτῶν ἀμελειῶν περὶ  
 γονέας μὴ ἀφιστῶνται, κακῶσι δὲ τινάς τινες, εἰς δικαστή-  
 ριον εἰσαγόντων αὐτοὺς εἰς ἓνα καὶ ἑκατὸν τῶν πολιτῶν, 5  
 οὔτινες ἂν ὦσι πρεσβύτατοι ἀπάντων· ἂν δέ τις ὄφλη,  
 τιμάτω τὸ δικαστήριον ὅτι χρή τίνειν ἢ πάσχειν, ἀπόρρητον  
 μηδὲν ποιούμενοι ὅσων δυνατὸς ἄνθρωπος πάσχειν ἢ τίνειν.  
 ἐὰν δὲ τις ἀδυνατῇ κακούμενος φράζειν, ὁ πυθόμενος τῶν d  
 ἐλευθέρων ἐξαγγελλέτω τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἢ κακὸς ἔστω καὶ  
 ὑπόδικος τῷ ἐθέλοντι βλάβης. ἐὰν δὲ δοῦλος μηνύσῃ, ἐλεύ-  
 θερος ἔστω, καὶ ἐὰν μὲν τῶν κακούντων ἢ κακουμένων  
 δοῦλος, ὑπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀφείσθω, ἐὰν δὲ τινος ἄλλου τῶν 5  
 πολιτῶν, τὸ δημόσιον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τιμὴν τῷ κεκτημένῳ  
 καταβαλλέτω· τοῖς ἄρχουσιν δὲ ἐπιμελὲς ἔστω μὴ τις ἀδικῇ  
 τὸν τοιοῦτον τιμωρούμενος τῆς μηνύσεως ἕνεκα.

“Ὅσα τις ἄλλος ἄλλον πημαίνει φαρμάκοις, τὰ μὲν θανά- e  
 σμα αὐτῶν διείρηται, τῶν δ' ἄλλων πέρι βλάβειων, εἴτε  
 τις ἄρα πώμασιν ἢ καὶ βρώμασιν ἢ ἀλείμμασιν ἐκὼν ἐκ  
 προνοίας πημαίνει, τούτων οὐδὲν πω διερρήθη. διτταὶ γὰρ  
 δὴ φαρμακεῖται κατὰ τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὔσαι γένος ἐπί- 5  
 σχουσιν τὴν διάρρησιν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ τὰ νῦν διαρρήδην  
 εἴπομεν, σώμασι σώματα κακουργοῦσά ἐστιν κατὰ φύσιν· 933  
 ἄλλη δὲ ἡ μαγγανείαις τέ τισιν καὶ ἐπωδαῖς καὶ καταδέσει  
 λεγομέναις πείθει τοὺς μὲν τολμῶντας βλάπτειν αὐτούς,  
 ὥς δύνανται τὸ τοιοῦτον, τοὺς δ' ὥς παντὸς μᾶλλον ὑπὸ  
 τούτων δυναμένων γοητεύειν βλάπτονται. ταῦτ' οὖν καὶ 5  
 περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα σύμπαντα οὔτε ῥάδιον ὅπως ποτὲ πέφυκεν  
 γινώσκειν, οὔτ' εἴ τις γνοίῃ, πείθειν εὐπετές ἐτέρους· ταῖς  
 δὲ ψυχαῖς [τῶν ἀνθρώπων] δυσωπουμένους πρὸς ἀλλήλους  
 περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐκ ἄξιον ἐπιχειρεῖν πείθειν, ἂν ποτε ἄρα b

ἴδωσί που κήρινα μιμήματα πεπλασμένα, εἴτ' ἐπὶ θύραις  
 εἴτ' ἐπὶ τριόδοις εἴτ' ἐπὶ μνήμασι γονέων αὐτῶν τινες,  
 ὀλιγωρεῖν πάντων τῶν τοιούτων διακελεύεσθαι μὴ σαφές  
 5 ἔχουσι δόγμα περὶ αὐτῶν. διαλαβόντας δὲ διχῇ τὸν τῆς  
 φαρμακείας πέρι νόμον, ὁποτέρως ἂν τις ἐπιχειρῇ φαρμάτ-  
 τειν, πρῶτον μὲν δεῖσθαι καὶ παραινεῖν καὶ συμβουλευεῖν  
 c μὴ δεῖν ἐπιχειρεῖν τοιοῦτο δρᾶν μηδὲ καθάπερ παῖδας τοὺς  
 πολλοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων δειματοῦντας φοβεῖν, μηδ' αὖ τὸν  
 νομοθέτην τε καὶ τὸν δικαστὴν ἀναγκάζειν ἐξιᾶσθαι τῶν  
 ἀνθρώπων τοὺς τοιούτους φόβους, ὥς πρῶτον μὲν τὸν ἐπι-  
 5 χειροῦντα φαρμάττειν οὐκ εἰδότα τί δρᾷ, τά τε κατὰ σώματα,  
 ἔαν μὴ τυγχάνῃ ἐπιστήμων ὦν ἱατρικῆς, τά τε αὖ περὶ τὰ  
 μαγγανεύματα, ἔαν μὴ μάντις ἢ τερατοσκόπος ὦν τυγχάνῃ.  
 d λεγέσθω δὴ λόγος ὅδε νόμος περὶ φαρμακείας. Ὅς ἂν φαρ-  
 μακεύῃ τινὰ ἐπὶ βλάβῃ μὴ θανασίμῳ μήτε αὐτοῦ μήτε  
 ἀνθρώπων ἐκείνου, βοσκημάτων δὲ ἢ σμηνῶν εἴτ' ἄλλη  
 βλάβῃ εἴτ' οὖν θανασίμῳ, ἔαν μὲν ἱατρὸς ὦν τυγχάνῃ καὶ  
 5 ὄφλῃ δίκην φαρμάκων, θανάτῳ ζημιούσθω, ἔαν δὲ ἰδιώτης,  
 ὅτι χρὴ παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτεῖσαι τιμάτῳ περὶ αὐτοῦ τὸ δικαστή-  
 ριον. ἔαν δὲ καταδέσσειν ἢ ἐπαγωγαῖς ἢ τισιν ἐπωδαῖς ἢ  
 e τῶν τοιούτων φαρμακειῶν ὠντινωοῦν δόξῃ ὁμοῖος εἶναι  
 βλάπτοντι, ἔαν μὲν μάντις ὦν ἢ τερατοσκόπος, τεθνάτῳ,  
 ἔαν δ' ἄνευ μαντικῆς ὦν τῆς φαρμακείας ὄφλῃ, ταῦτόν καὶ  
 τούτῳ γιγνέσθω· περὶ γὰρ αὖ καὶ τούτου τιμάτῳ τὸ δικα-  
 5 στήριον ὅτι ἂν αὐτοῖς δεῖν αὐτὸν δόξῃ πάσχειν ἢ ἀποτίνειν.  
 Ὅσα τις ἂν ἕτερον ἄλλον πημήνῃ κλέπτων ἢ βιαζόμενος,  
 ἂν μὲν μείζω, μείζονα τὴν ἔκτισιν τῷ πημανθέντι τινέτῳ,  
 ἐλάττω δὲ ζημιώσας σμικροτέραν, παρὰ πάντα δὲ τοσαύτην  
 ἡλίκα ἂν ἐκάστοτε ζημιώσῃ τίς τινα, μέχρι περ ἂν ἰάσῃται  
 10 τὸ βλαβέν· δίκην δὲ ἕκαστος [πρὸς ἐκάστῳ] τῷ κακουργή-  
 934 ματι σωφρονιστύος ἔνεκα συνεπομένην προσεκτεισάτῳ, ὁ  
 μὲν ἀνοῖα κακουργήσας ἄλλοτρία, πειθοῖ διὰ νεότητα ἢ τι  
 τοιοῦτον χρησάμενος, ἐλαφροτέραν, ὁ δὲ διὰ οἰκείαν ἄνοιαν  
 [ἢ] δι' ἀκράτειαν ἡδονῶν ἢ λυπῶν, ἐν φόβοις δεινῶς ἢ τισιν  
 5 ἐπιθυμίαις ἢ φθόνοις ἢ θυμοῖς δυσιάτοις γιγνόμενος, βαρυ-  
 τέραν, οὐχ ἔνεκα τοῦ κακουργῆσαι διδούς τὴν δίκην—οὐ γὰρ  
 τὸ γεγονὸς ἀγένητον ἔσται ποτέ—τοῦ δ' εἰς τὸν αὖθις ἔνεκα  
 b χρόνον ἢ τὸ παράπαν μισῆσαι τὴν ἀδικίαν αὐτόν τε καὶ  
 τοὺς ἰδόντας αὐτὸν δικαιούμενον, ἢ λωφῆσαι μέρη πολλὰ

τῆς τοιαύτης συμφορᾶς. ὧν δὴ πάντων ἕνεκα χρή καὶ πρὸς πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα βλέποντας τοὺς νόμους τοξότου μὴ κακοῦ στοχάζεσθαι δίκην τοῦ τε μεγέθους τῆς κολάσεως 5 ἐκάστων. ἕνεκα καὶ παντελῶς τῆς ἀξίας· ταῦτόν δ' ἔργον δρῶντα συνυπηρετεῖν δεῖ τῷ νομοθέτῃ τὸν δικαστήν, ὅταν αὐτῷ τις νόμος ἐπιτρέπη τιμᾶν ὅτι χρή πάσχειν τὸν κρινόμενον ἢ ἀποτίνειν, τὸν δέ, καθάπερ ζωγράφον, ὑπογράφεῖν c ἔργα ἐπόμενα τῇ γραφῇ. ὁ δὴ καὶ νῦν, ὦ Μέγιλλε καὶ Κλεινία, ποιητέον ἡμῖν ὅτι κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα· τῶν κλοπαίων τε καὶ βιαίων πάντων τὰς ζημίας λεγομένας οἷας δεῖ γίνεσθαι, λεκτέον, ὅπως ἂν ἡμῖν παρείκωσιν θεοὶ καὶ 5 θεῶν παῖδες νομοθετεῖν.

Μαινόμενος δὲ ἂν τις ᾗ, μὴ φανερός ἔστω κατὰ πόλιν· οἱ προσήκοντες δ' ἐκάστων κατὰ τὰς οἰκίας φυλαττόντων αὐτούς, ὅτῳ ἂν ἐπίστωνται τρόπῳ, ἢ ζημίαν ἐκτινόντων, ὁ d μὲν τοῦ μεγίστου τιμήματος ἑκατὸν δραχμάς, ἐάν τ' οὖν δοῦλον ἐάν τ' οὖν καὶ ἐλεύθερον περιορᾷ, δευτέρου δὲ τιμήματος τέτταρα μέρη τῆς μνᾶς τῶν πέντε, τρία δ' ὁ τρίτος, καὶ δύο ὁ τέταρτος. μαίνονται μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ πολλοὺς 5 τρόπους· οὓς μὲν νῦν εἵπομεν, ὑπὸ νόσων, εἰσὶν δὲ οἱ διὰ θυμοῦ κακὴν φύσιν ἅμα καὶ τροφήν γενομένην, οἱ δὴ σμικρὰς ἔχθρας γενομένης, πολλὴν φωνὴν ἰέντες κακῶς ἀλλήλους βλασφημοῦντες λέγουσιν, οὐ πρόπον ἐν εὐνόμων πόλει e γίνεσθαι τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν οὐδαμῇ οὐδαμῶς. εἰς δὴ περὶ κακηγορίας ἔστω νόμος περὶ πάντας ὅδε· Μηδένα κακηγορεῖτω μηδεῖς. ὁ δὲ ἀμφισβητῶν ἐν τισι λόγοις ἄλλος ἄλλῳ διδασκέτω καὶ μανθανέτω τὸν τε ἀμφισβητοῦντα καὶ 5 τοὺς παρόντας ἀπεχόμενος πάντως τοῦ κακηγορεῖν. ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ κατεύχεσθαι τε ἀλλήλοις ἐπαρωμένους καὶ δι' αἰσχρῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπιφέρειν γυναικείους ἐαντοῖς φήμας, πρῶτον μὲν 935 ἐκ λόγων, κούφου πράγματος, ἔργῳ μίση τε καὶ ἔχθραι βαρύνεται γίνονται· πράγματι γὰρ ἀχαρίστω, θυμῷ, χαριζόμενος ὁ λέγων, ἐμπιμπλὰς ὀργὴν κακῶν ἐστιαμάτων, ὅσον ὑπὸ παιδείας ἡμερώθη ποτέ, πάλιν ἐξαγριῶν τῆς ψυχῆς 5 τὸ τοιοῦτον, θηριούμενος ἐν δυσκολίᾳ ζῶν γίνεταί, πικρὰν τοῦ θυμοῦ χάριν ἀποδεχόμενος. μετεκβαίνειν δὲ αὐτῷ πως εἰώθασιν πάντες θαμὰ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις εἰς τό τι γελοῖον b περὶ τοῦ ἐναντίου φθέγγεσθαι· ὁ τις ἐθιζόμενος οὐδεὶς πώποτε ὅς οὐ τοῦ σπουδαίου τρόπου ἦτοι τὸ παράπαν διή-



μαρτεν ἢ μεγαλονοίας ἀπώλεσεν μέρη πολλά. ὦν δὲ χάριν  
 5 ἐν μὲν ἱερῷ τὸ παράπαν μηδεὶς τοιοῦτον φθέγγεται μηδέποτε  
 μηδὲν μηδ' ἐν τισὶ δημοτελέσι θυσίαις, μηδ' αὖ ἐν ἄθλοις  
 μηδ' ἐν ἀγορᾷ μηδ' ἐν δικαστηρίῳ μηδ' ἐν συλλόγῳ κοινῷ  
 c μηδενί· κολαζέτω δὲ ὁ τούτων ἄρχων ἕκαστος [ἀνατί], ἢ  
 μηδέποτ' ἀριστείων πέρι φιλονικίῃ, νόμων ὡς οὐ κηδό-  
 μενος οὐδὲ ποιῶν τὰ προσταχθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ νομοθέτου.  
 εἰ δέ τις ἐν ἄλλοις τόποις λοιδορίας ἄρχων ἢ ἀμυνόμενος  
 5 ὅστισιν μὴ ἀπέχεται τῶν τοιούτων λόγων, ὁ προστυγχάνων  
 πρεσβύτερος ὢν τῷ νόμῳ ἀμυνέτω, πληγαῖς ἐξείργων τοὺς  
 θυμῷ, ἐταίρῳ κακῷ, φιλοφρονουμένους, ἢ ἐνεχέσθω τῇ τετα-  
 γμένη ζημίᾳ. λέγομεν δὲ τὰ νῦν ὡς λοιδορίαις συμπλεκό-  
 d μενος ἄνευ τοῦ γελοῖα ζητεῖν λέγειν οὐ δυνατός ἐστιν  
 χρῆσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο λοιδοροῦμεν, ὅποταν θυμῷ γιγνόμενον  
 ἢ τί δὲ δὴ; τὴν τῶν κωμῶδων προθυμίαν τοῦ γελοῖα εἰς  
 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους λέγειν ἢ παραδεχόμεθα, εἰ ἄνευ θυμοῦ  
 5 τὸ τοιοῦτον ἡμῖν τοὺς πολίτας ἐπιχειρῶσιν κωμωδοῦντες  
 λέγειν. ἢ διαλάβωμεν δίχα τῷ παίζειν καὶ μὴ, καὶ παίζοντι  
 μὲν ἐξέστω τινὶ περὶ τοῦ λέγειν γελοῖον ἄνευ θυμοῦ, συντε-  
 e ταμένῳ δὲ καὶ μετὰ θυμοῦ, καθάπερ εἴπομεν, μὴ ἐξέστω  
 μηδενί; τοῦτο μὲν οὖν οὐδαμῶς ἀναθετέον, ὧ [δ'] ἐξέστω καὶ  
 μὴ δέ, τοῦτο νομοθετησώμεθα. ποιητῇ δὲ κωμωδίας ἢ  
 τινος ἰάμβων ἢ μουσῶν μελωδίας μὴ ἐξέστω μήτε λόγῳ  
 5 μήτε εἰκόνι, μήτε θυμῷ μήτε ἄνευ θυμοῦ, μηδαμῶς μηδένα  
 τῶν πολιτῶν κωμωδεῖν· εἰ δέ τις ἀπειθῇ, τοὺς ἀθλοθέτας  
 936 ἐξείργειν ἐκ τῆς χώρας τὸ παράπαν αὐθημερόν, ἢ ζημιοῦσθαι  
 μναῖς τρισὶν ἱεραῖς τοῦ θεοῦ οὐ ἂν ἄγων ἦ. οἷς δ' εἴρηται  
 πρότερον ἐξουσίαν εἶναι [περὶ τοῦ] ποιεῖν εἰς ἀλλήλους,  
 5 τοῦτοισι ἄνευ θυμοῦ μὲν μετὰ παιδιᾶς ἐξέστω, σπουδῇ δὲ  
 ἅμα καὶ θυμουμένοις μὴ ἐξέστω. τούτου δὲ διάγνωσις  
 ἐπιτετράφθω τῷ τῆς παιδείας ὅλης ἐπιμελητῇ τῶν νέων·  
 καὶ ὁ μὲν ἂν οὗτος ἐγκρίνη, προφέρειν εἰς τὸ μέσον ἐξέστω  
 τῷ ποιήσαντι, ὁ δ' ἂν ἀποκρίνη, μήτε αὐτὸς ἐπιδεικνύσθω  
 b μηδενὶ μήτε ἄλλον δοῦλον μηδὲ ἐλεύθερόν ποτε φανῇ διδάξας,  
 ἢ κακὸς εἶναι δοξαζέσθω καὶ ἀπειθῆς τοῖς νόμοις.

Οἰκτρὸς δ' οὐχ ὁ πεινῶν ἢ τι τοιοῦτον πάσχων, ἀλλ'  
 ὁ σωφρονῶν ἢ τινα ἀρετὴν ἢ μέρος ἔχων ταύτης, ἂν τινα  
 5 συμφορὰν πρὸς τούτοις κεκτῇται· διὸ θαυμαστὸν ἂν γένοιτο  
 εἶ τις ὢν τοιοῦτος ἀμεληθείη τὸ παράπαν, ὥστ' εἰς πτωχείαν



τὴν ἐσχάτην ἐλθεῖν, δούλος ἢ καὶ ἐλεύθερος, ἐν οἰκουμένῃ καὶ μετρίως πολιτεία τε καὶ πόλει. διὸ τῷ νομοθέτῃ θεῖναι νόμον ἀσφαλὲς τοιοῦτοῖς τοιόνδε τινά· Πτωχὸς μηδεὶς ἡμῖν c  
ἐν τῇ πόλει γιγνέσθω, τοιοῦτον δ' ἂν τις ἐπιχειρῇ δρᾶν, εὐχαῖς βίον ἀνηνύτοις συλλεγόμενος, ἐκ μὲν ἀγορᾶς ἀγορα- νόμοι ἐξειργόντων αὐτόν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἄστεος ἢ τῶν ἀστυνόμων ἀρχή, ἀγρονόμοι δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης χώρας εἰς τὴν ὑπερορίαν 5  
ἐκπεμπόντων, ὅπως ἡ χώρα τοῦ τοιούτου ζώου καθαρά γίγνηται τὸ παράπαν.

Δούλος δ' ἂν ἢ δούλη βλάβῃ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων καὶ ὅτιοῦν, μὴ συναίτιου τοῦ βλαβέντος αὐτοῦ γενομένου κατ' ἀπειρίαν d  
ἢ τιν' ἑτέραν χρεῖαν μὴ σώφρονα, ὁ τοῦ βλάβσαντος δεσπότης ἢ τὴν βλάβην ἐξιάσθω μὴ ἐνδεῶς, ἢ τὸν βλάβσαντ' αὐτόν παραδότω· ἐὰν δ' ἐπαιτιώμενος ὁ δεσπότης κοινῇ τοῦ βλά- ψαντος τέχνῃ καὶ τοῦ βλαβέντος ἐπ' ἀποστερήσει φῆ τοῦ 5  
δούλου γεγονέναι τὴν αἰτίαν, διαδικαζέσθω μὲν κακοτεχνιῶν τῷ φάσκοντι βλαβῆναι, καὶ ἐὰν ἔλῃ, διπλασίαν τῆς ἀξίας τοῦ δούλου κομιζέσθω ἥς ἂν τιμήσῃ τὸ δικαστήριον, ἐὰν e  
δὲ ἡττηθῇ, τὴν τε βλάβην ἐξιάσθω καὶ τὸν δούλον παρα- δότω. καὶ ἐὰν ὑποζύγιον ἢ ἵππος ἢ κύων ἢ τι τῶν ἄλλων θρεμμάτων σίνηταί τι τῶν πέλας, κατὰ ταῦτα ἐκτίνειν τὴν βλάβην. 5

Ἐάν τις ἐκὼν μὴ ᾔθελῃ μαρτυρεῖν, προκαλεῖσθαι τὸν δεόμενον, ὁ δὲ κληθεὶς ἀπαντάτω πρὸς τὴν δίκην, καὶ ἐὰν μὲν εἰδῇ καὶ ἐθέλῃ μαρτυρεῖν, μαρτυρεῖτω, ἐὰν δὲ εἰδέναι μὴ φῇ, τοὺς τρεῖς θεοὺς Δία καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Θέμιν ἀπομόσας ἢ μὴν μὴ εἰδέναι ἀπαλλαττέσθω τῆς δίκης· ὁ δ' 937  
εἰς μαρτυρίαν κληθείς, μὴ ἀπαντῶν δὲ τῷ καλεσαμένῳ, τῆς βλάβης ὑπόδικος ἔστω κατὰ νόμον. ἐὰν δὲ τίς τινα δικά- ζοντα ἀναστήσῃται μάρτυρα, μαρτυρήσας μὴ διαψηφίζέσθω περὶ ταύτης τῆς δίκης. γυναικὶ δ' ἐξέστω ἐλευθέρᾳ μαρτυρεῖν 5  
καὶ συνηγορεῖν, ἐὰν ὑπὲρ τετταράκοντα ἔτη ἢ γεγονυῖα, καὶ δίκην λαγχάνειν, ἐὰν ἄνανδρος ἢ· ζῶντος δὲ ἀνδρὸς ἐξέστω μαρτυρῆσαι μόνον. δούλῃ δὲ καὶ δούλῳ καὶ παιδὶ φόνου μόνον ἐξέστω μαρτυρεῖν καὶ συνηγορεῖν, ἐὰν ἐγγνητὴν ἀξίό- b  
χρεων ἢ μὴν μενεῖν καταστήσῃ μέχρι δίκης, ἐὰν ἐπισκηφθῇ τὰ ψευδῇ μαρτυρῆσαι. ἐπισκῆπτεσθαι δὲ τῶν ἀντιδίκων ἐκάτερον ὅλη τῇ μαρτυρία καὶ μέρει, ἐὰν τὰ ψευδῇ φῇ τινα μεμαρτυρηκέναι, πρὶν τὴν δίκην διακεκρίσθαι· τὰς δ' ἐπισκῆ- 5

ψεις τὰς ἀρχὰς φυλάττειν κατασεσημασμένας ὑπ' ἀμφοῖν, καὶ παρέχειν εἰς τὴν τῶν ψευδομαρτυριῶν διάκρισιν. ἐὰν δέ  
 c τις ἄλῳ δις ψευδομαρτυρῶν, τοῦτον μηκέτι νόμος ἀναγκαζέτω  
 μηδεὶς μαρτυρεῖν, ἐὰν δὲ τρίς, μηκέτ' ἐξέστω τούτῳ μαρτυ-  
 ρεῖν. ἐὰν δὲ τολμήσῃ μαρτυρῆσαι τρίς ἑαλωκώς, ἐνδεικνύτω  
 μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ βουλόμενος αὐτόν, ἢ δ' ἀρχὴ δικα-  
 5 στηρίῳ παραδότω, ἐὰν δὲ ὄφλῃ, θανάτῳ ζημιούσθω. ὅπόσων  
 δ' ἂν μαρτυραὶ ἀλώσιν δίκην, ψευδῇ δοξάντων μαρτυρεῖν καὶ  
 τὴν νίκην τῷ ἐλόντι πεποιηκέναι, ἐὰν τῶν τοιούτων ὑπὲρ  
 d ἡμισυ μαρτυριῶν καταδικασθῶσιν τινες, τὴν κατὰ ταύτας  
 ἀλοῦσαν δίκην ἀνάδικον γίνεσθαι, ἀμφισβήτησιν δ' εἶναι  
 καὶ διαδικασίαν εἴτε κατὰ ταύτας εἴτε μὴ ἢ δίκη ἐκρίθῃ,  
 ὅποτέρως δ' ἂν κριθῇ, ταύτῃ γιγνέσθω τὸ τέλος τῶν ἔμπροσθεν  
 5 δικῶν.

Πολλῶν δὲ ὄντων καὶ καλῶν ἐν τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίῳ,  
 τοῖς πλείστοις αὐτῶν οἶον κῆρες ἐπιπεφύκασιν, αἱ κατα-  
 μαίνουσιν τε καὶ καταρρυπαίνουσιν αὐτά. καὶ δὴ καὶ δίκη  
 e ἐν ἀνθρώποις πῶς οὐ καλόν, ὃ πάντα ἡμέρωκεν τὰ ἀνθρώ-  
 πινα; καλοῦ δὲ ὄντος τούτου, πῶς οὐ καὶ τὸ συνδικεῖν ἡμῖν  
 γίγνεται ἂν καλόν; ταῦτα οὖν τοιαῦτα ὄντα διαβάλλει τις  
 κάκη, καλὸν ὄνομα προσημασμένη τέχνην, ἥ πρῶτον μὲν  
 5 δὴ φησιν εἶναι τινα δικῶν μηχανήν—εἶναι δ' αὕτῃ τοῦ τε  
 δικάσασθαι καὶ συνδικεῖν ἄλλῳ—νικᾶν δυναμένην, ἂν τ' οὖν  
 δίκαια ἂν τε μὴ τὰ περὶ τὴν δίκην ἐκάστην ἢ πεπραγμένα.  
 938 δωρεὰν δ' αὐτῆς εἶναι τῆς τέχνης καὶ τῶν λόγων τῶν ἐκ  
 τῆς τέχνης, ἂν ἀντιδωρῇται τις χρήματα. ταύτην οὖν ἐν  
 τῇ παρ' ἡμῖν πόλει, εἴτ' οὖν τέχνη εἴτε ἀτεχνός ἐστίν τις  
 ἐμπειρία καὶ τριβή, μάλιστα μὲν δὴ χρεῶν ἐστὶν μὴ φῦναι.  
 5 δεομένου δὲ τοῦ νομοθέτου πείθεσθαι καὶ μὴ ἐναντία δίκη  
 φθέγγεσθαι, πρὸς ἄλλην δὲ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι χώραν, πειθο-  
 μένοις μὲν σιγῇ, ἀπειθοῦσιν δὲ φωνῇ νόμου ἥδε. Ἄν τις δοκῇ  
 b πειράσθαι τὴν τῶν δικαίων δύναμιν ἐν ταῖς τῶν δικαστῶν  
 ψυχαῖς ἐπὶ τὰναντία τρέπειν καὶ παρὰ καιρὸν πολυδικεῖν  
 τῶν τοιούτων ἢ καὶ συνδικεῖν, γραφέσθω μὲν ὁ βουλόμενος  
 αὐτὸν κακοδικίας ἢ καὶ συνδικίας κακῆς, κρινέσθω δὲ ἐν τῷ  
 5 τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν δικαστηρίῳ, ὁφλόντος δέ, τιμάτω τὸ δικαστή-  
 ριον εἴτε φιλοχρηματία δοκεῖ δρᾶν τὸ τοιοῦτον εἴτε φιλονικία,  
 καὶ ἐὰν μὲν φιλονικία, τιμᾶν αὐτῷ τὸ δικαστήριον ὅσον χρή  
 χρόνου τὸν τοιοῦτον μηδενὶ λαχεῖν δίκην μηδὲ συνδικῆσαι,

ἐὰν δὲ φιλοχρηματία, τὸν μὲν ξένον ἀπιόντα ἐκ τῆς χώρας c  
μήποτε πάλιν ἐλθεῖν ἢ θανάτῳ ζημιοῦσθαι, τὸν ἄστων δὲ  
τεθνάναι φιλοχρημοσύνης ἔνεκα τῆς ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου παρ'  
αὐτῷ τιμωμένης· καὶ ἐὰν τις φιλονικία κριθῇ δις τὸ τοιοῦτον  
δρᾶν, τεθνάτω.

5

## BOOK XII

### SHORT ANALYSIS

**941 a.**—Ambassadors must be honest.

**941 b.**—All theft is dishonourable : theft of any public property is to be punished by death.

**942 a.**—Habits of military discipline and subordination are salutary to the community. **943 a.**—Military service universal. Military offences and distinctions : **(944)**—Reasonable excuses for military failure—all to be judged by a court of fellow-soldiers.

**945 b–948 b.**—Election and powers of the Euthunoi or Correctors, with the honour to be paid them, alive and dead.

**948 b–949 c.**—No oaths in a court of justice—care to be taken to secure execution of sentences.

**949 c–953 e.**—The lawful occasions of foreign travel, and the advantage to the state of experience so gained.

**953 e–956 a.**—Various regulations as to bail : search for stolen goods : “statute of limitations” : forcible interference with judicial proceedings : receiving of stolen goods : private arrangements with foreign states : returns of amount of crops and property : limitations to dedications for religious objects.

**956 b–958 a.**—Review of various courts of Justice : Appeals : possible rectifications of procedure : the advantages of the Study of Laws, and of an efficient judiciary : arrangements for execution of sentences.

**958 c–960 b.**—Regulations as to funerals and graves.

**960 c to the end.**—The constitution and training of the members of the Nocturnal Council.

### IB

**941**    **ΑΘ.** Ἐὰν ὡς πρεσβευτὴς τις ἢ κήρυξ καταψευδόμενος τῆς πόλεως παραπρεβεύηται πρὸς τινα πόλιν, ἢ πεμπόμενος μὴ τὰς οὐσας πρεσβείας ἐφ’ αἷς πέμπεται ἀπαγγέλλῃ,



ἢ πάλιν αὖ παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἢ καὶ φίλων μὴ τὰ παρ' ἐκείνων ὀρθῶς ἀποπρεσβεύσας γένηται φανερός ἢ κηρυκεύσας, 5  
 γραφαὶ κατὰ τούτων ἔστων ὡς Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Διὸς ἀγγελίας καὶ ἐπιτάξεις παρὰ νόμον ἀσεβησάντων, τίμημα δὲ ὅτι χρή πάσχειν ἢ ἀποτίνειν, ἐὰν ὀφλη.

Κλοπὴ μὲν χρημάτων ἀνελεύθερον, ἀρπαγὴ δὲ ἀναίσχυντον· τῶν Διὸς δὲ ὑέων οὐδεὶς οὔτε δόλοισι οὔτε βία χαίρων ἐπιτετήδευκεν τούτοις οὐδέτερον. μηδεὶς οὖν ὑπὸ ποιητῶν μηδ' ἄλλως ὑπὸ τινων μυθολόγων πλημμελῶν περὶ 5  
 τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐξαπατῶμενος ἀναπειθέσθω, καὶ κλέπτων ἢ βιαζόμενος οἰέσθω μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ποιεῖν ἀλλ' ἅπερ αὐτοὶ θεοὶ δρῶσιν· οὔτε γὰρ ἀληθὲς οὐτ' εἰκός, ἀλλ' ὅς τι δρᾷ τοιοῦτον παρανόμως, οὔτε θεὸς οὔτε παῖς ἐστὶν ποτε θεῶν, ταῦτα δὲ νομοθέτῃ μᾶλλον προσήκει γιννώσκειν ἢ ποιηταῖς c  
 σύμπασι. ὁ μὲν οὖν πεισθεὶς ἡμῶν τῷ λόγῳ εὐτυχεῖ τε καὶ εἰς χρόνον ἅπαντα εὐτυχοῖ, ὁ δὲ ἀπιστήσας τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα τοιῷδὲ τινι μαχέσθω νόμῳ· Ἐάν τις τι κλέπτῃ δη- 5  
 μόσιον μέγα ἢ καὶ σμικρόν, τῆς αὐτῆς δίκης δεῖ. μικρόν τι γὰρ ὁ κλέπτων ἔρωτι μὲν ταυτῷ, δυνάμει δὲ ἐλάττονι κέκλοφεν, ὃ τε τὸ μείζον κινῶν οὐ καταθέμενος ὅλον ἀδικεῖ· d  
 δίκης οὖν οὐδέτερον οὐδετέρου ἐλάττονος ἔνεκα μεγέθους τοῦ κλέμματος ὁ νόμος ἀξιοῖ ζημιῶν, ἀλλὰ τῷ τὸν μὲν ἴσως ἂν ἰάσιμον ἔτ' εἶναι, τὸν δ' ἀνιάτον. ξένον μὲν δὴ τῶν δημοσίων ἢ δοῦλον ἂν τίς τι κλέπτοντα ἐν δικαστηρίῳ ἔλῃ, 5  
 ὡς ἰασίμῳ ἐκ τῶν εἰκότων ὄντι τί χρή παθεῖν ἢ τίνα ζημίαν ἀποτίνειν αὐτὸν ἢ κρίσις γιγνέσθω· τὸν δὲ ἀστὸν καὶ 942  
 τεθραμμένον ὡς ἔσται τεθραμμένος, ἂν πατρίδα συλῶν ἢ βιαζόμενος ἀλίσκηται, ἐάν τ' ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ ἐάν τε μή, σχεδὸν ὡς ἀνιάτον ὄντα θανάτῳ ζημιῶν.

Στρατιῶν δὲ ἔνεκα πολλὴ μὲν συμβουλή, πολλοὶ δὲ 5  
 νόμοι γίνονται κατὰ τρόπον, μέγιστον δὲ τὸ μηδέποτε ἄναρχον μηδένα εἶναι, μήτ' ἄρρενα μήτε θήλειαν, μηδέ τινος ἔθει ψυχὴν εἰθίσθαι μήτε σπουδάζοντος μήτ' ἐν παιδιαῖς αὐτὸν ἐφ' αὐτοῦ τι κατὰ μόνας δρᾶν, ἀλλ' ἐν τε πολέμῳ b  
 παντὶ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ πάσῃ πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα ἀεὶ βλέποντα καὶ συνεπόμενον ζῆν, καὶ τὰ βραχύταθ' ὑπ' ἐκείνου κυβερνώ-  
 μενον, οἷον ἐστάναι θ' ὅταν ἐπιτάτῃ τις καὶ πορεύεσθαι καὶ 5  
 γυμνάζεσθαι καὶ λοῦσθαι καὶ σιτεῖσθαι καὶ ἐγείρεσθαι  
 νύκτωρ εἷς τε φυλακὰς καὶ παραγγέλσεις, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς

- κινδύνους μήτε τινὰ διώκειν μήθ' ὑποχωρεῖν ἄλλω ἄνευ τῆς
- c τῶν ἀρχόντων δηλώσεως, ἐνὶ τε λόγῳ τὸ χωρὶς τι τῶν ἄλλων  
 πράττειν διδάξαι τὴν ψυχὴν ἔθεισι μήτε γινώσκειν μήτ'  
 ἐπίστασθαι τὸ παράπαν, ἀλλ' ἀθρόον αἰεὶ καὶ ἅμα καὶ κοινὸν  
 τὸν βίον ὅτι μάλιστα πᾶσι πάντων γίνεσθαι—τούτου γὰρ
- 5 οὐτ' ἔστιν οὐτε ποτὲ μὴ γένηται κρείττον οὐτε ἄμεινον οὐτε  
 τεχνικώτερον εἰς σωτηρίαν τὴν κατὰ πόλεμον καὶ νίκην—  
 τοῦτο ἐν εἰρήνῃ μελετητέον εὐθὺς ἐκ τῶν παίδων, ἄρχειν τε  
 ἄλλων ἀρχεσθαι θ' ὑφ' ἐτέρων· τὴν δ' ἀναρχίαν ἐξαιρετέον
- d ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ βίου ἀπάντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ τῶν  
 ὑπ' ἀνθρώπους θηρίων· καὶ δὴ καὶ χορείας πάσας εἰς τὰς  
 ἀριστείας τὰς κατὰ πόλεμον βλέπουσας χορεύειν, καὶ ὅλην  
 εὐκολίαν τε καὶ εὐχέριαν ἐπιτηδεύειν τῶν αὐτῶν εἵνεκα,
- 5 καρτερήσεις τε αὖ σίτων καὶ ποτῶν καὶ χειμῶνων καὶ τῶν  
 ἐναντίων καὶ κοίτης σκληρᾶς, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, τὴν τῆς  
 κεφαλῆς καὶ ποδῶν δύναμιν μὴ διαφθεῖρειν τῇ τῶν ἄλλο-  
 τρίων σκεπασμάτων περικαλυφῇ, τὴν τῶν οἰκείων ἀπολ-
- e λύντας πύλων τε καὶ ὑποδημάτων γένεσιν καὶ φύσιν· ταῦτα  
 γὰρ ἀκρωτήρια ὄντα σωζόμενά τε ἔχει μεγίστην <τὴν>  
 δύναμιν παντὸς τοῦ σώματος καὶ τὸνναντίον ἐναντίως, καὶ τὸ  
 μὲν ὑπηρετικώτατον ἅπαντι τῷ σώματι, τὸ δὲ ἀρχικώτατον,
- 943 ἔχον τὰς κυρίας ἀπάσας αἰσθήσεις αὐτοῦ φύσει· ἔπαινον μὲν  
 δὴ τοῦτον ἀκούειν τὸν νέον χρῆν δοκεῖν πολεμικοῦ περὶ  
 βίου, νόμους δ' αὖ τούσδε· Στρατεύεσθαι τὸν καταλεγέντα  
 ἢ τὸν ἐν μέρει τινὶ τεταγμένον· εἰ δέ τις ἐκλείπη τινὶ
- 5 κάκῃ μὴ στρατηγῶν ἀφέντων, γραφὰς ἀστρατείας εἶναι πρὸς  
 τοὺς πολεμικοὺς ἀρχοντας, ὅταν ἔλθωσιν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου,  
 δικάζειν δὲ τοὺς στρατεύσαντας ἐκάστους χωρὶς, ὀπλίτας  
 τε καὶ ἱππέας καὶ τὰλλα ἐμπολέμια ἕκαστα ὡσαύτως, καὶ
- b εἰσάγειν ὀπλίτας μὲν εἰς τοὺς ὀπλίτας, ἱππέας δὲ εἰς τοὺς  
 ἱππέας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα εἰς τοὺς αὐτῶν συν-  
 νόμους· εἰ δέ τις ὅφλη, ὑπάρχειν μὲν αὐτῷ μήποτε τῆς  
 ὅλης ἀριστείας ἀγωνιστῇ γενέσθαι μηδὲ ἀστρατείας ἄλλον
- 5 γράφασθαι ποτε μηδὲ κατηγορῶ τούτων περὶ γενέσθαι, πρὸς  
 τούτοις δ' ἔτι προστιμᾶν αὐτῷ τὸ δικαστήριον ὅτι χρὴ παθεῖν  
 ἢ ἀποτίνειν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ἐκδικασθεισῶν τῶν τῆς ἀστρα-  
 τείας δικῶν, πάλιν ἐκάστων ἀρχοντας ποιῆσαι σύλλογον,
- c ἀριστείων δὲ περὶ κρίνεσθαι τὸν βουλόμενον ἐν τοῖς αὐτῶν  
 ἔθνεσιν, μὴ περὶ προτέρου πολέμου μηδὲν παρεχόμενον μήτε

τεκμήριον μήτε μαρτύρων πιστώσεις λόγων, αὐτῆς δὲ περὶ  
 τῆς στρατείας τῆς τότε γενομένης αὐτοῖς. στέφανον δὲ τὸ  
 νικητήριον ἐκάστοις εἶναι θαλλοῦ· τοῦτον δὲ εἰς τὰ τῶν 5  
 πολεμικῶν θεῶν ἱερά, ὧν ἂν τις βούληται, γράψαντα ἀνα-  
 θεῖναι μαρτύριον εἰς τὴν τῶν ἀριστείων κρίσιν παντὸς τοῦ  
 βίου καὶ τὴν τῶν δευτέρων καὶ τρίτων. εἰ δὲ στρατεύσῃται  
 μὲν τις, μὴ ἀπαγαγόντων δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων οἴκαδε προ- d  
 ἀπέλθῃ τοῦ χρόνου, λιποταξίου τούτων εἶναι γραφὰς ἐν τοῖς  
 αὐτοῖς οἷς περὶ τῆς ἀστρατείας, ὀφλοῦσιν τε τιμωρίαι  
 ἐπέστωσαν αἵπερ καὶ πρόσθεν ἐτέθησαν. χρή μὲν δὴ πᾶσαν  
 ἐπιφέροντα δίκην ἀνδρὶ πάντ' ἄνδρα φοβεῖσθαι τὸ μήτε 5  
 ἐπενεγκεῖν ψευδῇ τιμωρίαν, μήτ' οὖν ἐκόντα μήτ' ἄκοντα  
 κατὰ δύναμιν—παρθένος γὰρ Αἰδοῦς Δίκη λέγεται τε καὶ e  
 ὄντως εἴρηται, ψεῦδος δὲ αἰδοῖ καὶ δίκη νεμεσητὸν κατὰ  
 φύσιν—τῶν τε οὖν ἄλλων εὐλαβεῖσθαι πέρι πλημμελεῖν  
 εἰς δίκην, διαφερόντως δὲ καὶ τῆς τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον ὄπλων  
 ἀποβολῆς, μὴ διαμαρτῶν τις ἄρα τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀποβολῶν, 5  
 ὡς αἰσχροῦς αὐτὰς εἰς ὄνειδος τιθεῖς, ἀναξίῳ ἀναξίας ἐπάγῃ  
 δίκας. ῥάδιον μὲν οὖν οὐδαμῶς διορίσαι τούτων θάτερον,  
 ὅμως δὲ χρή τὸν νόμον ἀμῶς γέ πως ὀρίζειν πειρᾶσθαι κατὰ 944  
 μέρη. μύθῳ δὲ προσχρώμενοι ἅμ' εἵπωμεν, εἰ κομισθεῖς  
 ἐπὶ σκηνὴν ἄνευ τῶν ὄπλων Πάτροκλος ἔμπρους ἐγένεθ',  
 οἶον δὴ μυρίοις συνέπεσεν, τὰ δὲ πρότερα ἐκεῖνα ὅπλα,  
 ἃ Πηλεΐ φησιν ὁ ποιητὴς παρὰ θεῶν προῖκα ἐν τοῖς 5  
 γάμοις ἐπιδοθῆναι Θέτιδι, ταῦτα δὲ Ἑκτωρ εἶχεν, ἐξήν ἂν  
 τῶν τότε ὅσοι κακοὶ ὄνειδίζουσιν ὄπλων ἀποβολὴν τῷ τοῦ  
 Μενoitίου. ἔτι δὲ ὅποσοι κατὰ κρημνῶν ριφέντες ἀπώλεσαν  
 ὅπλα, ἢ κατὰ θάλατταν, ἢ χειμῶνων ἐν κόποις ὑποδεξαμένης b  
 αὐτοὺς ἐξαίφνης πολλῆς ῥύσεως ὕδατος, ἢ μυρί' ἂν ἔχοι  
 τις τοιαῦτα παραμυθούμενος ἐπάδειν, εὐδιάβολον κακὸν  
 καλλύνων· τεμείν δὴ χρεὼν κατὰ δύναμιν τὸ μείζον καὶ  
 τὸ δυσχερέστερον κακὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐναντίου. σχεδὸν οὖν ἐν 5  
 τοῖς ὄνειδεσιν ἔχει τινὰ τομὴν ἢ τούτων τῶν ὀνομάτων  
 ἐπιφορά· ρίψασπις μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἐν πᾶσιν ὀνομάζοιτ' ἂν  
 δικαίως, ἀποβολεὺς δὲ ὄπλων. οὐχ ὁμοίως γὰρ ὁ τε ἀφαι- c  
 ρεθεὶς μετ' εἰκνίας βίας γίγνοιτ' ἂν ρίψασπις ὁ τε ἀφείς  
 ἐκὼν, διαφέρει δὲ ὅλον που καὶ τὸ πᾶν. ὦδ' οὖν δὴ λεγέσθω  
 νόμῳ· Ἐὰν καταλαμβανόμενός τις ὑπὸ πολεμίων καὶ ἔχων  
 ὅπλα μὴ ἀναστρέφῃ καὶ ἀμύνῃται, ἀφῇ δὲ ἐκὼν ἢ ρίψῃ, 5



ζωὴν αἰσχροὺς ἀρνύμενος μετὰ κάκης μᾶλλον ἢ μετ' ἀνδρείας  
καλὸν καὶ εὐδαίμονα θάνατον, τοιαύτης μὲν ὄπλων ἀποβολῆς  
d ἔστω δίκη ριφθέντων, τῆς δὲ εἰρημένης ἔμπροσθεν ὁ δικάζων  
μὴ ἀμελείτω σκοπεῖν. τὸν γὰρ κακὸν αἰεὶ δεῖ κολάζειν, ἢ  
ἀμείνων ἢ, οὐ τὸν δυστυχῆ· οὐδὲν γὰρ πλεόν. ζημία δὲ  
τῷ τὴν τοιαύτην ἀμυντηρίων ὄπλων εἰς τοῦναντίον ἀφέντι  
5 δύναμιν τίς ἄρα γίγνοιτ' ἂν πρόσφορος; οὐ γὰρ δυνατόν  
ἀνθρώπῳ δρᾶν τοῦναντίον ὥς ποτε θεὸν φασὶ δρᾶσαι, Καινέα  
τὸν Θετταλὸν ἐκ γυναικὸς μεταβαλόντα εἰς ἀνδρὸς φύσιν·  
ἦν γὰρ <ἂν> ἀνδρὶ ριψάσπιδι τρόπον τινὰ πρέπουσα πασῶν  
e μάλιστα ἢ κέκνη τῇ γενέσει ἐναντία γένεσις, εἰς γυναῖκα  
ἐξ ἀνδρὸς μεταβαλοῦσα, τιμωρία τούτῳ γενομένη. νῦν δ'  
ὅτι τούτων ἐγγύτατα φιλοψυχίας ἔνεκα, ἵνα τὸν ἐπίλοιπον  
βίον μὴ κινδυνεύῃ, ζῆ δὲ ὡς πλείστον χρόνον ὦν κακὸς  
5 ὀνειδίζει συνεχόμενος, ἔστω νόμος ὅδε ἐπὶ τούτοις· Ἄνῃρ ὅς  
ἂν ὄφλῃ δίκην ὡς αἰσchrῶς ἀποβαλὼν ὅπλα πολεμικά, τούτῳ  
μήτ' οὐν τις στρατηγὸς μήτ' ἄλλος ποτὲ τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον  
945 ἀρχόντων ὡς ἀνδρὶ στρατιώτῃ χρήσεται μηδ' εἰς τάξιν  
κατατάξῃ μηδ' ἡντινοῦν· εἰ δὲ μή, κατευθύνειν αὐτοῦ τὸν  
εὐθυνον, ἂν μὲν ἦ τοῦ μεγίστου τιμήματος ὁ τάξας τὸν  
κακόν, χιλίας, ἂν δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου, πέντε μνᾶς, ἂν δὲ τοῦ  
5 τρίτου, τρεῖς μνᾶς, ἂν δὲ τοῦ τετάρτου, μνᾶν. ὁ δὲ ὄφλων  
τὴν δίκην πρὸς τῷ ἀφείσθαι τῶν ἀνδρείων κινδύνων κατὰ  
φύσιν τὴν αὐτοῦ προσαποτεισάτω μισθόν, χιλίας μὲν, ἂν  
τοῦ μεγίστου τιμήματος ἦ, πέντε δέ, τοῦ δευτέρου, τρεῖς δέ,  
b ἂν τοῦ τρίτου, μνᾶν δὲ ὡσαύτως, καθάπερ οἱ πρόσθεν, τοῦ  
τετάρτου μέρους.

Εὐθύνων δὲ περί τις ἡμῖν λόγος ἂν εἴη πρέπων ἀρχόντων  
γενομένων τῶν μὲν κατὰ τύχην κλήρου καὶ ἐπ' ἐνιαυτόν,  
5 τῶν δ' εἰς πλείονα ἔτη καὶ ἐκ προκρίτων; τῶν δὲ τοιούτων  
εὐθυνητῆς τίς ἱκανός, ἂν τίς τί πῃ σκολιὸν αὐτῶν καμφθεὶς  
ὑπὸ βάρους μὲν [τὴν ἀρχὴν] πράξῃ, τῆς δ' αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως  
ἐνδεία πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀξίαν; ῥάδιον μὲν οὐδαμῶς  
c εὐρεῖν τῶν ἀρχόντων ἄρχοντα ὑπερβάλλοντα πρὸς ἀρετὴν,  
ὅμως δὲ πειρατέον εὐθυνητὰς τινὰς ἀνευρίσκειν θεῖους.  
ἔχει γὰρ οὐν οὕτω. πολλοὶ καιροὶ πολιτείας λύσεώς εἰσιν,  
καθάπερ νεὺς ἢ ζῶου τινός, οὓς ἐντόνους τε καὶ ὑποζώματα  
5 καὶ νεύρων ἐπιτόνους, μίαν οὖσαν φύσιν διεσπαρμένην,  
πολλαχοῦ πολλοῖς ὀνόμασιν προσαγορεύομεν· εἰς δὲ οὗτος



οὐ σμικρότατος καιρὸς τοῦ σώζεσθαι τε καὶ διαλυθεῖσαν  
οἴχεσθαι πολιτείαν. ἂν μὲν γὰρ οἱ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐξευθύ- d  
νοντες βελτίους ὦσιν ἐκείνων, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐν δίκῃ ἀμέμπτῳ τε  
καὶ ἀμέμπτως, ἢ πᾶσα οὕτω θάλλει τε καὶ εὐδαιμονεῖ  
χώρα καὶ πόλις· ἐὰν δ' ἄλλως τὰ περὶ τὰς εὐθύνας τῶν  
ἄρχόντων γίνηται, τότε λυθείσης τῆς τὰ πάντα πολιτεύ- 5  
ματα συνεχούσης εἰς ἐν δίκης, ταύτῃ πᾶσα ἀρχὴ διεσπάσθη  
χωρὶς ἐτέρα ἀπ' ἄλλης, καὶ οὐκ εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ἔτι νεύουσαι,  
πολλὰς ἐκ μιᾶς τὴν πόλιν ποιοῦσαι, στάσεων ἐμπλήσασα e  
ταχὺ διώλεσαν. διὸ δὴ δεῖ πάντας τοὺς εὐθύνους θαυμαστοὺς  
πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν εἶναι. τεκταινώμεθα δὴ τινα τρόπον αὐτῶν  
τοιάνδε γένησιν. κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον μετὰ τροπὰς ἡλίου  
τὰς ἐκ θερῶν εἰς χειμῶνα συνιέναι χρεὼν πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν 5  
εἰς Ἡλίου κοινὸν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος τέμενος, τῷ θεῷ ἀποφανου-  
μένους ἄνδρας αὐτῶν τρεῖς, ὃν ἂν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἡγήται πάντῃ 946  
ἄριστον εἶναι πλὴν αὐτοῦ, μὴ ἔλαττον πεντήκοντα γεγονότα  
ἐτῶν. τῶν δὲ προκριθέντων οὓς ἂν πλείστοι ἐνέγκωσι, τού-  
τους ἐκλέξαι μέχρι τῶν ἡμίσεων, ἐὰν ἄρτιοι γίνωνται,  
περιττοὶ δὲ ἐὰν ὦσιν, ἓνα ἀφελεῖν, ὧ ἂν ἐλάχιστοι γένωνται, 5  
καταλιπεῖν δὲ τοὺς ἡμίσεις αὐτῶν πλήθει τῶν ψήφων ἀπο-  
κρίναντας, ἐὰν δὲ τισιν ἴσαι γίνωνται καὶ τὸν ἡμισὺν  
ἀριθμὸν πλείω ποιῶσιν, ἀφελεῖν τὸ πλεόν ἀποκρίναντας  
νεότητι, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐγκρίναντας φέρειν αὐθις, μέχρι περ b  
ἂν τρεῖς λειφθῶσιν ἄνισοι· ἐὰν δὲ ἢ πᾶσιν ἢ τοῖν δυοῖν ἴσαι  
γίνωνται, τῇ ἀγαθῇ μοίρᾳ καὶ τύχῃ ἐπιτρέψαντας, κλήρῳ  
διελόντας τὸν νικῶντα καὶ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον στεφανῶσαι  
θαλλῶ, καὶ τὰ ἀριστεῖα ἀποδόντας πᾶσιν ἀνειπεῖν ὅτι 5  
Μαγνήτων ἢ κατὰ θεὸν πάλιν τυχοῦσα σωτηρίας πόλις,  
ἀποφύνασα αὐτῆς Ἡλίῳ ἄνδρας τοὺς ἀρίστους τρεῖς, ἀκρο-  
θίνιον Ἀπόλλωνι κατὰ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον ἀνατίθῃσι κοινὸν c  
καὶ Ἡλίῳ, ὅσον περ ἂν ἔπωνται χρόνον τῇ κρίσει. τοιοῦτους  
δὲ πρώτῳ μὲν ἐνιαυτῷ δώδεκα εὐθύνους ἀποδείξει, μέχρι περ  
ἂν ἐκάστῳ πέντε καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτη συμβῇ γενόμενα, τὸ 5  
λοιπὸν δὲ τρεῖς αἰεὶ προσγινέσθων κατ' ἐνιαυτόν· οὗτοι δὲ  
τὰς ἀρχὰς πάσας δώδεκα μέρη διελόμενοι πάσαις βασιάνοις  
χρῶμενοι ἐλευθέραις ἐλεγχόντων. οἰκούντων δέ, ὅσον ἂν  
εὐθύνωσιν χρόνον, ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνός τε καὶ Ἡλίου d  
τεμένει, ἐν ᾧ περ ἐκρίθησαν· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἰδία ἕκαστος, τὰ δὲ  
καὶ κοινῇ μετ' ἀλλήλων κρίναντες τοὺς ἄρξαντας τῇ πόλει,

ἀποφηνάντων, εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν γράμματα καταθέντες, περὶ  
 5 ἐκάστης ἀρχῆς ὅτι χρή παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτίνειν κατὰ τὴν τῶν  
 εὐθύνων γνώμην. ἥτις δ' ἂν τῶν ἀρχῶν μὴ ὁμολογῇ κε-  
 κρίσθαι δικαίως, εἰς τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς δικαστὰς εἰσαγέτω τοὺς  
 εὐθύνους, καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ἀποφύγῃ τις τὰς εὐθύνas, αὐτῶν τῶν  
 e εὐθύνων κατηγορεῖτω, ἐὰν ἐθέλῃ· ἐὰν δὲ ἀλῶ, ἐὰν μὲν ἦ τῷ  
 θανάτῳ τετιμημένος ὑπὸ τῶν εὐθύνων, ὥσπερ ἀνάγκη, ἀπλῶς  
 θνησκέτω, τῶν δ' ἄλλων τιμημάτων ὧν ἂν δυνατόν ἦ διπλὴν  
 τεῖσαι, διπλασίαν τινέτω. τὰς δ' εὐθύνas αὐτῶν τούτων  
 5 ἀκούειν χρή τίνες ἔσονται καὶ τίνα τρόπον. ζῶσι μὲν οὖν  
 τούτοις τοῖς παρὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως ἀριστείων ἡξιωμένοις  
 947 προεδρίαί τ' ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσι πάσαις ἔστωσαν, ἔτι δὲ τῶν  
 εἰς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας κοινῇ θυσίων καὶ θεωριῶν καὶ ὄσων ἂν  
 ἐτέρων κοινωνῶσιν ἱερῶν, ἐκ τούτων τοὺς ἀρχοντας τῆς  
 θεωρίας ἐκάστης ἐκπέμπειν, καὶ τούτους μόνους δάφνης  
 5 στεφάνῳ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει κεκοσμημένους εἶναι, καὶ ἱερέας  
 μὲν πάντας τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνός τε καὶ Ἡλίου, ἀρχιέρεων δὲ ἓνα  
 κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τὸν πρῶτον κριθέντα τῶν γενομένων ἐκείνῳ τῷ  
 b ἐνιαυτῷ [τῶν ἱερέων], καὶ τοῦνομα ἀναγράφειν τούτου κατ'  
 ἐνιαυτόν, ὅπως ἂν γίνηται μέτρον ἀριθμοῦ τοῦ χρόνου, ἕως  
 ἂν ἡ πόλις οἰκῇται. τελευτήσασι δὲ προθέσεις καὶ ἐκφοράς  
 καὶ θήκας διαφόρους εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν· λευκὴν μὲν  
 5 τὴν στολὴν ἔχειν πᾶσαν, θρήνων δὲ καὶ ὀδυρμῶν χωρὶς  
 γίνεσθαι, κορῶν δὲ χορὸν πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ ἀρρένων ἕτερον  
 περισταμένους τῇ κλίνῃ ἐκατέρους οἶον ὕμνον πεποιημένον  
 c ἔπαινον εἰς τοὺς ἱερέας ἐν μέρει ἐκατέρους ᾄδειν, εὐδαιμονί-  
 ζοντας ὦδῃ διὰ πάσης τῆς ἡμέρας· ἔωθεν δ' εἰς τὴν θήκην  
 φέρειν αὐτὴν μὲν τὴν κλίνην ἐκατὸν τῶν νέων τῶν ἐν τοῖς  
 5 γυμνασίοις, οὓς ἂν οἱ προσήκοντες τοῦ τελευτήσαντος ἐπι-  
 σκευὴν ἐνδεδυκότας ἐκάστους, σὺν τοῖς ἵπποισι μὲν ἱππέας,  
 σὺν δὲ ὅπλοις ὀπλίτας, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὡσαύτως, παῖδας δὲ  
 περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν κλίνην ἔμπροσθεν τὸ πάτριον μέλος ἐφύμνειν,  
 d καὶ κόρας ἐπομένas ἐξόπισθεν ὅσαι τ' ἂν γυναῖκες τῆς παιδο-  
 ποιήσεως ἀπηλλαγμένοι τυγχάνωσιν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἱερέας  
 τε καὶ ἱερείας ὡς καθαρεύοντι τῷ τάφῳ ἔπεςθαι, ἐὰν ἄρα  
 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἵργωνται τάφων, ἐὰν καὶ τὸ τῆς Πυθίας  
 5 οὕτω τε καὶ ταύτῃ σύμφηφον ᾖ. θήκην δὲ ὑπὸ γῆς αὐτοῖς  
 εἰργασμένην εἶναι ψαλίδα προμήκη λίθων ποτίμων καὶ

ἀγῆρων εἰς δύναμιν, ἔχουσιν κλίνας παρ' ἀλλήλας λιθίνας  
 κειμένας, οὗ δὲ τὸν μακάριον γεγονότα θέντες, κύκλῳ χώ- e  
 σαντες, περίξ δένδρων ἄλσος περιφυτεύσουσι πλὴν κώλου  
 ἑνός, ὅπως ἂν αὖξην ὁ τάφος ἔχῃ ταύτην τὴν εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα  
 χρόνον ἐπιδεῇ χώματος τοῖς τιθεμένοις· κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν δὲ  
 ἀγῶνα μουσικῆς αὐτοῖς καὶ γυμνικὸν ἵππικόν τε θήσουσιν. 5  
 τὰ μὲν δὴ γέρα ταῦτα τοῖς τὰς εὐθύνας διαφυγοῦσιν· ἂν δέ  
 τις τούτων, πιστεύων τῷ κεκρίσθαι, τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν  
 ἐπιδείξῃ κακὸς γενόμενος ὕστερον τῆς κρίσεως, γράφεσθαι  
 μὲν τὸν βουλούμενον αὐτὸν ὁ νόμος προσταττέτω, ὁ δ' ἀγὼν  
 ἐν δικαστηρίῳ γιγνέσθω τοιῷδὲ τινι τρόπῳ. πρῶτον μὲν 948  
 νομοφύλακες ἔστωσαν τούτου τοῦ δικαστηρίου, ἔπειτα αὐτῶν  
 τούτων οἱ ζῶντες, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὸ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν δικα-  
 στήριον, γραφέσθω δὲ ὁ γραφόμενος, ὃν ἂν γράφηται,  
 λέγουσαν τὴν γραφὴν ἀνάξιον εἶναι τὸν καὶ τὸν τῶν ἀρι- 5  
 στείων καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς· καὶ ἔαν μὲν ὁ φεύγων ἁλῶ, στερέσθω  
 τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τοῦ τάφου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν δοθεισῶν αὐτῷ  
 τιμῶν, ἔαν δὲ ὁ διώκων μὴ μεταλάβῃ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν  
 ψήφων, τινέτω ὁ μὲν τοῦ μεγίστου τιμήματος δώδεκα μνᾶς, b  
 ὀκτῶ δὲ ὁ τοῦ δευτέρου, τρίτου δὲ ἕξ, τετάρτου δὲ δύο.

Ῥαδαμάνθυνος δὲ περὶ τὴν λεγομένην κρίσιν τῶν δικῶν  
 ἄξιον ἄγασθαι, διότι κατεῖδεν τοὺς τότε ἀνθρώπους ἡγου-  
 μένους ἐναργῶς εἶναι θεοὺς, εἰκότως, ἅτε κατὰ τὸν τότε 5  
 χρόνον τῶν πολλῶν ἐκ θεῶν ὄντων, ὧν εἰς ἦν αὐτός, ὥς γε  
 λόγος. ἔοικεν δὴ δικαστῇ μὲν ἀνθρώπων οὐδενὶ διανοοῦ-  
 μένος δεῖν ἐπιτρέπειν, θεοῖς δέ, ὅθεν ἀπλαῖ καὶ ταχεῖαι δίκαι  
 ἐκρίνοντ' αὐτῷ· διδοὺς γὰρ περὶ ἐκάστων τῶν ἀμφισβη-  
 τουμένων ὄρκον τοῖς ἀμφισβητοῦσιν ἀπηλλάττετο ταχὺ καὶ c  
 ἀσφαλῶς. νῦν δὲ δὴ ὅτε μέρος τι μὲν, φασί, ἀνθρώπων  
 τὸ παράπαν οὐχ ἡγοῦνται θεοὺς, οἱ δὲ οὐ φροντίζειν ἡμῶν  
 αὐτοὺς διανοοῦνται, τῶν δὲ δὴ πλείστων ἐστὶ καὶ κακίστων  
 ἢ δόξα ὡς σμικρὰ δεχόμενοι θύματα καὶ θωπείας πολλὰ 5  
 συναποστεροῦσι χρήματα καὶ μεγάλων σφᾶς ἐκλύονται κατὰ  
 πολλὰ ζημιῶν, οὐκέτι δὴ τοῖς νῦν ἀνθρώποις ἢ Ῥαδαμάνθυνος  
 ἂν εἴη τέχνη πρέπουσα ἐν δίκαις. μεταβεβληκυῶν οὖν τῶν d  
 περὶ θεοὺς δοξῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μεταβάλλειν δεῖ καὶ  
 τοὺς νόμους· ἐν γὰρ λήξεσιν δικῶν τοὺς μετὰ νοῦ τιθεμένους  
 νόμους ἐξαιρεῖν χρή τοὺς ὄρκους τῶν ἀντιδικούντων ἐκα-  
 τέρων, καὶ τὸν λαγχάνοντά τῷ τινα δίκην τὰ μὲν ἐγκλήματα 5



- γράφειν, ὄρκον δὲ μὴ ἐπομνύναι, καὶ τὸν φεύγοντα κατὰ ταῦτα τὴν ἄρνησιν γράψαντα παραδοῦναι τοῖς ἀρχουσιν ἀνώμοτον. δεινὸν γάρ που, δικῶν γ' ἐν πόλει πολλῶν  
 e γενομένων, εὖ εἰδέναι σμικροῦ δεῖν τοὺς ἡμίσεις αὐτῶν ἐπιωρκεκότας, ἐν συσσιτίοις τε ἀλλήλοις εὐχερῶς συγγιγνόμενους καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις συνουσίαις τε καὶ ἰδιωτικαῖς συγγενή-  
 5 δικάζειν μέλλοντα, καὶ τὸν τὰς ἀρχὰς τῷ κοινῷ καθιστάντα δι' ὄρκων ἢ διὰ φορᾶς ψήφων ἀφ' ἱερῶν φέροντα δρᾶν αἰεὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον, καὶ κριτὴν αὖ χορῶν καὶ πάσης μουσικῆς καὶ γυμνικῶν τε καὶ ἵππικῶν ἄθλων ἐπιστάτας καὶ βραβεάς καὶ ἀπάντων ὅποσα μὴ φέρει κέρδος κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην  
 5 δόξαν τῷ ἐπιωρκοῦντι· τῶν δὲ ὅποσα ἐξαρνηθέντι καὶ ἐξομοσαμένῳ κέρδος μέγα φανερόν εἶναι δοκεῖ, ταῦτα δὲ διὰ δικῶν ὄρκων χωρὶς κρίνεσθαι σύμπαντας τοὺς ἐπικαλοῦντας ἀλλήλοις. καὶ τὸ παράπαν ἐν δίκῃ τοὺς προέδρους μὴ  
 b ἐπιτρέπειν μήτε ὁμνύντι λέγειν πιθανότητος χάριν μήτε ἐπαρώμενον ἑαυτῷ καὶ γένει μήτε ἱκετεῖαις χρώμενον ἀσχήμοσιν μήτε οἴκτοις γυναικείοις, ἀλλὰ τὸ δίκαιον μετ' εὐφημίας διδάσκοντα καὶ μαθάνοντα αἰεὶ διατελεῖν, εἰ δὲ μή,  
 5 καθάπερ ἔξω τοῦ λόγου λέγοντος, τοὺς ἀρχοντας πάλιν ἐπανάγειν εἰς τὸν περὶ τοῦ πράγματος αἰεὶ λόγον. ξένῳ δ' εἶναι πρὸς ξένους, καθάπερ τὰ νῦν, δέχεσθαί τε ὄρκους παρ'  
 c ἀλλήλων, ἂν ἐθέλωσι, καὶ διδόναι κυρίως—οὐ γὰρ καταγγραῖσιν οὐδ' ἐννεοττεύοντες ἐν τῇ πόλει ὡς τὸ πολὺ τοιούτους ἄλλους κυρίους τῆς χώρας παρέξονται συντρόφους—δικῶν τε περὶ λήξεως τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον εἶναι πρὸς  
 5 ἀλλήλους πᾶσι τὴν κρίσιν.

Ὅσα τις ἐλεύθερος ἀπειθεῖ τῇ πόλει, μήτ' οὖν πληγῶν ἄξια μηδ' αὖ δεσμῶν μηδὲ θανάτου, περὶ δὲ χορείας τινῶν φοιτήσεων ἢ πομπεύσεων ἢ τοιούτων τινῶν ἄλλων κοινῶν  
 d κοσμήσεων ἢ λητουργιῶν, ὅποσα περὶ θυσίας εἰρηνικῆς ἢ πολεμικῶν εἰσφορῶν εἵνεκα, πάντων τῶν τοιούτων τὴν πρώτην ἀνάγκην ἱατὴν εἶναι τῆς ζημίας, τοῖς δὲ μὴ πειθόμενοις ἐνεχυρασίαν τούτοις οἷς ἂν πόλις ἅμα καὶ νόμος  
 5 εἰσπράττειν προστάτῃ, τῶν δὲ ἀπειθούντων ταῖς ἐνεχυρασίαις πρᾶσιν τῶν ἐνεχύρων εἶναι, τὸ δὲ νόμισμα γίνεσθαι τῇ πόλει· ἐὰν δὲ ζημίας δέωνται πλείονος, τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐκάστας τοῖς ἀπειθοῦσι τὰς πρεπούσας ζημίας ἐπιβαλλούσας



εἰσάγειν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, ἕως ἂν ἐθελήσωσι δρᾶν τὸ ε  
προσταχθέν.

Πόλει δέ, ἥτις ἂν μῆτε χρηματίζεται πλὴν τὸν ἐκ γῆς  
χρηματισμὸν μὴτ' ἐμπορεύηται, περὶ ἀποδημίας ἑαυτῶν ἔξω  
τῆς χώρας καὶ ξένων ὑποδοχῆς ἄλλοθεν ἀνάγκη βεβου- 5  
λεῦσθαι τί χρὴ δρᾶν· συμβουλεύειν οὖν τὸν νομοθέτην δεῖ  
τούτων πέρι πρῶτον πείθοντα εἰς δύναμιν. πέφυκεν δὲ  
ἡ πόλεων ἐπιμειξία πόλεσιν ἦθη κεραυνῦναι παντοδαπά,  
καινοτομίας ἀλλήλοις ἐμποιοούντων ξένων ξένοις· ὃ δὴ τοῖς 950  
μὲν εὖ πολιτευομένοις διὰ νόμων ὀρθῶν βλάβην ἂν φέροι  
μεγίστην πασῶν, ταῖς δὲ πλείσταis πόλεσιν, ἅτε οὐδαμῶς  
εὐνομουμέναις, οὐδὲν διαφέρει φύρεσθαι δεχομένους τε αὐτοῖς  
ξένους καὶ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰς ἄλλας ἐπικωμᾶζοντας πόλεις, ὅταν 5  
ἐπιθυμήσῃ τις ἀποδημίας ὀπηροῦν καὶ ὁπότε, εἴτε νέος εἴτε  
καὶ πρεσβύτερος ὢν. τὸ δ' αὖ μῆτε ἄλλους δέχεσθαι μῆτε  
αὐτοὺς ἄλλοσε ἀποδημεῖν ἅμα μὲν οὐκ ἐγχωρεῖ τό γε  
παράπαν, ἔτι δὲ ἄγριον καὶ ἀπηγνές φαίνοιτ' ἂν τοῖς ἄλλοις b  
ἀνθρώποις, ὀνόμασιν τε χαλεποῖς ταῖσιν λεγομέναις ξενη-  
λασίαις χρωμένους καὶ τρόποις αὐθαδέσι καὶ χαλεποῖς, ὡς  
δοκοῖεν ἂν· χρὴ δὲ οὐποτε περὶ σμικροῦ ποιεῖσθαι τὸ δοκεῖν  
ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἢ μὴ δοκεῖν. οὐ γὰρ ὅσον οὐσίας 5  
ἀρετῆς ἀπεσφαλμένοι τυγχάνουσιν οἱ πολλοί, τοσοῦτον καὶ  
τοῦ κρίνειν τοὺς ἄλλους ὅσοι πονηροὶ καὶ χρηστοί, θεῖον δέ  
τι καὶ εὐστοχον ἔνεστι καὶ τοῖσιν κακοῖς, ὥστε πάμπολλοι  
καὶ τῶν σφόδρα κακῶν εὖ τοῖς λόγοις καὶ ταῖς δόξαις δια- c  
ροῦνται τοὺς ἀμείνους τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοὺς χείρονας.  
διὸ καλὸν ταῖς πολλαῖς πόλεσι τὸ παρακέλευμά ἐστιν,  
προτιμᾶν τὴν εὐδοξίαν πρὸς τῶν πολλῶν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ  
ὀρθότατον καὶ μέγιστον, ὄντα ἀγαθὸν ἀληθῶς οὕτω τὸν 5  
εὐδοξὸν βίον θηρεύειν, χωρὶς δὲ μηδαμῶς, τὸν γε τέλεον  
ἄνδρα ἐσόμενον, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῇ κατὰ Κρήτην οἰκισομένη  
πόλει πρόπον ἂν εἴη δόξαν πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ὅτι  
καλλίστην τε καὶ ἀρίστην παρασκευάζεσθαι πρὸς ἀρετὴν· d  
πᾶσα δ' ἐλπίς αὐτὴν ἐκ τῶν εἰκότων, ἅνπερ κατὰ λόγον  
γίγνηται, μετ' ὀλίγων ἥλιον ὄψεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς  
ἐν ταῖς εὐνόμοις πόλεσι καὶ χώραις. ὧδε οὖν χρὴ ποιεῖν  
περὶ ἀποδημίας εἰς ἄλλας χώρας καὶ τόπους καὶ περὶ ὑπο- 5  
δοχῆς ξένων. Πρῶτον μὲν νεωτέρῳ ἐτῶν τετταράκοντα μὴ  
ἐξέστω ἀποδημῆσαι μηδαμῇ μηδαμῶς, ἔτι τε ἰδίᾳ μηδενί,

- δημοσία δ' ἔστω κήρυξιν ἢ πρεσβείαις ἢ καὶ τισι θεωροῖς·  
 e τὰς δὲ κατὰ πόλεμον καὶ στρατείας ἀποδημίας οὐκ ἐν ἐκδη-  
 μίαις πολιτικάις ἄξιον ἀγορεύειν ὡς τούτων οὔσας. Πυθῶδε  
 τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν τῷ Διὶ καὶ εἰς Νεμέαν καὶ  
 εἰς Ἴσθμὸν χρή πέμπειν κοινωνοῦντας θυσιῶν τε καὶ ἀγώνων  
 5 τούτοις τοῖς θεοῖς, πέμπειν δὲ εἰς δύναμιν ὅτι πλείστους  
 ἅμα καὶ καλλίστους τε καὶ ἀρίστους, οἵτινες εὐδόκιμον τὴν  
 πόλιν ἐν ἱεραῖς τε καὶ εἰρηνικαῖς συνουσίαις ποιήσουσι  
 95I δοκεῖν, τοῖς περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἀντίστροφον ἀποδιδόντες  
 δόξης παρασκευήν, ἐλθόντες δὲ οἴκαδε διδάξουσι τοὺς νέους  
 ὅτι δεύτερα τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἔστι νόμιμα τὰ περὶ τὰς πολι-  
 τείας. θεωροὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐκπέμπειν χρεὼν τοιούσδε τινὰς  
 5 τοὺς νομοφύλακας παρεμένους· ἂν τινες ἐπιθυμῶσι τῶν  
 πολιτῶν τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων πράγματα θεωρῆσαι κατὰ  
 τινα πλείω σχολήν, ἀπειργέτω μηδεὶς τούτους νόμος. οὔτε  
 γὰρ ἄπειρος οὔσα πόλις ἀνθρώπων κακῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν δύναται  
 b ἂν ποτε, ἀνομίλητος οὔσα, ἡμερος ἱκανῶς εἶναι καὶ τέλος,  
 οὐδ' αὖ τοὺς νόμους διαφυλάττειν ἄνευ τοῦ γνώμη λαβεῖν  
 αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ μὴ μόνον ἔθελαι. εἰσὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς  
 ἀνθρωποι αἰεὶ θεῖοί τινες—οὐ πολλοί—παντὸς ἄξιοι συγγί-  
 5 γνεσθαι, φυόμενοι οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐν εὐνομουμέναις πόλεσιν  
 ἢ καὶ μὴ, ὧν κατ' ἔχνος αἰεὶ χρή τὸν ἐν ταῖς εὐνομουμέναις  
 πόλεσιν οἰκοῦντα ἐξιώντα κατὰ θάλατταν καὶ γῆν ζητεῖν,  
 c ὃς ἂν ἀδιάφθαρτος ᾗ, τὰ μὲν βεβαιούμενον τῶν νομίμων,  
 ὅσα καλῶς αὐτοῖς κείται, τὰ δ' ἐπανορθούμενον, εἴ τι παρα-  
 λείπεται. ἄνευ γὰρ ταύτης τῆς θεωρίας καὶ ζητήσεως οὐ  
 μένει ποτὲ τελέως πόλις, οὐδ' ἂν κακῶς αὐτὴν θεωρῶσιν.  
 5 ΚΛ. Πῶς οὖν ἂν γίγνοιτ' ἀμφοτέρα;  
 ΑΘ. Τῇδε. πρῶτον μὲν ὁ θεωρὸς ὁ τοιοῦτος ἡμῖν  
 γεγονὼς ἔστω πλειόνων ἐτῶν ἢ πεντήκοντα, ἔτι δὲ τῶν  
 εὐδοκίμων τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἔστω γεγενη-  
 d μένος, εἰ μέλλει τὸ τῶν νομοφυλάκων δαίματι εἰς τὰς ἄλλας  
 μεθῆσιν πόλεις· πλέον δὲ ἐξήκοντα γεγονὼς ἐτῶν μηκέτι  
 θεωρεῖτω. θεωρήσας δὲ ὅπόσ' ἂν ἔτη βουλευθῇ τῶν δέκα  
 καὶ ἀφικόμενος οἴκαδε, εἰς τὸν σύλλογον ἴτω τὸν τῶν περὶ  
 5 νόμους ἐποπτευόντων· οὗτος δ' ἔστω νέων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων  
 μεμειγμένος, ἐκάστης μὲν ἡμέρας συλλεγόμενος ἐξ ἀνάγκης  
 ἀπ' ὀρθρου μέχρι περ ἂν ἥλιος ἀνάσχη, πρῶτον μὲν τῶν  
 ἱερέων τῶν τὰ ἀριστεῖα εἰληφότων, ἔπειτα τῶν νομοφυλάκων

τοὺς αἰὲς πρεσβεύοντας δέκα, ἔτι ὁ περὶ τῆς παιδείας πάσης e  
ἐπιμελητῆς ὃ τε νέος οἷ τε ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ταύτης ἀπηλλα-  
γμένοι. ἕκαστος δὲ τούτων μὴ μόνος, ἀλλ' ἴτω μετὰ νέου  
ἀπὸ τριάκοντα ἐτῶν μέχρι τετταράκοντα, τὸν ἀρέσκοντα  
αὐτῷ προσλαμβάνων. τὴν δὲ συνουσίαν εἶναι τούτοις καὶ 5  
τοὺς λόγους περὶ νόμων αἰὲς τῆς τε οἰκείας πόλεως πέρι, καὶ 952  
ἐὰν ἄλλοι πυνθάνωνται τι περὶ τῶν τοιούτων διαφέρων,  
καὶ δὴ καὶ περὶ μαθημάτων, ὅπόσ' ἂν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ σκέψει δοκῇ  
συμφέρειν μαθοῦσι μὲν εὐαγέστερον γίγνεσθαι, μὴ μαθοῦσι  
δὲ σκοτωδέστερα τὰ περὶ νόμους αὐτοῖς φαίνεσθαι καὶ 5  
ἄσαφῇ. ἃ δ' ἂν τούτων ἐγκρίνωσιν οἱ γεραίτεροι, τοὺς  
νεωτέρους πάσῃ σπουδῇ μαθάνειν, ἐὰν δέ τις ἀνάξιος δοκῇ  
τῶν παρακεκλημένων εἶναι, τῷ παρακαλοῦντι μέμφεσθαι τὸν  
σύλλογον ὅλον· τοὺς δ' εὐδοκιμοῦντας τούτων τῶν νέων b  
φυλάττειν τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν, ἀποβλέποντας εἰς αὐτοὺς  
διαφερόντως τε τηροῦντας, καὶ τιμᾶν μὲν κατορθοῦντας,  
ἀτιμάζειν δὲ μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων, ἐὰν ἀποβαίνωσι χεῖρους  
τῶν πολλῶν. εἰς δὴ τοῦτον τὸν σύλλογον ὁ θεωρήσας 5  
τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις νόμιμα ἀφικόμενος εὐθὺς  
πορευέσθω, καὶ εἴ τινα φήμην τινῶν περὶ θέσεως νόμων  
ἢ παιδείας ἢ τροφῆς ἡδρὲν τινος ἔχοντας φράζειν, εἴτε καὶ  
αὐτὸς νενοηκῶς ἅττα ἦκοι, κοινούτω τῷ συλλόγῳ ἅπαντι·  
καὶ ἐὰν τε μηδὲν χείρων μηδέ τι βελτίων ἦκειν δόξη, χάριν c  
γοῦν τῆς σφόδρα προθυμίας αἰνεῖσθω, ἐὰν δὲ πολὺ βελτίων,  
πολύ τ' ἐπαινέισθω μᾶλλον ζῶν, τελευτήσαντά τε τιμαῖς  
αὐτὸν προσηκούσαις ἢ τῶν συλλεγομένων τιμάτῳ δύναμις.  
ἐὰν δὲ διεφθαρμένος ἀφικέσθαι δόξη, μηδενὶ συγγιγνέσθω 5  
μήτε νέῳ μήτε πρεσβυτέρῳ προσποιούμενος εἶναι σοφός·  
καὶ ἐὰν μὲν πείθεται τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ιδιώτης ζήτῳ, ἐὰν δὲ  
μὴ, τεθνάτω, ἐὰν γ' ἐν δικαστηρίῳ ἁλῶ πολυπραγμονῶν τι d  
περὶ τὴν παιδείαν καὶ τοὺς νόμους. ἐὰν δὲ ἄξιον ὄντα εἰς  
δικαστήριον εἰσάγειν ἀρχόντων μηδεὶς εἰσάγῃ, ὄνειδος ἀπο-  
κείσθω τοῖς ἄρχουσιν εἰς τὴν τῶν ἀριστείων διαδικασίαν.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐκδημῶν οὕτω καὶ τοιοῦτος ὢν ἐκδημείτω, 5  
τὸν δ' εἰσεπιδημήσαντα μετὰ τοῦτον χρή φιλοφρονεῖσθαι.  
τέτταρες δ' εἰσὶ ξένῳ ὢν δεῖ πέρι λόγον τινὰ ποιεῖσθαι·  
ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτός τε καὶ διὰ τέλους αἰὲς θερινὸς ὥς τὰ πολλὰ  
διατελῶν ταῖς φοιτήσεσιν, καθάπερ οἱ τῶν ὀρνίθων διαπο- e  
ρευόμενοι—καὶ τούτων οἱ πολλοὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἀτεχνῶς



οἷον πετόμενοι χρηματισμοῦ χάριν ἐμπορευόμενοι ἔτους  
 ὥραν πέτονται πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις—ὃν ἀγοραῖς καὶ λιμέσι  
 5 καὶ δημοσίοις οἰκοδομήμασιν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως πρὸς τῇ πόλει  
 953 φυλάττοντας μὴ νεωτερίζῃ τίς τι τῶν τοιούτων ξένων, καὶ  
 δίκας αὐτοῖς ὀρθῶς διανέμοντας, ἀναγκαῖα μὲν, ὡς ὀλίγιστα  
 δ' ἐπιχωμένους. ὁ δὲ δεύτερος, ὁμμασιν ὄντως θεωρὸς ὅσα  
 τε μουσῶν ὥσιν ἔχεται θεωρήματα· τῷ δὲ τοιούτῳ παντὶ  
 5 χρή καταλύσεις πρὸς ἱεροῖς εἶναι φιλοξενίας ἀνθρώπων  
 παρεσκευασμένας, χρή δὲ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἱερέας τε καὶ  
 νεωκόρους ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ τημελεῖν, ἕως ἂν τὸν μέτριον  
 ἐπιμείναντες χρόνον, ἰδόντες τε καὶ ἀκούσαντες ὧν χάριν ἀφ-  
 b ἱκοντο, ἀβλαβεῖς τοῦ δρᾶσαι τε καὶ παθεῖν ἀπαλλάττονται.  
 δικαστὰς δ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι τοὺς ἱερέας, εἰάν ἀδικῇ τις αὐτῶν  
 τινα ἢ τιν' ἄλλον ἀδικῇ τις τούτων ὅσα ἐντὸς δραχμῶν  
 πεντήκοντα, εἰάν δέ τι μείζον ἔγκλημα αὐτοῖς γίγνηται, πρὸς  
 5 τοῖς ἀγορανόμοις εἶναι δεῖ δίκας τοῖς τοιούτοις. τρίτον δὲ  
 ξένον ὑποδέχεσθαι χρή δημοσίᾳ τὸν κατὰ τι δημόσιον ἐξ  
 ἄλλης χώρας ἀφιγμένον· ὃν στρατηγοῖς τε καὶ ἱππάρχοις  
 καὶ ταξιάρχοις ὑποδεκτέον ἐστὶν μόνοις, τὴν τ' ἐπιμέλειαν  
 c τῶν τοιούτων μετὰ τῶν πρυτάνεων ποιητέον ἐκείνῳ παρ'  
 ὧ τινις ἂν αὐτῶν τὴν κατάλυσιν ξενωθείς ποιήσῃται μόνῳ.  
 τέταρτος δέ, ἂν ποτέ τις ἀφίκηται, σπάνιος μὲν, ἂν δ' οὖν  
 ποτέ τις ἔλθῃ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν θεωρῶν ἀντίστροφος ἐξ ἄλλης  
 5 χώρας, πρῶτον μὲν ἔλαττον ἐτῶν μηδὲν πεντήκοντα γεγονώς  
 ἔστω, πρὸς τούτῳ δὲ ἀξιῶν τι καλὸν ἰδεῖν τῶν ἐν ταῖς  
 ἄλλαις πόλεσιν διαφέρων ἐν καλλοναῖς ἢ καὶ δεῖξαι τι κατὰ  
 d ταῦτά ἄλλῃ πόλει. ἴτω μὲν νῦν πᾶς ἀκέλευστος ὁ τοιοῦτος  
 ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν πλουσίων καὶ σοφῶν θύρας, τοιοῦτος ἕτερος  
 αὐτὸς ὢν· ἐπὶ γὰρ τὴν τοῦ τῆς παιδείας ἐπιμελουμένου  
 πάσης οἴκησιν ἴτω πιστεύων ἱκανῶς εἶναι ξένος τῷ τοιούτῳ  
 5 ξένῳ, ἢ τὴν τῶν νικηφόρων τινὸς ἐπ' ἀρετῇ, συνὼν δὲ  
 τούτων τισὶν τὸ μὲν διδάξας, τὸ δὲ μαθὼν ἀπαλαττέσθω,  
 φίλος παρὰ φίλων δώροις καὶ τιμαῖς πρεπούσαις τιμηθεῖς.  
 τούτοις δὴ τοῖς νόμοις ὑποδέχεσθαί τε χρή πάντας ξένους  
 e τε καὶ ξένας ἐξ ἄλλης χώρας καὶ τοὺς αὐτῶν ἐκπέμπειν,  
 τιμῶντας ξένιον Δία, μὴ βρώμασι καὶ θύμασι τὰς ξενηλασίας  
 ποιουμένους, καθάπερ ποιοῦσιν νῦν θρέμματα Νείλου, μηδὲ  
 κηρύγμασιν ἀγρίοις.



Ἐγγύην, ἣν ἂν ἐγγυᾷται τις, διαρρήδην ἐγγυάσθω, τὴν 5  
 πρᾶξιν πᾶσαν διομολογούμενος ἐν συγγραφῇ καὶ ἐναντίον  
 μαρτύρων μὴ ἔλαττον τριῶν, ὅσα ἐντὸς χιλίων, τὰ δ' ὑπὲρ  
 χιλίας μὴ ἔλαττον ἢ πέντε. ἐγγυητὴς μὲν δὴ καὶ ὁ προ- 954  
 πωλὼν ὅτιοῦν τοῦ μὴ ἐνδίκως πωλοῦντος ἢ καὶ μηδαμῶς  
 ἀξιόχρεω· ὑπόδικος δ' ἔστω καὶ ὁ προπωλὼν καθάπερ ὁ  
 ἀποδόμενος.

Φωρᾶν δὲ ἂν ἐθέλῃ τις παρ' ὅτῳ οὖν, γυμνὸς [ἢ] χιτωνίσκον 5  
 ἔχων ἄζωστος προομόσας τοὺς νομίμους θεοὺς ἢ μὴν ἐλπί-  
 ζειν εὐρήσειν, οὕτω φωρᾶν· ὁ δὲ παρεχέτω τὴν οἰκίαν, τὰ  
 τε σεσημασμένα καὶ τὰ ἀσήμαντα, φωρᾶν. ἐὰν δὲ τις  
 ἐρευνᾶν βουλομένῳ φωρᾶν μὴ διδῶ, δικάζεσθαι μὲν τὸν b  
 ἀπειργόμενον, τιμησάμενον τὸ ἐρευνώμενον, ἂν δὲ τις ὅφλῃ,  
 τὴν διπλασίαν τοῦ τιμηθέντος βλάβην ἐκτίνειν. ἐὰν δὲ  
 ἀποδημῶν οἰκίας δεσπότης τυγχάνῃ, τὰ μὲν ἀσήμαντα παρε-  
 χόντων οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες ἐρευνᾶν, τὰ δὲ σεσημασμένα παρα- 5  
 σημηνάσθω καὶ ὃν ἂν ἐθέλῃ φύλακα καταστησάτω πέντε  
 ἡμέρας ὁ φωρῶν· ἐὰν δὲ πλείονα χρόνον ἀπῇ, τοὺς ἀστυνό-  
 μους παραλαβὼν οὕτω φωράτω, λύων καὶ τὰ σεσημασμένα,  
 πάλιν δὲ μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων καὶ τῶν ἀστυνόμων κατὰ ταῦτά c  
 σημηνάσθω.

Τῶν ἀμφισβητησίμων χρόνου <ὅ>δε ὅρος ὃν ἐάν τις ἦ  
 κεκτημένος μηκέτ' ἀμφισβητεῖν ἐξεῖναι. χωρίων μὲν οἰκῆ-  
 σεῶν τε τῇδε οὐκ ἔστ' ἀμφισβήτησις· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὅτι ἂν 5  
 τις ἐκτημένος ἦ, ἐὰν μὲν κατὰ ἄστυ καὶ κατ' ἀγορὰν καὶ ἱερὰ  
 χρώμενος φαίνεται καὶ μηδεὶς ἐπιλάβηται, φῆ δὲ ζητεῖν  
 τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, ὁ δὲ μὴ ἀποκρυπτόμενος φανερός ἦ, ἐὰν  
 οὕτω τις ἐνιαυτὸν ὅτιοῦν ἐκτημένος, ὁ δὲ ζητῶν διαγένωνται, d  
 μὴ ἐξέστω τοιοῦτου κτήματος ἐπιλαβέσθαι μηδένα παρελ-  
 θόντος ἐνιαυτοῦ. ἐὰν δὲ κατ' ἄστυ μὲν μὴ μηδὲ κατ' ἀγορὰν  
 χρῆται, κατ' ἀγροὺς δὲ φανερώς, μὴ προστυχῆς δὲ ἐν πέντε  
 ἔτεσιν γένηται τις, τῶν πέντε ἐξεληθόντων ἐτῶν, μηκέτι [τοῦ 5  
 λοιποῦ χρόνου] ἐξέστω τούτῳ τοῦ τοιοῦτου ἐπιλαβέσθαι.  
 ἐὰν δὲ κατ' οἰκίας ἐν ἄστει τέ τις χρῆται, τριετὴ τὴν προ-  
 θεσμίαν εἶναι, ἐὰν δὲ κατ' ἀγροὺς ἐν ἀφανεί κεκτηῖται, δέκα e  
 ἐτῶν, ἐὰν δ' ἐν ἀλλοδημίᾳ, τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου, ὅταν ἀνεύρῃ  
 πού, μηδεμίαν εἶναι προθεσμίαν τῆς ἐπιλήψεως.

Ἐάν τις τινα δίκη παραγενέσθαι κωλύσῃ βίᾳ, εἴτε αὐτὸν  
 εἴτε μάρτυρας, ἐὰν μὲν δούλον εἴτε αὐτοῦ εἴτε ἀλλότριον, 5

955 ἀτελῇ καὶ ἄκυρον γίνεσθαι τὴν δίκην, εἰ δὲ ἐλεύθερον, πρὸς τῷ ἀτελῇ, δεθῆναι μὲν ἐνιαυτόν, ὑπόδικον δὲ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ τῷ ἐθέλοντι γίνεσθαι. εἰ δὲ ἀνταγωνιστὴν γυμναστικῆς ἢ μουσικῆς ἢ τινος ἀγώνος ἐτέρου διακωλύῃ τις βία μὴ παραγίνεσθαι, φραζέτω μὲν ὁ ἐθέλων τοῖς ἀθλοθέταις, οἱ δ' εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐλεύθερον ἀφιέντων τὸν ἐθέλοντα ἀγωνίζεσθαι. εἰ δὲ ἀδυνατήσωσιν, εἰ μὲν ὁ κωλύων ἀγωνίζεσθαι νικήσῃ, τὰ τε νικητήρια τῷ διακωλυθέντι διδόναι καὶ νικήσαντα γράφειν ἐν ἱεροῖς οἷς ἂν ἐθέλῃ, τῷ δὲ διακωλύσαντι μὴ ἐξέστω μηδὲν ἀνάθημα μηδ' ἐπιγραφὴν τοῦ τοιούτου ἀγώνος ποτε γενέσθαι, βλάβης δὲ ὑπόδικος γιγνέσθω, εἰ μὲν τε ἡττῆται ἀγωνιζόμενος εἰ μὲν τε καὶ νικᾷ.

5 Ἐάν τις κλεμμάδιον ὅτιοῦν ὑποδέχεται γιγνώσκων, τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπεχέτω δίκην τῷ κλέψαντι· φυγάδος δὲ ὑποδοχῆς θάνατος ἔστω ζημία. Τὸν αὐτὸν φίλον τε καὶ ἐχθρόν νομιζέτω πᾶς τῇ πόλει. εἰ δὲ τις ἰδίᾳ ποιῆται πρὸς τινὰς εἰρήνην ἢ πόλεμον ἄνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ, θάνατος ἔστω καὶ τούτῳ ζημία. εἰ δὲ τι μέρος τῆς πόλεως εἰρήνην ἢ πόλεμον πρὸς τινὰς ἑαυτῷ ποιῆται, τοὺς αἰτίους οἱ στρατηγοὶ ταύτης τῆς πράξεως εἰσαγόντων εἰς δικαστήριον, ὁφλόντι δὲ θάνατος  
5 ἔστω δίκη.

Τοὺς τῇ πατρίδι διακονούντας τι δώρων χωρὶς χρή διακονεῖν, πρόφασιν δ' εἶναι μηδεμίαν μηδὲ λόγον ἐπαινούμενον, ὥς ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς μὲν δεῖ δέχεσθαι δῶρα, ἐπὶ δὲ φλαύροις  
d οὐ· τὸ γὰρ γινῶναι καὶ γνόντα καρτερεῖν οὐκ εὐπετές, ἀκούοντα δὲ ἀσφαλέστατον πείθεσθαι τῷ νόμῳ, μηδὲν ἐπὶ δώροισιν διακονεῖν. ὁ δὲ μὴ πειθόμενος ἀπλῶς τεθνάτω ἀλοὺς τῇ δίκῃ.

5 Χρημάτων εἰσφορὰς πέρι τῷ κοινῷ, τετιμῆσθαι μὲν ἕκαστον τὴν οὐσίαν ἕνεκα πολλῶν χρεῶν καὶ τὴν ἐπέτειον ἐπικαρπίαν ἐν γράμμασιν ἀποφέρειν ἀγρονόμοις φυλέτας, ὅπως ἂν δυοῖν οὐσαιν ταῖν εἰσφοραῖν, ὅποτέρᾳ τὸ δημόσιον  
e ἂν χρῆσθαι βούληται, χρῆται, κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον βουλευομένων, εἰ μὲν τε τοῦ τιμήματος ὅλου μέρει εἰ μὲν τε τῆς γενομένης ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκάστοτε προσόδου, χωρὶς τῶν εἰς τὰ συσσίτια τελουμένων.

5 Θεοῖσι δὲ ἀναθήματα χρεῶν ἕμμετρα τὸν μέτριον ἄνδρα ἀνατιθέντα δωρεῖσθαι. γῇ μὲν οὖν ἐστία τε οἰκήσεως ἱερὰ πᾶσι πάντων θεῶν· μηδεὶς οὖν δευτέρως ἱερὰ καθιερούτω

θεοῖς. χρυσὸς δὲ καὶ ἄργυρος ἐν ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ἰδία τε  
καὶ ἐν ἱεροῖς ἐστὶν ἐπίφθονον κτῆμα, ἐλέφας δὲ ἀπολελοι- 956  
πότης ψυχὴν σώματος οὐκ εὐαγὲς ἀνάθημα, σίδηρος δὲ  
καὶ χαλκὸς πολέμων ὄργανα· ξύλου δὲ μονόξυλον ὅτι ἂν  
ἐθέλῃ τις ἀνατιθέτω, καὶ λίθου ὡσαύτως πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ  
ἱερά, ὑφὴν δὲ [μὴ πλέον] ἔργον γυναικὸς μιᾶς ἔμμηνον. 5  
χρώματα δὲ λευκὰ πρέποντ' ἂν θεοῖς εἴη καὶ ἄλλοθι καὶ ἐν  
ὑφῇ, βάμματα δὲ μὴ προσφέρειν ἀλλ' ἢ πρὸς τὰ πολέμου  
κοσμήματα. θειότατα δὲ δῶρα ὄρνιθές τε καὶ ἀγάλματα b  
ὅσαπερ ἂν ἐν μιᾷ ζωγράφος ἡμέρᾳ εἰς ἀποτελῇ· καὶ τᾶλλα  
ἔστω κατὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀναθήματα μεμιμημένα.

Ὅτε δὲ μέρη διείρηται τῆς πόλεως συμπάσης, ὅσα τε  
καὶ ἂ δεῖ γίνεσθαι, καὶ νόμοι περὶ τῶν συμβολαίων εἰς 5  
δύναμιν τῶν μεγίστων περὶ πάντων εἴρηνται, τὸ λοιπὸν δὴ  
δίκας ἂν εἴη χρεῶν γίνεσθαι. δικαστηρίων δὲ τὸ μὲν  
πρῶτον αἰρετοὶ δικασταὶ γίνονται· ἂν, οὓς ἂν ὁ φεύγων τε  
καὶ ὁ διώκων ἔλονται κοινῇ, διαιτηταὶ δικαστῶν τοῦνομα c  
μᾶλλον πρέπον ἔχοντες· δεύτεροι δὲ κωμῆταί τε καὶ φυλῆται,  
κατὰ τὸ δωδέκατον μέρος διηρημένοι, ἐν οἷς, ἂν μὴ διακρι-  
θῶσιν ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις, περὶ ζημίας μείζονος ἰόντων ἀγωνιού-  
μενοι, ὁ δὲ φεύγων, ἂν ἡττηθῇ τὸ δεύτερον, τὸ πεμπτημόριον 5  
ἀποτινέτω τοῦ τιμήματος τῆς γραφείσης δίκης. ἐὰν δ'  
ἐγκαλῶν τις τοῖς δικασταῖς τὸ τρίτον ἀγωνίζεσθαι βούληται,  
ἀγέτω μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς δικαστὰς τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς τὴν δίκην, ἐὰν δὲ d  
πάλιν ἡττηθῇ, τὴν ἡμιολίαν τοῦ τιμήματος ἀποτινέτω. ἐὰν  
δὲ ὁ διώκων ἡττηθεῖς ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις μὴ ἡρεμῇ, εἰς δὲ τοὺς  
δευτέρους ἴη, νικήσας μὲν δὴ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος ἀπολαμ-  
βανέτω, νικηθεὶς δὲ ἀποτινέτω ταῦτὸν μέρος τῆς δίκης. 5  
ἐὰν δ' εἰς τὸ τρίτον ἔλθωσιν δικαστῆριον ἀπειθήσαντες ταῖς  
ἔμπροσθεν δίκαις, ὁ μὲν φεύγων ἡττηθεὶς, ὥσπερ εἴρηται,  
τὴν ἡμιολίαν, ὁ δὲ διώκων τὴν ἡμίσειαν τοῦ τιμήματος  
ἀποτινέτω. κληρώσεις δὲ δικαστηρίων καὶ πληρώσεις, καὶ e  
ὑπηρεσιῶν ἐκάσταις τῶν ἀρχῶν καταστάσεις, καὶ χρόνους  
ἐν οἷς ἕκαστα γίνεσθαι χρεῶν, καὶ διαψηφίσεων περὶ καὶ  
ἀναβολῶν, καὶ πάνθ' ὅποσα τοιαῦτα ἀναγκαῖα περὶ δίκας  
γίνεσθαι, προτέρων τε καὶ ὑστέρων λήξεις, ἀποκρίσεών τε 5  
ἀνάγκας καὶ παρακαταβάσεων, καὶ ὅσα τούτων ἀδελφὰ σύμ-  
παντα, εἴπομεν μὲν καὶ πρόσθεν, καλὸν δὲ τό γε ὀρθὸν καὶ  
δὺς καὶ τρίς. πάντα δ' οὖν ὅποσα σμικρὰ καὶ ῥάδια νόμιμα 957



εὐρίσκειν, πρεσβύτου νομοθέτου παραλιπόντος, τὸν νέον  
 ἀναπληροῦν χρή νομοθέτην. τὰ μὲν ἴδια δικαστήρια ταύτη  
 πη γιγνόμενα μέτρον ἂν ἔχοι· τὰ δὲ δημόσια καὶ κοινὰ  
 5 καὶ ὅσοις ἀρχὰς δεῖ χρωμένας τὰ προσήκοντα ἐκάστη τῶν  
 ἀρχῶν διοικεῖν ἔστ' ἐν πολλαῖς πόλεσιν οὐκ ἀσχήμονα  
 ἐπιεικῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ὀλίγα νομοθετήματα, ὅθεν νομοφύλακας  
 b χρή τὰ πρόποντα τῇ νῦν γεννωμένη πολιτείᾳ κατασκευάζειν  
 συλλογισαμένους καὶ ἐπανορθουμένους, ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις δια-  
 βασανίζοντας, ἕως ἂν ἱκανῶς αὐτῶν ἕκαστα δόξῃ κεῖσθαι,  
 τότε δὲ τέλος ἐπιθέντας, ἀκίνητα οὕτως ἐπισφραγισαμένους,  
 5 χρῆσθαι τὸν ἅπαντα βίον. ὅσα δὲ περὶ τε σιγὴν δικαστῶν  
 καὶ εὐφημίας καὶ τούναντίον, καὶ ὅσα παραλλάττει τῶν πολ-  
 λῶν ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν δικαίων καὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ καλῶν,  
 c τὰ μὲν εἴρηται, τὰ δ' ἔτι πρὸς τῷ τέλει ῥηθήσεται. πρὸς ἃ  
 πάντα χρή τὸν μέλλοντα δικαστὴν ἴσον ἔσεσθαι κατὰ δίκην  
 βλέπειν τε καὶ κεκτημένον γράμματα αὐτῶν πέρι μανθάνειν·  
 πάντων γὰρ μαθημάτων κυριώτατα τοῦ τὸν μανθάνοντα  
 5 βελτίω γίγνεσθαι τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόμους κείμενα, εἴπερ ὀρθῶς  
 εἴη τεθέντα, γίγνοιτ' ἂν, ἢ μάτην τοῦνομα νῶ προσήκον  
 κεκτῆτ' ἂν ὁ θεῖος ἡμῖν καὶ θαυμαστός νόμος. καὶ δὴ  
 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων λόγων ὅσοι τε ἐν ποιήμασιν ἔπαινοι καὶ  
 d ψόγοι περὶ τινων λέγονται καὶ ὅσοι καταλογάδην, εἴτ' ἐν  
 γράμμασιν εἴτε καθ' ἡμέραν ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πάσαις συνουσίαις  
 διὰ φιλονικίας τε ἀμφισβητοῦνται καὶ διὰ συγχωρήσεων  
 ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ μάλα ματαίων, τούτων πάντων ἂν βάσανος  
 5 εἴη σαφῆς τὰ τοῦ νομοθέτου γράμματα, ἃ δεῖ κεκτημένον  
 ἐν αὐτῷ, καθάπερ ἀλεξιφάρμακα τῶν ἄλλων λόγων, τὸν  
 ἀγαθὸν δικαστὴν αὐτόν τε ὀρθοῦν καὶ τὴν πόλιν, τοῖς μὲν  
 e ἀγαθοῖς μονὰς τῶν δικαίων καὶ ἐπαύξεισιν παρασκευάζοντα,  
 τοῖς δὲ κακοῖς ἐξ ἀμαθίας καὶ ἀκολασίας καὶ δειλίας καὶ  
 συλλήβδην πάσης ἀδικίας εἰς τὸ δυνατόν μεταβολήν, ὅσοις  
 958 θάνατον ἴαμα ταῖς οὕτω διατεθείσαις ψυχαῖς διανέμοντες,  
 ὁ δικαίως εἴη πολλάκις ἂν εἰρημένοι, ἄξιοι ἐπαίνου γίγνοιντ'  
 ἂν τῇ πάσῃ πόλει τοιοῦτοι δικασταὶ καὶ δικαστῶν ἡγεμόνες.  
 Ἐπειδὴν δὲ αἱ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν δίκαι τέλος ἐκδικασθεῖσαι  
 5 σχῶσι, ταῖς πράξεσι νόμους αὐτῶν χρεῶν γίγνεσθαι τούσδε·  
 Πρῶτον μὲν ἡ δικάζουσα ἀρχὴ τὰ τοῦ ὀφλόντος τῷ νικήσαντι  
 χρήματα πάντα ἀποδιδότω, χωρὶς τῶν ἀναγκαίων κεκτῆσθαι,



μετὰ τὴν διαίψηφισιν ἐκάστην εὐθύς ὑπὸ κήρυκος, ἀκουόντων  
 τῶν δικαστῶν· ἐπειδὴν δὲ ὁ τῶν δικασίμων μηνῶν ἐχόμενος  
 γένηται μῆν, εἴαν τις μὴ ἀπαλλάττῃ τὸν νικήσαντα ἐκόντα  
 ἐκῶν, ἢ δικάσασα ἀρχὴ συνεπομένη τῷ νικῶντι τὰ τοῦ  
 ὀφλόντος παραδιδότω χρήματα. εἴαν δὲ μὴ ἔχωσιν ὁπόθεν,  
 ἐλλείπη δὲ μὴ ἔλαττον δραχμῆς, μὴ πρότερον εἶναι τούτῳ  
 δίκας πρὸς ἄλλον μηδένα, πρὶν ἂν ἐκπληρώσῃ τὸ χρέος  
 ἅπαν τῷ νικήσαντι· ἄλλοις δὲ πρὸς τοῦτον ἕστωσαν δίκαι  
 κυρίως. εἴαν δὲ τις ἀφηρῇται τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν καταδικάσασαν  
 καταδικασθεὶς, εἰσαγόντων μὲν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ τῶν νομο-  
 φυλάκων δικαστήριον οἱ ἀφαιρεθέντες ἀδίκως, εἴαν δὲ τις  
 ὀφλῇ τὴν τοιαύτην δίκην, ὡς ὅλην τὴν πόλιν καὶ νόμους  
 φθείρων θανάτῳ ζημιούσθω.

Ἄνδρι δὴ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο γεννηθέντι καὶ ἐκτραφέντι, καὶ  
 γεννήσαντι καὶ ἐκθρέψαντι τέκνα, καὶ συμμείζαντι συμβόλαια  
 μετρίως, διδόντι τε δίκας εἴ τινα ἡδικήκει καὶ παρ' ἐτέρου  
 ἐκλαβόντι, σὺν τοῖς νόμοις ἐν μοίρᾳ γηράσαντι τελευτῇ  
 γίγνοιτ' ἂν κατὰ φύσιν. περὶ τελευτήσαντας δὴ, εἴτε τις  
 ἄρρην εἴτε τις θήλυς [ἦ], τὰ μὲν περὶ τὰ θεῖα νόμιμα τῶν τε  
 ὑπὸ γῆς θεῶν καὶ τῶν τῆδε, ὅσα προσήκει τελεῖσθαι, τοὺς  
 ἐξηγητὰς γίνεσθαι κυρίους φράζοντας· θήκας δ' εἶναι τῶν  
 χωρίων ὁπόσα μὲν ἐργάσιμα μηδαμοῦ, [μῆτε τι μέγα μῆτε  
 τι σμικρὸν μνήμα], ἃ δὲ ἡ χώρα πρὸς τοῦτ' αὐτὸ μόνον  
 φύσιν ἔχει, τὰ τῶν τετελευτηκότων σώματα μάλιστα ἀλυ-  
 πῆτως τοῖς ζῶσι δεχομένη κρύπτειν, ταῦτα ἐκπληροῦν, τοῖς  
 δὲ ἀνθρώποις ὅσα τροφὴν μῆτηρ οὖσα ἡ γῆ [πρὸς ταῦτα]  
 πέφυκεν βούλεσθαι φέρειν, μῆτε ζῶν μῆτε τις ἀποθανὼν  
 στερείτῳ τὸν ζῶνθ' ἡμῶν. χῶμα δὲ μὴ χοῦν ὑψηλότερον  
 πέντε ἀνδρῶν ἔργον, ἐν πένθ' ἡμέραις ἀποτελούμενον· λίθινα  
 δὲ ἐπιστήματα μὴ μείζω ποιεῖν ἢ ὅσα δέχεσθαι τῶν τοῦ τε-  
 τελευτηκότος ἐγκώμια βίου μὴ πλείω τεττάρων ἥρωικῶν  
 στίχων. τὰς δὲ προθέσεις πρῶτον μὲν μὴ μακρότερον χρόνον  
 ἔνδον γίνεσθαι τοῦ δηλοῦντος τὸν τε ἐκτεθνεῶτα καὶ τὸν  
 ὄντως τεθνηκότα, εἴη δ' ἂν σχεδόν, ὡς τὰνθρώπινα, μέτρον  
 ἔχουσα τριταία πρὸς τὸ μνήμα ἐκφορά. πείθεσθαι δ' ἐστὶ  
 τῷ νομοθέτῃ χρεῶν τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ λέγοντι ψυχὴν σώματος  
 εἶναι τὸ πᾶν διαφέρουσαν, ἐν αὐτῷ τε τῷ βίῳ τὸ παρ-  
 εχόμενον ἡμῶν ἕκαστον τοῦτ' εἶναι μηδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ τὴν ψυχὴν,  
 τὸ δὲ σῶμα ἰνδαλλόμενον ἡμῶν ἐκάστοις ἔπεσθαι, καὶ

τελευτησάντων λέγεσθαι καλῶς εἶδωλα εἶναι τὰ τῶν νεκρῶν  
 σώματα, τὸν δὲ ὄντα ἡμῶν ἕκαστον ὄντως, ἀθάνατον εἶναι  
 ψυχὴν ἐπονομαζόμενον, παρὰ θεοὺς ἄλλους ἀπιέναι δώσοντα  
 5 λόγον, καθάπερ ὁ νόμος ὁ πάτριος λέγει—τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἀγαθῷ  
 θαρραλέον, τῷ δὲ κακῷ μάλα φοβερὸν—βοήθειάν τε αὐτῷ  
 μῆτινα μεγάλην εἶναι τετελευτηκότι· ζῶντι γὰρ ἔδει βοθηεῖν  
 πάντας τοὺς προσήκοντας, ὅπως ὅτι δικαιοτάτος ὢν καὶ  
 c ὀσιώτατος ἔζη τε ζῶν καὶ τελευτήσας ἀτιμώρητος [ἂν]  
 κακῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἐγίγνετο τὸν μετὰ τὸν ἐνθάδε βίον. ἐκ  
 δὲ τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων οὐδέποτε οἰκοφθορεῖν χρή, διαφε-  
 ρόντως νομίζοντα τὸν αὐτοῦ τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν τῶν σαρκῶν  
 5 ὄγκον θαπτόμενον, ἀλλ' ἐκείνον τὸν ὑὸν ἢ ἀδελφόν, ἢ ὄντινά  
 τις μάλισθ' ἡγείται ποθὼν θάπτειν, οἷχεσθαι περαίνοντα καὶ  
 ἐμπιμπλάντα τὴν αὐτοῦ μοῖραν, τὸ δὲ παρὸν δεῖν εὖ ποιεῖν,  
 d τὰ μέτρια ἀναλίσκοντα ὥς εἰς ἄψυχον χθονίων βωμόν· τὸ  
 δὲ μέτριον νομοθέτης ἂν μαντεύσαιτο οὐκ ἀσχημονέστατα.  
 ἔστω δὴ νόμος οὗτος· Τῷ μὲν δὴ τοῦ μεγίστου τιμήματος  
 εἰς τὴν πᾶσαν ταφὴν ἀναλίσκόμενα μὴ πλέον πέντε μνῶν,  
 5 τῷ δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου τρεῖς μναῖ, καὶ δύο τῷ τοῦ τρίτου, μνᾶ  
 δὲ τῷ τοῦ τετάρτου μέτρον ἂν ἔχοι τῶν ἀναλωμάτων. νομο-  
 φύλαξι δὲ πολλά τε ἄλλα ἀνάγκη πράττειν καὶ πολλῶν  
 ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, τούτων δ' οὐχ ἥκιστα, ὅπως ἂν παίδων τε καὶ  
 e ἀνδρῶν καὶ πάσης ἡλικίας ἐπιμελούμενοι ζῶσι, καὶ δὴ καὶ  
 πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἀπάντων νομοφύλαξ εἰς γέ τις ἐπιστατῇ, ὃν  
 ἂν οἱ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος ἐπίσκοπον οἰκείοι παραλάβωσιν, ᾧ  
 καλὸν τ' ἔστω καλῶς καὶ μετρίως τὰ περὶ τὸν τετελευτηκότα  
 5 γιννόμενα καὶ μὴ καλῶς αἰσχρόν. πρόθεσις δὲ καὶ τᾶλλα ἔστω  
 μὲν κατὰ τὸν περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα νόμον γιννόμενα, τῷ δὲ πολι-  
 τικῷ νόμῳ νομοθετοῦντι παραχωρεῖν χρή τὰ τοιαῦτα· δακρύειν  
 960 μὲν τὸν τετελευτηκότα ἐπιτάττειν ἢ μὴ ἄμορφον, θρηνεῖν  
 δὲ καὶ ἔξω τῆς οἰκίας φωνὴν ἐξαγγέλλειν ἀπαγορεύειν, καὶ  
 τὸν νεκρὸν εἰς τὸ φανερόν προάγειν τῶν ὁδῶν κωλύειν, καὶ  
 ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς πορευόμενον φθέγγεσθαι, καὶ πρὸ ἡμέρας ἔξω  
 5 τῆς πόλεως εἶναι. ταῦτα δὴ κείσθω τε οὕτω περὶ τὰ  
 τοιαῦτα νόμιμα, καὶ ὁ μὲν πειθόμενος ἔστω ζημίας ἐκτός,  
 ὁ δὲ ἀπειθῶν ἐνὶ τῶν νομοφυλάκων ὑπὸ πάντων ζημιούσθω  
 b τῇ δοξᾷ πᾶσι κοινῇ ζημίᾳ. ὅσαι δ' ἄλλαι γίνονται περὶ  
 τελευτήσαντας ταφαὶ εἴτε καὶ ἀταφοὶ πράξεις, περὶ πατρο-  
 φόνων καὶ ἱεροσύλων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων πάντων, εἰρημέναι

ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν κεῖνται διὰ νόμων, ὥστε σχεδὸν ἡ νομο-  
 θεσία τέλος ἂν ἡμῖν ἔχοι· τῶν πάντων δ' ἐκάστοτε τέλος οὐ 5  
 τὸ δρᾶσαι τι σχεδὸν οὐδὲ τὸ κτήσασθαι κατοικίαι τ' ἐστίν,  
 ἀλλὰ τῷ γεννηθέντι σωτηρίαν ἐξευρόντα τελῶς αἰεί, τότε  
 ἤδη νομίζειν πᾶν ὅσον δεῖ πραχθῆναι πεπραχθαι, πρότερον  
 δ' ἀτελὲς εἶναι τὸ ὅλον. c

ΚΛ. Καλῶς, ὦ ξένε, λέγεις· πρὸς ὅτι δὲ τὸ νῦν αὖ  
 ῥηθὲν εἴρηται, φράζ' ἔτι σαφέστερον.

ΑΘ. Ὡ Κλεινία, πολλὰ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν καλῶς ὕμνηται,  
 σχεδὸν δὲ οὐχ ἥκιστα τὰ τῶν Μοιρῶν προσρήματα. 5

ΚΛ. Ποῖα δὴ;

ΑΘ. Τὸ Λάχεσιν μὲν τὴν πρώτην εἶναι, Κλωθῷ δὲ τὴν  
 δευτέραν, τὴν Ἄτροπον δὲ τρίτην σώτειραν τῶν ληχθέντων,  
 [ἀπηκασμένα] τῇ τῶν κλωσθέντων [τῷ πυρὶ] τὴν ἀμετά-  
 στροφον ἀπεργαζομένην δύναμιν· ἃ δὲ καὶ πόλει καὶ πολιτεία d  
 δεῖ μὴ μόνον ὑγίειαν καὶ σωτηρίαν τοῖς σώμασι παρασκευά-  
 ζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐνομίαν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ σωτηρίαν  
 τῶν νόμων. ἡμῖν δ' ἔτι μοι φαίνεσθαι δοκεῖ τοῦτ' ἐλλείπον  
 τοῖς νόμοις εἶναι, πῶς χρή τὴν ἀμετάστροφον αὐτοῖς 5  
 ἐγγίγνεσθαι κατὰ φύσιν δύναμιν.

ΚΛ. Οὐ σμικρὸν λέγεις, εἴπερ ἐστὶ μὴ δυνατόν εὐρεῖν  
 ὅπη γίγνοιτ' ἂν παντὶ κτῆμά τι τοιοῦτον.

ΑΘ. Ἄλλ' ἐστὶ μὴν δυνατόν, ὥς γέ μοι τὰ νῦν παν- e  
 τάπασι καταφαίνεται.

ΚΛ. Μὴ τοίνυν ἀφιστώμεθα μηδενὶ τρόπῳ, πρὶν ἂν  
 τοῦτ' αὐτὸ ἐκπορισώμεθα τοῖς εἰρημένοις νόμοις· γελοῖον  
 γὰρ τό γε μάτην πονήσαντα ὅτιοῦν εἰς μηδὲν βέβαιον κατα- 5  
 βαλεῖν.

ΑΘ. Ὅρθῶς παρακελεύῃ, καὶ ἐμὲ τοιοῦτον εὐρήσεις  
 ἄλλον.

ΚΛ. Καλῶς δὴ λέγεις. τίς οὖν δὴ, φῆς, σωτηρία  
 γίγνοιτ' ἂν καὶ τίνα τρόπον πολιτεία τε καὶ τοῖς νόμοις 10  
 ἡμῖν;

ΑΘ. Ἄρ' οὐκ εἴπομεν ὅτι δεῖ σύλλογον ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ 961  
 πόλει γίγνεσθαι τοιόνδε τινά; δέκα μὲν τῶν νομοφυλάκων  
 τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους αἰεί, τοὺς δὲ τὰριστεῖα εἰληφότας ἅπαντας  
 δεῖν εἰς ταῦτὸ συλλέγεσθαι τούτοις, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς ἐκδημήσαν-  
 τας ἐπὶ ζήτησιν εἴ τί που πρὸς τὴν νομοφυλακίαν γίγνοι- 5  
 το ἐν καίριον ἀκοῦσαι καὶ σωθέντας οἴκαδε, δόξαι, τούτοις



αὐτοῖς διαβασανισθέντας, τοῦ συλλόγου ἀξιοκοινωνήτους εἶναι· πρὸς τούτοις δὲ ἓνα ἕκαστον δεῖν προσλαμβάνειν τῶν  
 b νέων, μὴ ἔλαττον ἢ τριάκοντ' ἔτη γεγονότα, πρῶτον δὲ αὐτὸν κρίναντα ἐπ' αἴσιον εἶναι φύσει καὶ τροφῇ, τὸν νέον οὕτως εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους εἰσφέρειν, καὶ ἐὰν μὲν δόξῃ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, προσλαμβάνειν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀπόρρητον εἶναι τὴν  
 5 γεγонуῖαν κρίσιν τοῖς τε ἄλλοις δὴ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῷ τῷ ἀποκριθέντι· δεῖν δὲ ὀρθριον εἶναι τὸν σύλλογον, ἡνίκ' ἂν τῶν ἄλλων πράξεων ἰδίῳν τε καὶ κοινῶν καὶ μάλιστα ἢ τις σχολὴ παντί. τοιοῦτόν τί που λεχθὲν ἡμῖν ἦν ἐν τοῖς  
 c ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις;

ΚΛ. Ἦν γὰρ οὖν.

ΑΘ. Τούτου δὴ πέρι τοῦ συλλόγου πάλιν ἀναλαβὼν λέγοιμ' ἂν τὸ τοιόνδε. φημί, εἴ τις τοῦτον βάλοιτο οἶον  
 5 ἄγκυραν πάσης τῆς πόλεως, πάντα ἔχουσιν τὰ πρόσφορα ἑαυτῇ, σώζειν ἂν σύμπαντα ἃ βουλόμεθα.

ΚΛ. Πῶς δὴ;

ΑΘ. Τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἡμέτερος ἂν καιρὸς γίγνοιτο ὀρθῶς φράζοντας μηδὲν ἀπολείπειν προθυμίας.

10 ΚΛ. Καὶ μάλα καλῶς εἶπες, ποίει θ' ὥσπερ καὶ διανοῇ.

d ΑΘ. Χρὴ τοίνυν, ὦ Κλεινία, παντὸς πέρι νοῆσαι σωτήρα τὸν εἰκότα ἐν ἑκάστοις τῶν ἔργων, ὥς ἐν ζώῳ ψυχὴ καὶ κεφαλὴ, τό γε μέγιστον, πεφύκατον.

ΚΛ. Πῶς αὖ φῆς;

5 ΑΘ. Ἡ τοῦτοιν ἄρετὴ δὴ πᾶσι παντὶ παρέχει ζώῳ σωτηρίαν.

ΚΛ. Πῶς;

ΑΘ. Ψυχῇ μὲν πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις νοῦς ἐγγιγνόμενος, κεφαλῇ δ' αὖ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ὄψις καὶ ἀκοή· συλλήβδην δὲ νοῦς μετὰ τῶν καλλίστων αἰσθήσεων κραθεῖς, γενόμενός  
 10 τε εἰς ἓν, σωτηρία ἑκάστων δικαιοτάτ' ἂν εἴη καλουμένη.

ΚΛ. Ἔοικε γοῦν.

e ΑΘ. Ἔοικε γάρ. ἀλλ' ὁ περὶ τί νοῦς μετ' αἰσθήσεων κραθεῖς σωτηρία πλοίων ἐν γε χειμῶσιν καὶ ἐν εὐδίαῖς γίγνοιτ' ἂν; ἄρ' οὐκ ἐν νηὶ κυβερνήτης ἅμα καὶ ναῦται τὰς αἰσθήσεις τῷ κυβερνητικῷ νῷ συγκερασάμενοι σώζουσιν  
 5 αὐτούς τε καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ναῦν;

ΚΛ. Τί μῆν;

ΑΘ. Οὐδὲν δὴ πολλῶν δεῖ τῶν περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα παραδειγμάτων· ἀλλ' οἶον περὶ στρατοπέδων νοήσωμεν τίνα



θέμενοι στρατηγοὶ σκοπὸν καὶ ἰατρικὴ ὑπηρεσία πᾶσα  
στοχάζοιτ' ἂν τῆς σωτηρίας ὀρθῶς. ἄρ' οὐχ ἡ μὲν νίκην 962  
καὶ κράτος πολεμίων, ἡ δὲ ἰατρῶν τε καὶ ὑπηρετῶν ὑγείας  
σώματι παρασκευήν;

ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

ΑΘ. Ἰατρὸς δὴ τὸ περὶ σῶμα ἀγνοῶν, ὃ προσείπομεν 5  
ὑγίειαν νῦν, ἣ νίκην στρατηγὸς ἡ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσα δὴ διήλ-  
θομεν, ἔσθ' ὅπως ἂν νοῦν περὶ τι τούτων ἂν ἔχων φαίνοιτο;

ΚΛ. Καὶ πῶς;

ΑΘ. Τί δὲ δὴ περὶ πόλιν; εἴ τις τὸν σκοπὸν οἱ βλέ-  
πειν δεῖ τὸν πολιτικὸν φαίνοιτο ἀγνοῶν, ἄρα ἄρχων μὲν 10  
πρῶτον δικαίως ἂν προσαγορεύοιτο, εἴτα σώζειν ἂν δυνατὸς b  
εἴη τοῦτο οὐ τὸν σκοπὸν τὸ παράπαν μῆδ' εἰδείη;

ΚΛ. Καὶ πῶς;

ΑΘ. Δεῖ δὴ καὶ τὰ νῦν, ὡς ἔοικεν, εἴπερ μέλλει τέλος ὃ  
κατοικισμὸς τῆς χώρας ἡμῖν ἔξειν, εἶναί τι τὸ γιγνώσκον ἐν 5  
αὐτῷ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦτο ὃ λέγομεν, τὸν σκοπὸν, ὅστις ποτὲ  
ὁ πολιτικὸς ὢν ἡμῖν τυγχάνει, ἔπειτα ὄντινα τρόπον δεῖ  
μετασχεῖν τούτου καὶ τίς αὐτῷ καλῶς ἢ μὴ συμβουλεύει,  
τῶν νόμων αὐτῶν πρῶτον, ἔπειτα ἀνθρώπων· εἰ δ' ἔσται c  
τοῦ τοιούτου κενὴ τις πόλις, οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν ἄνους οὐσα καὶ  
ἀναίσθητος εἰ πράξει τὸ προστυχὸν ἐκάστοτε ἐν ἐκάσταις  
τῶν πράξεων.

ΚΛ. Ἀληθῆ λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Νῦν οὖν ἡμῖν ἐν τίνι ποτὲ τῶν τῆς πόλεως μερῶν 5  
ἢ ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἔστιν ἱκανὸν κατεσκευασμένον ὅτιοῦν  
τοιούτον φυλακτήριον; ἔχομεν φράζειν;

ΚΛ. Οὐ δῆτα, ὦ ξένε, σαφῶς γε· εἰ δ' οὖν τοπάξειν δεῖ,  
δοκεῖ μοι τείνειν ὁ λόγος οὗτος εἰς τὸν σύλλογον ὃν εἶπες  
νυνδὴ νύκτωρ δεῖν συνίεναι. 10

ΑΘ. Κάλλισθ' ὑπέλαβες, ὦ Κλεινία, καὶ δεῖ δὴ τοῦτον, d  
ὡς ὁ νῦν παρεστηκὼς ἡμῖν λόγος μηνύει, πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν  
ἔχειν· ἥς ἄρχει τὸ μὴ πλανᾶσθαι πρὸς πολλὰ στοχαζόμενον  
ἄλλ' εἰς ἐν βλέποντα πρὸς τοῦτο αἰεὶ τὰ πάντα οἷον βέλη  
ἀφιέναι. 5

ΚΛ. Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Νῦν δὴ μαθησόμεθα ὅτι θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν πλανᾶ-  
σθαι τὰ τῶν πόλεων νόμιμα, ὅτι πρὸς ἄλλο ἄλλη βλέπει  
τῶν νομοθεσιῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐκάστη. καὶ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ

10 οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν τὸ τοῖς μὲν τὸν ὅρον εἶναι τῶν δικαίων  
 e ὅπως ἄρξουσιν τινες ἐν τῇ πόλει, εἴτ' οὖν βελτίους εἶτε  
 χείρους τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες, τοῖς δ', ὅπως πλουτήσουσιν,  
 εἴτ' οὖν δοῦλοί τινων ὄντες εἶτε καὶ μή, τῶν δ' ἡ προ-  
 θυμία πρὸς τὸν ἐλεύθερον δὴ βίον ὠρμημένη· οἱ δὲ καὶ  
 5 σύνδυο νομοθετοῦνται, πρὸς ἀμφω βλέποντες, ἐλεύθεροί τε  
 ὅπως ἄλλων τε πόλεων ἔσονται δεσπόται, οἱ δὲ σοφώτατοι,  
 ὡς οἴονται, πρὸς ταῦτά τε καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα σύμπαντα, εἰς ἐν  
 δὲ οὐδὲν διαφερόντως τετιμημένον ἔχοντες φράζειν εἰς ὃ  
 τὰλλ' αὐτοῖς δεῖ βλέπειν.

963 ΚΛ. Οὐκοῦν τό γ' ἡμέτερον, ὦ ξένε, ὀρθῶς ἂν εἴη πάλαι  
 τιθέμενον; πρὸς γὰρ ἐν ἔφαμεν δεῖν αἰεὶ πάνθ' ἡμῖν τὰ τῶν  
 νόμων βλέποντ' εἶναι, τοῦτο δ' ἀρετὴν που συνεχωροῦμεν  
 πάνν ὀρθῶς λέγεσθαι.

5 ΑΘ. Ναί.

ΚΛ. Τὴν δέ γε ἀρετὴν τέτταρα ἔθεμέν που.

ΑΘ. Πάνν μὲν οὖν.

ΚΛ. Νοῦν δέ γε πάντων τούτων ἡγεμόνα, πρὸς ὃν δὴ τά  
 τε ἄλλα πάντα καὶ τούτων τὰ τρία δεῖ βλέπειν.

10 ΑΘ. Κάλλιστ' ἐπακολουθεῖς, ὦ Κλεινία. καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ  
 δὴ συνακολουθεῖ. νοῦν γὰρ δὴ κυβερνητικὸν μὲν καὶ ἱα-  
 b τρικὸν καὶ στρατηγικὸν εἵπομεν εἰς τὸ ἐν ἐκείνῳ οἱ δεῖ  
 βλέπειν, τὸν δὲ πολιτικὸν ἐλέγχοντες ἐνταῦθ' ἐσμέν νῦν,  
 καὶ καθάπερ ἄνθρωπον ἐπανερωτῶντες εἵπομεν ἄν. “ὦ  
 θαυμάσιε, σὺ δὲ δὴ ποῖ σκοπεῖς; τί ποτ' ἐκείνῳ ἐστὶ τὸ ἐν,  
 5 ὃ δὴ σαφῶς ὁ μὲν ἱατρικὸς νοῦς ἔχει φράζειν, σὺ δ' ὦν δὴ  
 διαφέρων, ὡς φαίης ἄν, πάντων τῶν ἐμφρόνων, οὐχ ἔξεις  
 εἰπεῖν;” ἢ σύ γε, Μέγιλλε καὶ Κλεινία, ἔχετον διαρθροῦντες  
 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φράζειν πρὸς ἐμὲ τί ποτέ φατε εἶναι τοῦτο,  
 c καθάπερ ὑπὲρ ἄλλων ἐγὼ πρὸς ὑμᾶς συχνῶν διωριζόμεν;

ΚΛ. Οὐδαμῶς, ὦ ξένε.

ΑΘ. Τί δ' ὅτι δεῖ προθυμεῖσθαι τε συνιδεῖν αὐτὸ καὶ ἐν  
 οἷς;

5 ΚΛ. Οἷον ἐν τίσι λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Οἷον ὅτε τέτταρα ἐφήσαμεν ἀρετῆς εἶδη γεγονέναι,  
 δῆλον ὡς ἐν ἑκαστῷ ἀνάγκη φάναι, τεττάρων γε ὄντων.

ΚΛ. Τί μὴν;

ΑΘ. Καὶ μὴν ἐν γε αὖ πάντα ταῦτα προσαγορεύομεν. ἀν-  
 10 δρεῖαν γὰρ φαμεν ἀρετὴν εἶναι, καὶ τὴν φρόνησιν ἀρετὴν,

καὶ τὰ δύο τᾶλλα, ὡς ὄντως ὄντα οὐ πολλὰ ἀλλ' ἐν τούτῳ d  
μόνον, ἀρετήν.

ΚΛ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Ἡ μὲν τοίνυν διαφέρετον αὐτοῖν τούτῳ τὰ δύο  
καὶ δὺ' ὀνόματα ἐλαβέτην καὶ τᾶλλα, οὐδὲν χαλεπὸν εἰπεῖν· 5  
ἥ δὲ ἐν ἀμφοῖν ἐπωνομάσαμεν, ἀρετήν, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, οὐκ  
εὐπετέες ἔτι.

ΚΛ. Πῶς λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Οὐδὲν χαλεπὸν ὃ λέγω δηλῶσαι. διανεიმώμεθα  
γὰρ ἀλλήλοις τὴν ἐρώτησιν καὶ ἀπόκρισιν. 10

ΚΛ. Πῶς αὖ φράξεις;

ΑΘ. Ἐρώτησόν με τί ποτε ἐν προσαγορεύοντες ἀρετήν e  
ἀμφοτέρα, δύο πάλιν αὐτὰ προσείπομεν, τὸ μὲν ἀνδρείαν,  
τὸ δὲ φρόνησιν. ἐρῶ γάρ σοι τὴν αἰτίαν, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν  
περὶ φόβον, οὗ καὶ τὰ θηρία μετέχει, τῆς ἀνδρείας, καὶ τὰ  
γε τῶν παίδων ἦθη τῶν πάνυ νέων· ἄνευ γὰρ λόγου καὶ 5  
φύσει γίγνεται ἀνδρεία ψυχῇ, ἄνευ δὲ αὐτοῦ λόγου ψυχῇ φρό-  
νιμός τε καὶ νοῦν ἔχουσα οὐτ' ἐγένετο πώποτε οὐτ' ἐστὶν  
οὐδ' αὐθις ποτε γενήσεται, ὡς ὄντος ἐτέρου.

ΚΛ. Ἀληθῆ λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Ἡ μὲν τοίνυν ἐστὸν διαφόρῳ καὶ δύο, σὺ παρ' 964  
ἐμοῦ ἀπειλήσας τῷ λόγῳ· ἥ δὲ ἐν καὶ ταυτόν, σὺ πάλιν  
ἀπόδος ἐμοί. διανοοῦ δὲ ὡς ἐρῶν καὶ ὅπῃ τέτταρα ὄντα ἐν  
ἐστί, καὶ ἐμὲ δὲ ἀξίου, σοῦ δείξαντος ὡς ἐν, πάλιν ὅπῃ  
τέτταρα. καὶ δὴ τὸ μετὰ τούτῳ σκοπῶμεν τὸν εἰδότα ἱκα- 5  
νῶς περὶ ὧν τινωμένων οἷς ἐστὶν μὲν ὄνομα, ἐστὶν δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ  
λόγος, πότερον μόνον ἐπίστασθαι τοῦνομα χρεῶν, τὸν δὲ  
λόγον ἀγνοεῖν, ἢ τὸν γε ὄντα τι καὶ περὶ τῶν διαφερόντων  
μεγέθει τε καὶ κάλλει πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀγνοεῖν αἰσχρόν. b

ΚΛ. Ἐοικεν γοῦν.

ΑΘ. Μείζον δὴ τι νομοθέτη τε καὶ νομοφύλακι, καὶ ὅς  
ἀρετῇ πάντων διαφέρειν οἴεται καὶ νικητήρια τούτων αὐτῶν  
εἵληφεν, ἢ ταῦτα αὐτὰ περὶ ὧν νῦν λέγομεν, ἀνδρεία, 5  
σωφροσύνη, δικαιοσύνη, φρόνησις;

ΚΛ. Καὶ πῶς;

ΑΘ. Τούτων δὴ περί τοὺς ἐξηγητάς, τοὺς διδασκάλους,  
τοὺς νομοθέτας, τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς φύλακας, τῷ δεομένῳ  
γινῶναι τε καὶ εἰδέναι, ἢ τῷ δεομένῳ κολάζεσθαι τε καὶ ἐπι- c  
πληῆξαι ἀμαρτάνοντι—πότερον οὐ διδάσκοντα ἢν δύναμιν ἔχει

κακία τε καὶ ἀρετὴ καὶ πάντως δηλοῦντα, διαφέρειν τῶν ἄλλων, ἀλλ' ἢ ποιητὴν τινα ἐλθόντα εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἢ παιδευτὴν νέων φάσκοντ' εἶναι βελτίω φαίνεσθαι τοῦ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν νενικηκότος; εἶτα ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ πόλει ὅπου μὴ λόγῳ ἔργῳ τε ἱκανοὶ φύλακες εἶεν, ἀρετῆς πέρι γινώσκοντες ἱκανῶς, θαυμαστόν τι ταύτην τὴν πόλιν ἀφύλακτον οὖσαν πάσχειν  
d ἃ πολλὰι πάσχουσι τῶν νῦν πόλεων;

ΚΛ. Οὐδέν γε, ὥς εἰκός.

ΑΘ. Τί οὖν; ὃ λέγομεν νῦν ποιητέον ἡμῖν, ἢ πῶς; τοὺς φύλακας ἀκριβεστεροὺς τῶν πολλῶν περὶ ἀρετῆς ἔργῳ καὶ  
5 λόγῳ κατασκευαστέον; ἢ τίνα τρόπον τῇ τῶν ἐμφρόνων κεφαλῇ τε καὶ αἰσθήσεσιν ὁμοιωθήσεται ἡμῖν ἢ πόλιν, ὥς τοιαύτην τινα φυλακὴν κεκτημένη ἐν αὐτῇ;

ΚΛ. Πῶς οὖν δὴ καὶ τίνα τρόπον, ὦ ξένε, ἀπεικάζοντες αὐτὸ τοιοῦτῳ τινὶ λέγομεν;

e ΑΘ. Δῆλον ὥς αὐτῆς μὲν τῆς πόλεως οὔσης τοῦ κύτους, τῶν δὲ φυλάκων τοὺς μὲν νέους οἷον ἐν ἄκρᾳ κορυφῇ, ἀπειλεγμένους τοὺς εὐφυστάτους, ὀξύτητας ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ψυχῇ ἔχοντας, περὶ ὅλην κύκλῳ τὴν πόλιν ὄρᾱν, φρουροῦντας δὲ  
5 παραδιδόναι μὲν τὰς αἰσθήσεις ταῖς μνήμαις, τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις δὲ ἐξαγγέλους γίνεσθαι πάντων τῶν κατὰ πόλιν, 965 τοὺς δὲ νῦν ἀπηκασμένους τῷ πολλὰ καὶ ἄξια λόγου διαφερόντως φρονεῖν, τοὺς γέροντας, βουλευέσθαι, καὶ ὑπηρέταις χρωμένους μετὰ συμβουλίας τοῖς νέοις, οὕτω δὴ κοινῇ σώζειν ἀμφοτέρους ὄντως τὴν πόλιν ὅλην. πότερον οὕτω  
5 λέγομεν ἢ πῶς ἄλλως δεῖν κατασκευάζεσθαι; μὲν ὁμοίους πάντας κεκτημένους καὶ μὴ διηκριβωμένως ἔστιν οὖς τραφέντας τε καὶ πεπαιδευμένους;

ΚΛ. Ἄλλ', ὦ θαυμάσιε, ἀδύνατον.

b ΑΘ. Ἰτέον ἄρα ἐπὶ τίνα ἀκριβεστέραν παιδείαν τῆς ἐμπροσθεν.

ΚΛ. Ἴσως.

ΑΘ. Ἄρ' οὖν ἥς δὴ νῦν σχεδὸν ἐφηψάμεθα, τυγχάνοι ἂν  
5 οὐσα ἥς χρεῖαν ἔχομεν αὐτῇ;

ΚΛ. Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν ἐλέγομεν τόν γε πρὸς ἕκαστα ἄκρον δημιουργόν τε καὶ φύλακα μὴ μόνον δεῖν πρὸς τὰ πολλὰ βλέπειν  
10 δυνατόν εἶναι, πρὸς δὲ τὸ ἐν ἐπείγεσθαι γινῶναι τε, καὶ γνόντα πρὸς ἐκείνο συντάξασθαι πάντα συνροῶντα;



ΚΛ. Ὅρθως.

ΑΘ. Ἄρ' οὖν ἀκριβεστέρα σκέψις θέα τε ἂν περὶ ὁτουοῦν c  
ὁτωοῦν γίγνοιτο ἢ τὸ πρὸς μίαν ἰδέαν ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ  
ἀνομοίων δυνατὸν εἶναι βλέπειν;

ΚΛ. Ἰσως.

ΑΘ. Οὐκ ἴσως, ἀλλ' ὄντως, ὦ δαιμόνιε, ταύτης οὐκ ἔστιν 5  
σαφεστέρα μέθοδος ἀνθρώπων οὐδενί.

ΚΛ. Σοὶ πιστευόν, ὦ ξένε, συγχωρῶ δὴ, καὶ ταύτη  
πορευώμεθα λέγοντες.

ΑΘ. Ἀναγκαστέον ἄρ', ὥς ἔοικεν, καὶ τοὺς τῆς θείας  
πολιτείας ἡμῖν φύλακας ἀκριβῶς ἰδεῖν πρῶτον τί ποτε διὰ 10  
πάντων τῶν τεττάρων ταῦτόν τυγχάνει, ὃ δὴ φαμεν ἔν τε d  
ἀνδρεία καὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἐν φρονήσει ἐν  
ὄν, ἀρετὴν ἐν δικαίῳς ἂν ὀνόματι προσαγορεύεσθαι. τοῦτο,  
ὦ φίλοι, εἰ μὲν βουλόμεθα, τὰ νῦν οἰόνπερ σφόδρα πιέσαντες  
μὴ ἀνῶμεν, πρὶν ἂν ἱκανῶς εἴπωμεν τί ποτ' ἔστιν εἰς ὃ 5  
βλεπτέον, εἴτε ὥς ἐν εἴτε ὥς ὅλον εἴτε ἀμφοτέρω εἴτε ὅπως  
ποτέ πέφυκεν· ἢ τούτου διαφυγόντος ἡμᾶς, οἰόμεθά ποτε  
ἡμῖν ἱκανῶς ἔξειν τὰ πρὸς ἀρετὴν, περὶ ἧς οὐτ' εἰ πολλά e  
ἔστ' οὐτ' εἰ τέτταρα οὐθ' ὥς ἐν δυνατοὶ φράζειν ἐσόμεθα;  
οὐκ οὐκ ἐάν γε ἡμῖν συμβούλοις πειθώμεθα, ἄλλως δέ πως  
μηχανησόμεθα ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐγγεγονέναι τοῦθ' ἡμῖν· εἰ δ'  
ἄρα τὸ παράπαν δοκεῖ ἔαν, ὁρᾶν δὴ χρεών. 5

ΚΛ. Ἡκιστα, νῆ τὸν ξένιον, ὦ ξένε, θεόν, ἑατέον που τὸ  
τοιούτον, ἐπεὶ δοκεῖς ἡμῖν ὀρθότατα λέγειν. ἀλλὰ δὴ πῶς  
τις τοῦτ' ἂν μηχανῶτο;

ΑΘ. Μήπω τὸ πῶς ἂν μηχανησαίμεθα λέγωμεν· εἰ δεῖ 966  
δὲ ἢ μή, πρῶτον βεβαιωσώμεθα τῇ συνομολογίᾳ πρὸς ἡμᾶς  
αὐτοὺς.

ΚΛ. Ἀλλὰ μὴν δεῖ γε, εἴπερ δυνατόν.

ΑΘ. Τί δὲ δὴ; περὶ καλοῦ τε καὶ ἀγαθοῦ ταῦτόν τοῦτο 5  
διανοούμεθα; ὥς πόλλ' ἔστιν μόνον ἕκαστον τούτων τοὺς  
φύλακας ἡμῖν γνωστέον, ἢ καὶ ὅπως ἐν τε καὶ ὅπη;

ΚΛ. Σχεδὸν ἔοικ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης δεῖν καὶ ὅπως ἐν δια-  
νοεῖσθαι.

ΑΘ. Τί δ', ἐννοεῖν μέν, τὴν δὲ ἐνδείξειν τῷ λόγῳ ἀδυνατεῖν b  
ἐνδείκνυσθαι;

ΚΛ. Καὶ πῶς; ἀνδραπόδου γάρ τινα σὺ λέγεις ἔξιν.

ΑΘ. Τί δέ; περὶ πάντων τῶν σπουδαίων ἄρ' ἡμῖν αὐτὸς,

5 λόγος, ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ὄντως φύλακας ἐσομένους τῶν νόμων ὄντως εἰδέναι τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτῶν, καὶ λόγῳ τε ἱκανοὺς ἐρμηνεύειν εἶναι καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις συνακολουθεῖν, κρίνοντας τὰ τε καλῶς γιννόμενα καὶ τὰ μὴ κατὰ φύσιν;

ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

c ΑΘ. Μὴν οὖν οὐχ ἓν τῶν καλλίστων ἐστὶν τὸ περὶ τοὺς θεούς, ὃ δὴ σπουδῇ διεπερανάμεθα, ὡς εἰσὶν τε καὶ ὅσης φαίνονται κύριοι δυνάμειος, εἰδέναι τε εἰς ὅσον δυνατόν ἐστὶν ταῦτ' ἀνθρώπον γιννώσκειν, καὶ τοῖς μὲν πλείστοις  
5 τῶν κατὰ πόλιν συγγινώσκειν τῇ φήμῃ μόνον τῶν νόμων συνακολουθοῦσιν, τοῖς δὲ φυλακῆς μεθέξουσιν μηδὲ ἐπιτρέπειν, ὅς ἂν μὴ διαπονήσῃται τὸ πᾶσαν πίστιν λαβεῖν τῶν οὐσῶν περὶ θεῶν; τὴν δὲ μὴ ἐπιτροπὴν εἶναι τὸ μηδέ-  
d ποτε τῶν νομοφυλάκων αἰρεῖσθαι τὸν μὴ θεῖον καὶ διαπεπονηκότα πρὸς αὐτά, μηδ' αὖ τῶν πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἔγκριτον γίνεσθαι;

ΚΛ. Δίκαιον γοῦν, ὡς λέγεις, τὸν περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀργὸν ἢ ἀδύνατον ἀποκρίνεσθαι πόρρω τῶν καλῶν.

ΑΘ. Ἄρα οὖν ἴσμεν ὅτι δύ' ἐστὸν τὸ περὶ θεῶν ἄγοντε εἰς πίστιν, ὅσα διήλθομεν ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν;

ΚΛ. Ποῖα;

ΑΘ. Ἐν μὲν ὃ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐλέγομεν, ὡς πρεσβύ-  
e τατόν τε καὶ θειότατόν ἐστιν πάντων ὧν κίνησις γένεσιν παραλαβοῦσα ἀέναον οὐσίαν ἐπόρισεν. ἐν δὲ τὸ περὶ τὴν φοράν, ὡς ἔχει τάξεως, ἀστρων τε καὶ ὅσων ἄλλων ἐγκρατὴς νοῦς ἐστὶν τὸ πᾶν διακεκοσμηκώς. ὁ γὰρ ἰδὼν ταῦτα μὴ  
5 φαύλως μηδ' ἰδιωτικῶς, οὐδεὶς οὕτως ἄθεος ἀνθρώπων ποτέ πέφυκεν, ὅς οὐ τούναντίον ἔπαθεν ἢ τὸ προσδοκώμενον ὑπὸ  
967 τῶν πολλῶν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ διανοοῦνται τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα μεταχειρισμένους ἀστρονομία τε καὶ ταῖς μετὰ ταύτης ἀναγκαίαις ἄλλαις τέχναις ἀθέους γίνεσθαι, καθεωρακότας ὡς οἷόν τε γιννόμενα ἀνάγκαις πράγματ' ἀλλ' οὐ διανοίαις βουλήσεως  
5 ἀγαθῶν πέρι τελευμένων.

ΚΛ. Τὸ δὲ δὴ πῶς ἔχον ἂν εἴη;

ΑΘ. Πᾶν, ὅπερ εἶπον, τούναντίον ἔχει νῦν τε καὶ ὅτε ἄψυχα αὐτὰ οἱ διανοοῦμενοι διανοοῦντο. θαύματα μὲν οὖν  
b καὶ τότε ὑπεδύετο περὶ αὐτά, καὶ ὑπωπτεύετο τὸ νῦν ὄντως δεδογμένον, ὅσοι τῆς ἀκριβείας αὐτῶν ἤπτοντο, ὅπως μή ποτ' ἂν ἄψυχα ὄντα οὕτως εἰς ἀκρίβειαν θαυμαστοῖς λογισμοῖς ἂν

ἐχρήτο, νοῦν μὴ κεκτημένα· καὶ τινες ἐτόλμων τοῦτό γε αὐτὸ παρακινδυνεύειν καὶ τότε, λέγοντες ὡς νοῦς εἶη ὁ 5 διακεκοσμηκῶς πάνθ' ὅσα κατ' οὐρανόν. οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ πάλιν ἀμαρτάνοντες ψυχῆς φύσεως ὅτι πρεσβύτερον εἶη σωμάτων, διανοηθέντες δὲ ὡς νεώτερον, ἅπανθ' ὡς εἰπεῖν ἔπος ἀνέ- C τρεψαν πάλιν, ἑαυτοὺς δὲ πολὺ μᾶλλον· τὸ γὰρ δὴ πρὸ τῶν ὀμμάτων, πάντα αὐτοῖς ἐφάνη τὰ κατ' οὐρανὸν φερόμενα μεστὰ εἶναι λίθων καὶ γῆς καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων ἀψύχων σωμάτων διανεμόντων τὰς αἰτίας παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου. ταυτ' 5 ἦν τὰ τότε ἐξεργασμένα πολλὰς ἀθεότητος καὶ δυσχερείας τῶν τοιούτων ἀπτεσθαι, καὶ δὴ καὶ λοιδορήσεις γε ἐπῆλθον ποιηταῖς, τοὺς φιλοσοφοῦντας κυσὶ ματαίαις ἀπεικάζοντας χρωμέναισιν ὑλακαῖς, ἄλλα τε αὖ ἀνόητ' εἰπεῖν· νῦν δέ, ὅπερ d εἴρηται, πᾶν τοῦναντίον ἔχει.

ΚΛ. Πῶς;

ΑΘ. Οὐκ ἔστιν ποτὲ γενέσθαι βεβαίως θεοσεβῇ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα, ὃς ἂν μὴ τὰ λεγόμενα ταῦτα νῦν δύο λάβῃ, 5 ψυχὴ τε ὡς ἔστιν πρεσβύτατον ἀπάντων ὅσα γονῆς μετείληφεν, ἀθάνατόν τε, ἄρχει τε δὴ σωμάτων πάντων, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις δὴ, τὸ νῦν εἰρημένον πολλάκις, τόν τε εἰρημένον ἐν τοῖς ἄστροις νοῦν τῶν ὄντων τὰ τε πρὸ τούτων ἀναγκαῖα e μαθήματα λάβῃ, τὰ τε κατὰ τὴν μοῦσαν τούτοις τῆς κοινωνίας συνθεασάμενος, χρήσεται πρὸς τὰ τῶν ἡθῶν ἐπιτηδεύματα καὶ νόμιμα συναρμοσπόντως, ὅσα τε λόγον ἔχει, τούτων δυνατός ἢ δοῦναι τὸν λόγον· ὁ δὲ μὴ ταυτ' οἷός τ' ὦν πρὸς ταῖς 968 δημοσίαις ἀρεταῖς κεκτηῖσθαι σχεδὸν ἄρχων μὲν οὐκ ἂν ποτε γένοιτο ἱκανὸς ὅλης πόλεως, ὑπηρέτης δ' ἂν ἄλλοις ἄρχουσιν. ὁρᾷν δὴ χρεῶν νῦν, ᾧ Κλεινία καὶ Μέγιλλε, ἥδη πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις νόμοις ἅπασιν ὅσους διεληλύθαμεν εἰ 5 καὶ τοῦτον προσοίσομεν, ὡς φυλακὴν ἐσόμενον κατὰ νόμον χάριν σωτηρίας τὸν τῶν ἀρχόντων νυκτερινὸν σύλλογον, παιδείας ὁπόσης διεληλύθαμεν κοινωνὸν γεγόμενον· ἢ πῶς b ποιῶμεν;

ΚΛ. Ἄλλ', ᾧ λῶστε, πῶς οὐ προσοίσομεν, ἂν πῃ καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ δυνηθῶμεν;

ΑΘ. Καὶ μὴν πρὸς γε τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀμιλληθῶμεν πάντες. 5 συλλήπτωρ γὰρ τούτου γε ὑμῖν καὶ ἐγὼ γιγνοίμην ἂν προθύμως—πρὸς δ' ἐμοὶ καὶ ἐτέροις ἴσως εὐρήσω—διὰ τὴν περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτ' ἐμπειρίαν τε καὶ σκέψιν γεγονυῖάν μοι καὶ μάλα

συχνήν.

- 10 ΚΛ. Ἄλλ', ὦ ξένε, παντὸς μὲν μᾶλλον ταύτῃ πορευτέον  
ἥπερ καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμᾶς σχεδὸν ἄγει· τίς δὲ ὁ τρόπος ἡμῖν  
c γιγνόμενος ὀρθῶς γίγνοιτ' ἂν, τοῦτο δὴ τὰ νῦν λέγωμέν τε  
καὶ ἐρευνῶμεν.

ΑΘ. Οὐκέτι νόμους, ὦ Μέγилле καὶ Κλεινία, περὶ τῶν  
τοιοῦτων δυνατόν ἐστιν νομοθετεῖν, πρὶν ἂν κοσμηθῇ—τότε  
5 δὲ κυρίους ὧν αὐτοὺς δεῖ γίνεσθαι νομοθετεῖν—ἀλλὰ ἤδη  
τὸ τὰ τοιαῦτα κατασκευάζον διδαχὴ μετὰ συνουσίας πολλῆς  
γίγνοιτ' ἂν, εἰ γίγνοιτο ὀρθῶς.

ΚΛ. Πῶς; τί τοῦτο εἰρήσθαι φῶμεν αὖ;

- ΑΘ. Πρῶτον μὲν δήπου καταλεκτέος ἂν εἴη κατάλογος  
d τῶν ὅσοι ἐπιτήδειοι πρὸς τὴν τῆς φυλακῆς φύσιν ἂν εἰεν  
ἡλικίαις τε καὶ μαθημάτων δυνάμεσιν καὶ τρόπων ἡθῆσιν καὶ  
ἔθεσιν· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, ἃ δεῖ μανθάνειν οὔτε εὐρεῖν ράδιον  
οὔτε ἡρῆκότος ἄλλου μαθητὴν γενέσθαι. πρὸς τοῦτοις δὲ  
5 χρόνους, οὓς τε καὶ ἐν οἷς δεῖ παραλαμβάνειν ἕκαστα,  
μάταιον ταῦτ' ἐν γράμμασιν λέγειν· οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτοῖς τοῖς  
e μανθάνουσι δῆλα γίγνοιτ' ἂν ὅτι πρὸς καιρὸν μανθάνεται,  
πρὶν ἐντὸς τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκάστω που μαθήματος ἐπιστήμην  
γεγονέναι. οὕτω δὴ πάντα τὰ περὶ ταῦτα ἀπόρρητα μὲν  
λεχθέντα οὐκ ἂν ὀρθῶς λέγοιτο, ἀπόρρητα δὲ διὰ τὸ μηδὲν  
5 προρρηθέντα δηλοῦν τῶν λεγομένων.

ΚΛ. Τί οὖν δὴ ποιητέον ἐχόντων τούτων οὕτως, ὦ ξένε;

- ΑΘ. Τὸ λεγόμενον, ὦ φίλοι, ἐν κοινῷ καὶ μέσῳ ἔοικεν  
ἡμῖν κεῖσθαι, καὶ εἶπερ κινδυνεύειν περὶ τῆς πολιτείας ἐθέ-  
λομεν συμπάσης, ἢ τρεῖς ἑξ, φασίν, ἢ τρεῖς κύβους βάλλοντας  
969 ταῦτα ποιητέον, ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν συγκινδυνεύσω τῷ φράζειν τε  
καὶ ἐξηγεῖσθαι τά γε δεδογμένα ἐμοὶ περὶ τῆς παιδείας τε καὶ  
τροφῆς τῆς νῦν αὖ κεκινημένης τοῖς λόγοις· τὸ μέντοι κινδύ-  
νευμα οὐ σμικρὸν οὐδ' ἑτέροις τισὶν προσφερές ἂν εἴη. σοὶ  
5 δὴ τοῦτό γε, ὦ Κλεινία, μέλειν παρακλεῦσμαι· σὺ γὰρ τὴν  
Μαγνήτων πόλιν, ἣ ὦ ἂν θεὸς ἐπώνυμον αὐτὴν ποιήσῃ, κλέος  
ἀρῇ μέγιστον κατασκευάσας αὐτὴν ὀρθῶς, ἣ τό γε ἀνδρείο-  
b τατος εἶναι δοκεῖν τῶν ὕστερον ἐπιγιγνομένων οὐκ ἐκφεύξῃ  
ποτέ. εἴαν γε μὴν οὗτος ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς γένηται σύλλογος, ὦ  
φίλοι ἐταῖροι, παραδοτέον τούτῳ τὴν πόλιν, ἀμφισβήτησίς  
τε οὐκ ἔστ' οὐδεμία οὐδενὶ τῶν νῦν παρὰ ταῦθ' ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν  
5 νομοθετῶν, ὅντως δὲ ἔσται σχεδὸν ὕπαρ ἀποτετελεσμένον

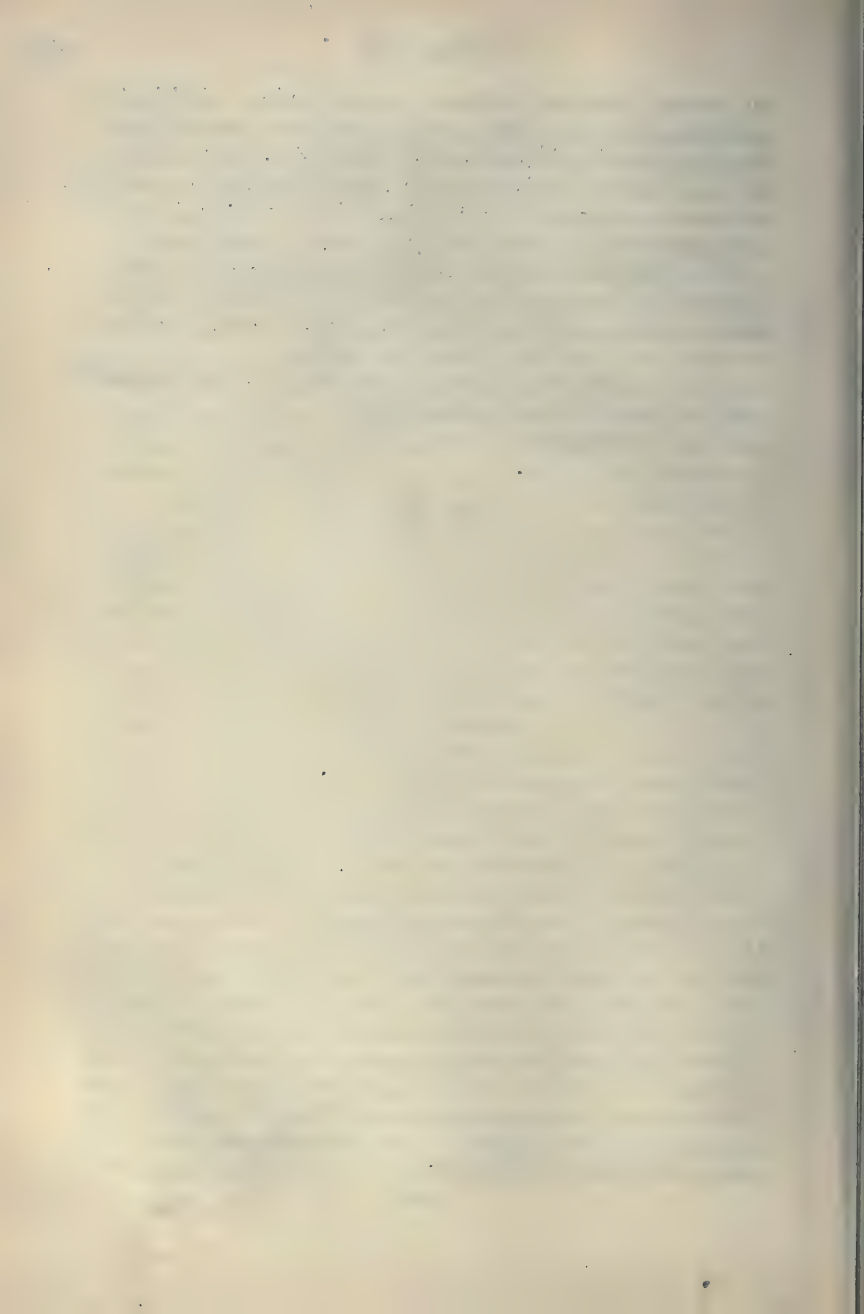


οὐδ' σμικρῷ πρόσθεν ὀνείρατος ὥς τῷ λόγῳ ἐφηψάμεθα,  
κεφαλῆς νοῦ τε κοινωνίας εἰκόνα τινά πως συμμείξαντες,  
εἴαν ἄρα ἡμῖν οἷ τε ἄνδρες ἀκριβῶς ἐκλεχθῶσι, παιδευθῶσί τε  
προσηκόντως, παιδευθέντες τε ἐν ἀκροπόλει τῆς χώρας κατ- c  
οικήσαντες, φύλακες ἀποτελεσθῶσιν οἷους ἡμεῖς οὐκ εἶδομεν  
ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν βίῳ πρὸς ἀρετὴν σωτηρίας γενομένους.

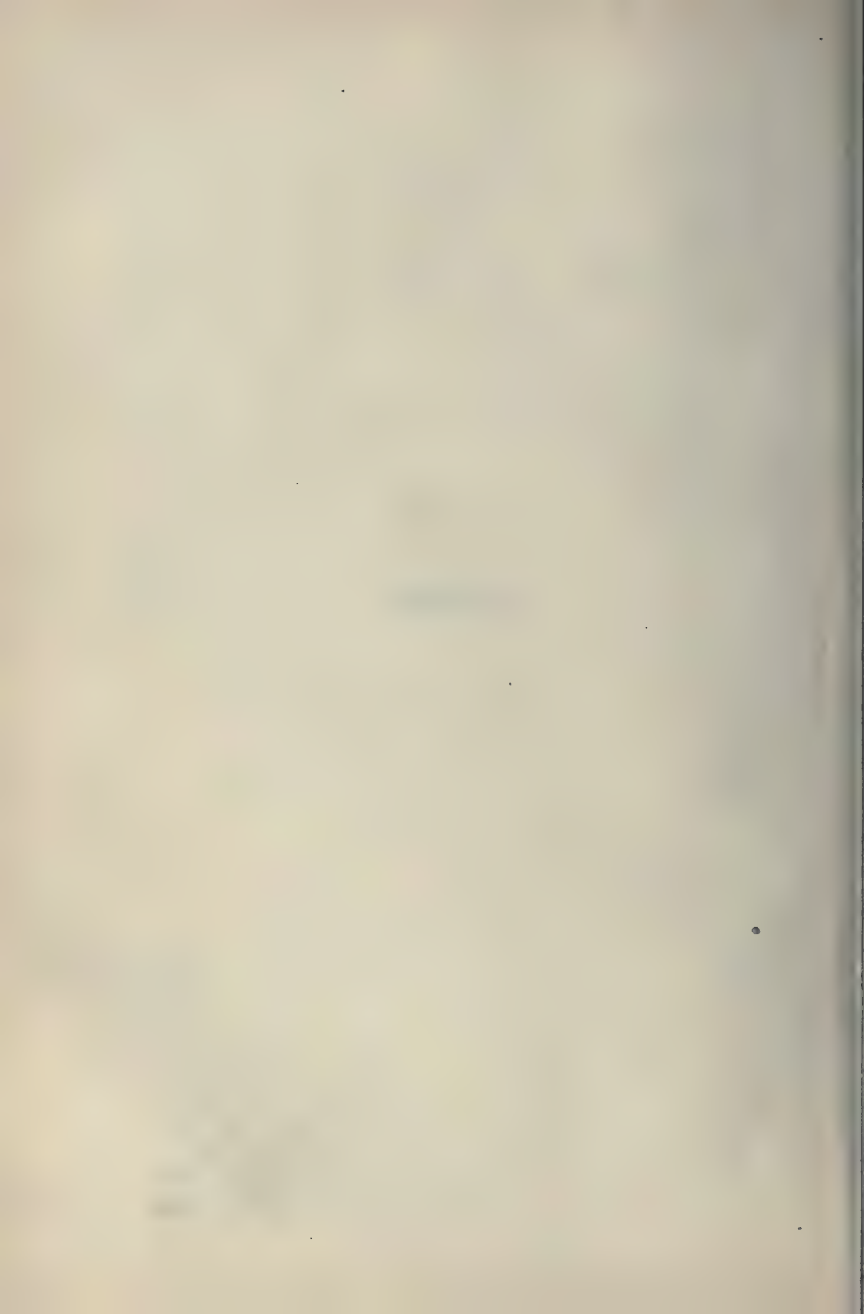
ΜΕ. ὦ φίλε Κλεινία, ἐκ τῶν νῦν ἡμῖν εἰρημένων ἀπάντων  
ἢ τὴν πόλιν ἐατέον τῆς κατοικήσεως ἢ τὸν ξένον τόνδε οὐκ 5  
ἀφετέον, ἀλλὰ δεήσεσιν καὶ μηχαναῖς πάσαις κοινωνὸν  
ποιητέον ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς πόλεως κατοίκισιν.

ΚΛ. Ἀληθέστατα λέγεις, ὦ Μέγιλλε, καὶ ἐγὼ ποιήσω d  
ταῦθ' οὕτως καὶ <σὺ> συλλάμβανε.

ΜΕ. Συλλήψομαι.



## NOTES





## BOOK VII

**788 a 2.** All recent editors, except Schneider and Zürr., have adopted Ast's correction of the MS. ὀρθότατα to ὀρθότατ' ἄν. **788 a**

**a 5 ff.** ἰδίᾳ . . . παρνομεῖν, "in the privacy of the home there are many little habits which people generally don't notice, arising from the child's fears, pleasures, or desires, of a kind of which the lawgiver would disapprove, and the result is, very likely, the development of a medley of incongruous characters and aims among our citizens. And in itself this does direct harm to a state. For while, on the one hand, these habits and ways are so insignificant and so multifarious that it would be foolish and undignified to make them punishable by law, at the same time they are a danger to such laws as we have, because these insignificant and countless habits are getting people into the way of transgressing" (i.e. the habits are contrary to the *spirit* of the law).—The correction of the MS. ἰδία to ἰδίᾳ is due to O<sup>2</sup>. Fic. "*privatim*."

**a 6.** ῥαδίως goes, I think, with ἀπεργάζοιτ' ἄν.

**b 3.** ἡθῆ: "character and aims" may serve as an explanation; the word is untranslatable. The object of the legislator is to inculcate such habits as will incline to right conduct; cp. above, 653 b 4 ff.

**b 4.** καὶ γὰρ κτλ.: καὶ (not to be taken closely with γάρ) . . . δὲ καί (b 6) is "while on the one hand . . . on the other." Burnet is right in putting only a colon after πόλεσιν; the following words explain wherein the mischief lies.—αὐτῶν: i.e. the πολλὰ καὶ σμικρά of a 5, which I have ventured to call "habits."

**b 6.** The subject to διαφθείρει is the αὐτά of b 4. (Schneider, Stallb., Wagner, and Jowett would make διαφθείρει impersonal, understanding Plato to mean that mischief is done *by making these trifles penal*, and thus breeding disrespect for law in general. It is only after long consideration that I have rejected this attractive

explanation.—Stallb. thinks we ought to read *καίτοι* for *καὶ γάρ* in b 4; Wagner and Sussemihl translate *καὶ γάρ* as if it were *καίτοι*.)

c 3. *λεγομένοις ἔοικε κατὰ τι σκότος*, “are little better than a dark saying.”

c 8. *εἴρηται*: cp. 643 d 1; possibly, though, the word merely indicates a generally received opinion.

d 1. *τό γε ἀπλούστατον*, “to take the simplest point.”

d 2. *νέων ὄντων εὐθύς*: cp. Thuc. ii. 39 *εὐθὺς νέοι ὄντες*.

d 6. *ἔριν πολλοῖς παρέσχηκεν*, “many people contend that . . .”; cp. Thuc. ii. 54. 3 *ἐγένετο μὲν οὖν ἔρις τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μὴ λοιμὸν ὠνομάσθαι ἐν τῷ ἔπει ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν, ἀλλὰ λιμόν*. At 776 c 8 *ἔριν παρέχειν* is similarly used with a *ὥς* clause.

d 10. *πόνων χωρὶς πολλῶν καὶ συμμέτρων*, “without abundance of appropriate exercise.”

789 a 6. Cleinias thinks he can confute the Ath. here: “if,” he says, “exercise should be proportioned to the amount of nourishment taken, and to the rate of growth, then it would follow that a newly born infant should get most exercise, because it grows fastest then.” “No,” the Ath. says, “it grows fastest *before* birth, and *that* is the most important time to keep it moving.” This astonishes Cl. still more.—*ῆ*: Stallb. is wrong in saying that “before Steph.” the printed texts had *ῆ*. Not only has Steph. *ῆ*, but ed. Lov. has *ῆ* here, and at a 10. I fail to see why editors have not followed ed. Lov. in the latter case, as well as in the former. As Ast says, Ficinus’s translation is of *ῆ* at both places. Ast says that after *τί δῆτα*; *ῆ* is right, but that after *πὼς λέγεις*; it ought to be *ῆ*. At *Phaedr.* 227 b 6 a similar question arises, which Heindorf *ad loc.* rightly decides in favour of *ῆ*.

b 4. *πάνν μὲν οὖν*, “do so by all means.”

b 9. Ficinus, and all printed edd. before Burnet, read *ἀσκούντες*, putting no stop after *ἀλληλα*, and a full stop after *θηρίων*. With this reading *τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν θηρίων* is merely a variety of expression for *ὀρνίθων θρέμματα*, and, as such, is otiose and unnatural. (Fic. translates by *aves*.) All the MSS., however, have *ἀσκούντας*. This Burnet retains, putting a full stop after *ἀλληλα*, and none after *θηρίων*. In this way *τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν θηρίων* gets a significance of its own—“creatures intended for such a purpose”—i.e. *fighting*. The difficulty is with *ἀσκούντας*, which, agreeing with *πόνους*, must be taken quasi-predicatively with *μετρίους εἶναι*—“by way of training for such creatures.” The asyndeton too is very abrupt, but so it is with the pause at *θηρίων*.

c 2. μετρίους is almost equivalent to "sufficient."—ἐν οἷς αὐτὰ ἀνακινούσι γυμνάζοντες, "in which they exercise them by stimulating their pugnacity."

c 3. ὑπὸ μάλης: as Ast says, this phrase is used of anything hidden somewhere about the person; see Thompson's note on *Gorg.* 469 d. We should say "every one of them has a bird stowed away somewhere—the little ones inside the hands, the larger under the elbows." In the story about Alcibiades and his quail (*Plut. Alc.* ch. x.) ἐν τῷ ἱματίῳ corresponds to ὑπὸ μάλης here; he says . . . ἐπιλαθέσθαι τοῦ ὀρνυγος ὃν ἔτυχεν ἔχων ἐν τῷ ἱματίῳ.

c 7—d 5. This passage bristles with difficulties in the interpretation of separate words and phrases, but the general sense is clearly that "*motion*, whether spontaneous, or due to some other agency, is good for the bodily frame."

d 2 ff. ἄκοπα: adverbial. The punctuation of the early editions shows that this word was once taken with ὀνίναται, though all translators, from Fic. downwards, take it with κινούμενα. Thompson on *Phaedr.* 227 a says it is a medical term, probably borrowed from Hippocrates. "It included all applications, external as well as internal, for removing lassitude and strengthening the nervous system, answering to our 'tonics.'" This positive meaning of *salutary, refreshing, invigorating*, suits its use in this passage, and in the parallel passage at *Tim.* 89 a, better than the usual interpretation of "without fatigue," and "not fatiguing." In that case the old stopping may be right after all, and we may translate "derive invigoration from."—πάντων: not (as Schneider) dependent on τὰ σώματα, but agreeing with σεισμῶν τε καὶ κινήσεων. Ast says Stob. has πάντως for it. (*Mein. Stob.* iii. p. 261 has πάντων.)—ὅσα: not, as most take it, with σώματα; πάντων ὅσα κινεῖται is "by all movements which they undergo," ὅσα being an adverbial acc. of inner obj. with κινεῖται.—ὀχουμένων καὶ . . . φερομένων τῶν σωμάτων: the gen. abs. is irregular, but the two participles help one another; Ast's ὀχούμενα, which Herm. and Wagner—and Stallb. in the 1859 ed.—adopt, makes the following words impossible. If Plato wrote ὀχούμενα, he must have gone on with φερόμενα, instead of φερομένων τῶν σωμάτων.—Ritter takes ὑπὸ ἐαυτῶν to refer not to τὰ σώματα πάντα, but to the subject of δηλοῦσι—i.e. whether they carry the quails about when they *walk* or when they *ride*. He argues that the quail-carriers prove nothing as to movement *originating with the mover*. This is being over-logical.—The καὶ κινούμενα of A and O is sufficiently

explained by the *καὶ κινήσεων* just before it, and there is no reason to suppose, as some have done, that it stands for *κατακινούμενα*.—*ἐν αἰώραις*, “in vehiculis,” Ficinus. Archer-Hind, on *Tim.* 89 (*διὰ αἰωρήσεων*), conjectures that there was “a gymnastic machine called *αἰώρα*, a kind of swing.” A comparison of the two Platonic passages with Plutarch, *Moralia*, 130 c and 793 b seems to me to suggest that *αἰώρα* was a litter (*φορείον*). In the former passage Plutarch says that reading aloud another man’s discourse, as compared with delivering one out of one’s own head, is like the difference between an *αἰώρα* and the *γυμνάσιον*. The provision of ready-made words “moves and carries the voice *μαλακῶς καὶ πράως ὥσπερ ἐπ’ ὀχήματος ἄλλοτρίου*. In the latter passage he says the old must be content to replace the active games of youth by *αἰώραι καὶ περίπατοι*. Cp. Lucian, *Ep. Saturn.* 28 *ἐς γῆρας ἀφικόμενον τοῖς αὐτοῦ ποσίν, ἀλλὰ μὴ φοράδην ἐπὶ τεττάρων ὀχούμενον*. For *αἰώρησις* used of riding in a carriage cp. Poll. x. 51 *ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν αἰωρήσει τῇ δι’ ὀχημάτων χρῆτό τις*. The whole passage may be translated: “that all bodies are salutarily affected by being moved by any kind of shaking or shifting, whether the movement they undergo be caused by their own effort, or because the bodies are riding in litters, or on board ship, or on horseback, or because they are moved by an outside force in any conceivable way.”

**d 6.** *κατακρατοῦντα*: evidently another medical term; our “assimilate” or “absorb.” The subj. *σώματα* is supplied from the previous *σωμάτων*.—*καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ῥώμην*, “and strength to boot.”

**d 8.** *τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο*: as Ritter says, “next” does not suit the passage. Probably it is “in future”; as at *Critias* 120 a *τό τε αὖ μετὰ τοῦτο μηδὲν τῶν γραμμάτων ἐκόντες παραβήσεσθαι*.

**e 1.** *ἅμα γέλῳτι φράζωμεν τιθέντες νόμους . . .*; “are we to court ridicule by explicitly directing in our laws . . .?” If a comma is put after *φράζωμεν* there should be one also after *νόμους*; both or neither.

**e 2.** For this use of *τὸ γενόμενον* cf. below e 9, 791 e 5 and *Crit.* 50 b *τὴν τοῦ γενομένου τροφήν τε καὶ παιδείαν*.

**e 5.** *αἰεὶ πῃ φέρειν*, “to manage to be always carrying them.”

**e 7.** *βίῃ ἐπηρειδομένων*, “if they lean their weight on them.”

**e 8.** *ἐπιπονεῖν φερούσας*, “to persevere in carrying them” (even after the swaddling-clothes are removed and the child can stand).

**790 a 1.** *μίαν*: for *μίαν μόνην*, as at *Symp.* 184 b 5, and *Tim.* 36 d 1, so that *μὴ μίαν* stands for *πλείους μίας*.



**a 3.** πολλὸν καὶ ἄφθονον, "more than enough." ἡ πολλοῦ γε δεῖ; in a 2 was equivalent to "is there not *much* reason why we should not?" and the πολὺ here, like the πολύν in a 5, is an echo of the πολλοῦ there.

**a 6.** ἐθέλειν ἄν; for ἄν *c. inf.* for "to be *likely* to . . ." cp. above, 739 a 4.—γυναικεῖά τε καὶ δούλεια ἦθη: for the feminine ἦθος cp. 781 c and, for that of slaves, 776 e.

**a 8.** τὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν τε καὶ ἐλευθέρων ἦθη: the form of phrase is chosen to resemble that in a 6.—Though it is hopeless to try to persuade the nurses, their more enlightened masters may recognize the wisdom of the suggestion when it is put to them, and see how important it is for the *community*. The good citizen will realize that you cannot construct a well-regulated state out of ill-regulated households.

**b 1.** ἀκούσαντα: for a similar, though harsher, euallage cp. Thuc. i. 110. 1 οὕτω μὲν τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πράγματα ἐφθάρη ἐξ ἑτῆ πολεμήσαντα; cp. also below, 793 e 4, and Ar. *Plut.* 45 τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τοῦ θεοῦ φράζουσιν (so MSS.).

**b 2.** χωρὶς τῆς ἰδίας διοικήσεως . . . ὀρθῆς γιγνομένης: an unusual construction for ἐὰν μὴ ἡ ἰδία διοίκησις ὀρθῇ γίγνηται.

**b 4.** βεβαιότητα θέσεως νόμων = βεβαίαν νομοθεσίαν, "a strong body of law."—νόμοις is secondary pred., "will treat our suggestions as if they were laws."

**c 2.** κατὰ . . . διαπεραίνειν: τῶν μύθων is governed by ἤργγεθα; διαπεραίνειν is an exegetical inf. loosely constructed with ἐπιτηδεύματα ἀποδῶμεν. For this construction cp. above on 700 c 2, and for the meaning of διαπεραίνειν cp. above on 739 e 5. (Many interpreters take διαπεραίνειν to depend, directly or loosely, on ἤργγεθα.)

**c 5-7.** Almost all interpreters put a comma after νέων (or after ψυχῆς), but they fail to explain the genitives σώματος and ψυχῆς without bringing in some idea which is not in the Greek words. These genitives depend on τιθήνησιν. Though the "*nursing*" is done to the body, it—as we are here told for the first time—affects the ψυχή as well. Besides, as Ritter says, e 3 and 791 a 1 f. show that the *music* of the nurse's song is regarded as a kind of κίνησις; and the effect of music is certainly mainly mental.—Finsler (*Plato u. d. Ar. Poetik*, p. 113 f.) is no doubt right in representing this whole discussion of κίνησις, along with that in *Tim.* 89 a, as the germ of Aristotle's doctrine of κάθαρσις in *Poet.* 1449 b 27.

**c 7 f.** With λάβωμεν . . . τὴν . . . κίνησιν . . . ὥς ἔστι

σύμφορος Ast cps. 625 c 10 and 733 d 2 διανοεῖσθαι τοὺς βίους ἡμῶν ὥς . . . πεφύκασιν, also 905 b 7 and 946 e 4.

c 9. καὶ οἰκεῖν: supply σύμφορόν ἐστιν (or ἂν ᾦν) from the preceding sentence; their life is to be as near an approach as possible to the constant movement felt on shipboard.

d 2. All interpreters but Schneider rightly supply an object for τεκμαίρεσθαι from the preceding sentence—"that it is so," or "what ought to be done" (Fic.); Schneider makes it govern the ὥς clause, and finds the explanation of the τῶνδε merely in the sentence beginning ἡνίκα γάρ at d 5.

d 3. αὐτό is the τούτου of d 1 (i.e. the στοιχείον of c 5), and the object of τεκμαίρεσθαι.—εἰλήφασιν, "have adopted."

d 4. αἱ περὶ τὰ τῶν Κορυβάντων ἰάματα τελοῦσαι: in the absence of fuller information I accept Stallbaum's interpretation of this obscure passage, i.e. (1) that τὰ τῶν K. is "quae Corybantibus accidunt," and is meant as a general description of intense mental excitement (? tarantism); and (2) that ἰάματα τελοῦσαι is "remedia adhibentes," τελεῖν (cp. 775 a 2) being used because there was something *ceremonial* and *professional* about the curative process adopted by the women in question. This remedial procedure was apparently so well known that the Ath. does not think it worth while to describe it. His subsequent words imply that it was like that adopted by the mothers of fractious children in order to put them to sleep; and also like the course adopted to cure cases of Bacchic frenzy. In both procedures there was more or less *rhythmical movement* and *noise*. (Badham accepts Ast's Κορυβαντιῶντων and would read αἵπερ τὰ τῶν Κορυβαντιῶντων ἰάματα τελοῦσι.)

e 2. καταυλοῦσι is used figuratively in the sense of *charm*, *fascinate*. For the connexion of αὐλοῖ and βακχεία cp. Arist. Pol. 1342 b 4 πᾶσα γὰρ βακχεία καὶ πᾶσα ἡ τοιαύτη κίνησις μάλιστα τῶν ὀργάνων ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς αὐλοῖς.—καθάπερ ἡ κτλ.: all editors before Burnet follow Ald. in reading αἱ in the place of the MS. ἡ. Such a change could hardly be justified even if the sense were satisfactory; but it is not. Ast would supply εἰσὶ as its verb, Stallb. ποιῶσι, both awkward in different ways; for the latter we should expect a personal subject, not ἰάσεις. Burnet construes (as he kindly informs me) "καθάπερ ἡ τῶν ἐκφρόνων (καταυλοῦσα) βακχειῶν ἰάσεις," βακχειῶν being a genitive of definition depending on ἰάσεις, and ἰάσεις governed by καταυλοῦσα: "just like the (priestess) who pacifies mad people by curative Bacchic frenzies." Granted that we should retain ἡ and supply

καταυλοῦσα (also that *χρώμεναι* agrees with αἱ μητέρες), still (1) the *χρώμεναι* clause remains weak, and (2) it is not easy to separate ἐκφρόνων from βακχείων (cp. the ἔξεις ἔμφρονας of 791 b 1), and I would suggest that we should place a comma after βακχείων instead of before ταύτη, and read ἰάσει for ἰάσεις: "and they just fascinate the babies, like the priestess who casts a spell on the mad frenzies" (referred to at d 4 as τὰ τῶν Κορυβάντων). [F.H.D. would read ἰασίς for ἰάσεις.]—τῆς κινήσεως: a genitive of definition; the essence of the χορεία and μούσα is also *movement*.

e 3. "ταύτη est nota illa," Stallb. who cps. 677 a 8, and *Phaedo* 69 c οἱ τοῖ—“those famous men” (Cope).

e 8. ταῦτ’ ἀμφοτέρα τὰ πάθη: i.e. (1) the fright which, acc. to Plato, is the cause of the infant’s crying in the night; and (2) the frenzied state of mind associated with the worship of Cybele and Dionysus: φοβερὰν at 791 a 2 and τοὺς μὲν at a 6 refer to the former; μανικὴν at a 3 and τοὺς δ’ ἐργηγορότας (“those who are awake all the time”) to the latter.

e 9. ἔξιν φαύλην: this *deterioration* implies a *mental change*, and all change is a *κίνησις*.

791 a 1. τῶν ἔξωθεν: τὰ ἔξωθεν stands for the simple ἔξωθεν, just as περὶ τὰ τῆς καρδίας at a 4 stands for the simple περὶ τὴν καρδίαν, which, again, is equivalent to τῆς καρδίας.

a 2. κρατεῖ: apparently the external κίνησις effects its object by absorbing the attention of the sufferer, and so excluding the consciousness of the δαίμα; this is implied in the φαίνεσθαι: the δαίμα ceases to be apparent in the ψυχῇ.

a 4. Ald. changed φαίνεσθαι to φαίνεται—a very short-sighted correction, which all editors but Schneider, Wagner, and Burnet adopt.—ἀπεργασαμένη κτλ. explains *how* the mastery is effected, and κρατήσασα is subordinate to ποιεῖ and κατηργάσατο.

a 6. ἀγαπητόν τι: an accusative in apposition to the following sentence (or we may supply a second ποιεῖ with it).—(Badham rewrites the passage, omitting φαίνεσθαι, substituting τὰς for τὰ τῆς, introducing ἡγείται before ἀγαπητόν and changing τι to εἰ; apparently the subj. to his ἡγείται is κίνησις.)

a 7. ὀρχουμένους: the passive of the ὀρχεῖν, “make to dance,” which we find at *Crat.* 407 a 1; for the pass. αὐλούμενος cp. *Rep.* 561 c τότε μὲν μεθύων καὶ αὐλούμενος.—μετὰ θεῶν goes better, I think, with ὀρχ. καὶ αὐλ. than with κατηργάσατο. The ritual connected with the worship of the gods provides the necessary κίνησις—both bodily and mental.—For the μετὰ, “by the help of,”

which has gone a long way towards being an instrumental "with," cp. above 738 d 7 φιλοφρονούνται τε ἀλλήλους μετὰ θυσίων and *Theaet.* 180 c 8 μετὰ ποιήσεως ἐπικρυπτομένων τοὺς πολλούς.

a 8. κατηργάσται is a gnomic aor. For the form cp. Wecklein, *Cur. Epig.* p. 36.

b 2. The passage τινά . . . ἔχει was omitted in the first four printed edd. though Ficinus translates it; Steph. first inserted it after tacitly altering the mistaken τε of the MSS. (after βραχέων) to γε.

b 5. For the MS. παρ' αὐτοῖς—which Fic. unwarrantably translates *praeterea*, Schneider *apud eas*, and Wagner *dabei*—Burnet accepts Ritter's correction παρ' αὐτοῖς, i.e. "people" is supposed to be the subject of ἐννοεῖν. I have accepted A.M.A.'s suggestion that παρ' αὐτοῖς is right, and that it means "in the case of the sufferers"—the τοὺς μὲν and τοὺς δ' of a 6. (Is it possible that *παντῖκα* is what Plato wrote?)

b 6. Cornarius's κινεῖσθαι for γίγνεσθαι is probably due to the fact that Fic. translates διὰ φόβων γίγνεσθαι by "quovis ferri per formidinem." μᾶλλον . . . γίγνεσθαι, "would be all the more likely to be habituated to a state of fear."

b 8. Stobaeus is very likely right in reading εἶναι for this second γίγνεσθαι.

c 4 ff. ἓν, "one element," just as the *cheerfulness*, next mentioned, is another.—μόριον ἀρετῆς: cp. above, 696 b 6 ἀνδρεία που μόριον ἀρετῆς ἓν; τὴν γυμναστικήν is in apposition to τοῦτο.—ἡμῖν is an ethic dative; cp. 836 d 4 τί μέρος ἡμῖν συμβάλλοιτ' ἂν πρὸς ἀρετήν;—The suggestion, made by Badham and W. R. Paton, that we ought to read ἀρετήν for ἀρετῆς, is attractive, as it brings ἓν and μόριον together in a natural way; but it does not fit in so well with the adverbial μέγα qualifying συμβάλλεσθαι (which goes directly with εἰς).

c 5. παντελῶς παίδων: cp. above, 639 b 11 σφόδρα γυναικῶν, *Theaet.* 183 e 7 πάνυ πρεσβύτη, *Rep.* 564 a ἡ ἄγαν ἐλευθερία.

c 9. εὐψυχία here is nōt, as L. & S. and Jowett say, "courage," but is a variant for ψυχῆς ἀρετή. Fic. correctly translates by *bonitas*, and so, in effect, Schneider and Wagner.

d 2. ὅπως τις καὶ καθ' ὅσον εὐπορεῖ τούτων, "in whatever way or to whatever extent these objects lie within our power." τούτων is "these two characteristics"; he goes on to show us how we are to induce cheerfulness or *its opposite*. (Others take τούτων to refer to the τίνα τρόπον clause. It was probably because he took it this way that Stobaeus gives τούτου for τούτων—"that's



what we have got to try and show, as best we can." [So too F.H.D.])—The original δέῖ for δὴ of A and O, and the omission by A and O<sup>1</sup> of the καὶ before καθ' are very natural blunders.

d 5. λέγω δὴ: the explanatory asyndeton is natural after φράζειν δὴ πειρατέον. What follows is the Athenian's attempt to furnish the desired information.—Does the παρ' ἡμῖν mean *at Athens*, or *in Plato's school*? For the sentiment cp. the kindred warnings above at 728 e 5 ff. and 744 d 3 ff. against excessive wealth and excessive poverty in a state, and also *Rep.* 422 a 1.

d 6. The analogy of πάνυ παρὰ πολλοῖς and πάνυ ἐξ εἰκότος λόγου, at *Euthydem.* 305 c and d, suggests that σφόδρα here (for which the early printed edd. have σφοδρὰ) qualifies σμικρῶν alone (not κινούμενα).

e 2. τὴν πόλιν ἄπασαν: i.e. "how can the united forces of the state be called to such a task?" Cleinias's view evidently is that no *education* is possible without speech; this is implied in his τῆς ἄλλης. He ought to have known, from the preceding discussion, that that was not the Athenian's view.

e 6. τῷ κλάειν συνέχεται, "is given to tears"; lit. "is afflicted by weeping."

792 a 1. τεκμαίρονται: the verb is used with the object left unexpressed, just as above at 790 d 2. Here it is suggested by the previous σκοποῦσαι τίνος ἐπιθυμεί. τούτοις αὐτοῖς is "by these very expressions of feeling," i.e. by the child's noise and tears, or their absence.

a 2. οὐδ stands for οὐδ προσφερομένον.

a 3. τοῖς δὴ κτλ.: an explanatory asyndeton; δὴ is "you see."

a 4. οὐδαμῶς εὐτυχῇ, "the reverse of happy." Cp. 803 b 5 τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ εὐτυχές. The following δέ clause gives a reason why we must put up with them for all that.

a 8-b 3. The argument is that, as the morose and implacable nature is culpably dismal and querulous—for these characteristics naturally go together—much tearfulness in the young is likely to end in a morose disposition.

b 4 ff. Aristotle at *Pol.* 1336 a 35 says that "the people in the *Laws*" are wrong in stopping children's tears; crying, he says, is a gymnastic exercise which helps growth. It is not the actual crying which Plato objects to—though he truly says that it does not sound nice—but the habit of mind engendered by constant complaining. On this ground he would avoid occasions for tears as much as possible. The logical opponent of Plato's policy ought in certain circumstances to advocate a deliberate infliction of pain

on babies.—A, L and O<sup>2</sup> have τὰ τριετῇ, “the three-year-olds,” loosely used for “all under three.” O however had originally a different reading, apparently τὰ τρι’ ἔτη. Steph. was the first editor to see that the former reading could not stand along with τὸ τρεφόμενον, and printed τὰ τρία ἔτη—the elision in the vulgate is doubtful—and so Ast. Bekker and all subsequent editors have adopted O’s τὰ τρι’ ἔτη (cp. below 793 d 7). In view of τοῦ τρεφόμενον in b 8—a very un-Platonic repetition—I cannot help suspecting that τὸ τρεφόμενον in b 5 is a later insertion, and that τὰ τριετῇ is what Plato wrote. Ficinus seems to have read τὰ τρι’ ἔτη and τὸ τρεφόμενον, for he has “in hoc triennio,” and “puer” as the subject of προσχρήσεται.

b 7. Ἰλεων: perhaps *gracious* furnishes the nearest English equivalent to the double meaning of the word here and at d 2 below. Ast refers to Ath. viii. 363 c, where Ἰλεως is said to be synonymous with ἱλαρός.—For εὐθυμον used in this connexion cp. Seneca, *De tranquillitate* 2, 3, εὐθυμίαν (*esse*) *stabilem animi sedem, de qua Democriti volumen egregium est: ego tranquillitatem voco*, and Diog. Laert. ix. 45 τέλος δ’ εἶναι τὴν εὐθυμίαν οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν οὔσαν τῇ ἡδονῇ, ὥς ἐνιοι παρακούσαντες (? παρακρούσαντες) ἐξηγήσαντο, ἀλλὰ καθ’ ἣν γαληνῶς καὶ εὐσταθῶς ἡ ψυχὴ διάγει, ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ταρattoμένη φόβου ἢ δεισιδαιμονίας ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς πάθους· καλεῖ δ’ αὐτὴν καὶ εὐεστῶ καὶ πολλοῖς ἄλλοις ὀνόμασι.—H. Richards is most likely right in demanding an ἄν after Ἰλεων. (At 692 b 5 the case was different.)

b 8. τοῦ τρεφόμενον: if τὰ τριετῇ be retained in b 4, there would be the same change to the singular here as we find below between τὰς φέρονσας in e 3 and ἡ κύνουσα in e 6; at 793 d 7 ff. the change is reversed.

c 2. Steph. corrected the Κλεινία of the first four edd. to Κλεινίᾱ, which turns out to be the MS. reading. Ast and Zürr. wrongly revert to the voc. Fic.’s “o mirifice Cleinia” is no warrant for supposing that ὦ θαυμάσιε Κλεινία could be thus separated in Greek. For the playful substitution of the name for the personal pron. Stallb. cps. *Euthyphro* 5 a 1.

c 3. Again L preserves the right reading, where A and O have διαφορά (Fic. “pernities”).

c 4. ἐν ἀρχῇ γάρ: at 753 e 6, 765 e 3, and 775 e 2 we have been reminded of the supreme importance of the ἀρχή. Such indulgence will more surely lay the foundations of a pleasure-seeking temperament if it comes *early*. Cp. below at e 1 κυριώτατον γάρ κτλ.

c 8. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐμὸς δὴ λόγος: with regard to young children, Plato's theory, when fully expressed, is this: (1) *Pain* should be kept as much as possible out of an infant's way, for fear that he should grow to *dread it excessively*; and (2) *Pleasure* should not be put in his way on purpose, for fear that he should come to *like it too much*. In this paragraph he expands the doctrine so as to embrace all ages, and finds confirmation of it in his ideal of the Divine nature. We have had *hints* of this doctrine in the description of the dangers of *τρυφή* at 791 d 5 ff., and in the selection of the words *εὐθυμος* and *ἥλεως* at 792 b 7, to describe the desirable state of mind.

d 1. τὸ παράπαν: Ficinus translates as if this qualified *both* clauses; rightly, I think. So below at d 6 ὅλως, and at e 5 πολλαῖς, are felt to belong really to both halves of the sentence.—αὐτὸ τὸ μέσον, “le juste milieu.”—ἀσπάζεσθαι is well chosen to denote a state of *passive enjoyment*.

d 2. προσείπον . . . ὀνομάσας: Badham would reject ὀνομάσας; the pleonasm is no greater than that in our “call by the name.”—ἦν δὲ διάθεσιν . . . προσαγορεύομεν, “and that is a temperament which a true inspiration teaches us all to call *divine*”; i.e. the word ἥλεως (*gracious*) is applied in a special sense to denote *the favour of heaven*.—Ast well cps. *Euthyd.* 273 e ἤλω εἶπον—ἀτεχνῶς γὰρ ἔγωγε σφῶ ὥσπερ θεῷ προσαγορεύω.—From this Plato draws the somewhat fanciful conclusion that the temper it describes must be divine. The fancy is quite in accordance with his views of the significance and *naturalness* of language.—Stallb. well reminds us that at *Phil.* 33 b 8 we are told οὐκ οὐκ εἰκός γε οὔτε χαίρειν θεοὺς οὔτε τὸ ἐναντίον, and also cps. *Epinomis* 985 a 5 θεὸν μὲν γὰρ δὴ τὸν τέλος ἔχοντα τῆς θείας μοίρας ἕξω τούτων εἶναι, ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ ἡδονῆς. (Ficinus translates ἥλεως, both here and at b 7, by *tranquillus*. This suggests the view that the Stoic ἀταραξία was the “godlike” characteristic here alluded to. But the words κατὰ τινα . . . προσαγορεύομεν point to a *popular* use of the word ἥλεως, and could not be used of a philosophical view such as this.)

d 5 ff. προπετῇ πρὸς τὰς ἡδονὰς γίγνεσθαι ὅλως is “ganz und gar Genüssen nachjagen” (Wagner).—μήτε ἄλλον ἔαν: the good citizen has in this respect a double duty; he must correct the evil tendency in himself, and he must help to repress it in others.—There is a break in the construction here; instead of the expected participle we find the infin. ἔαν ranging itself alongside of διώκειν.—ὥς οὐδ' ἐκτὸς λυπῶν ἐσόμενον: not, as Fic., “if he does,

he will suffer for it," but "and he must not forget that he will have his share of pain too." The well-balanced mind will neutralize the one experience by the thought of its opposite, and will so arrive at a divine indifference to both.

d 8. ἡμῖν: an ethic dative. Stallb. wrongly takes it closely with ταῦτόν, "idem hoc quod nobis fere accidere solet."

e 1. κυριώτατον γὰρ οὖν . . . ἔθος, "for infancy, you know, is the native soil of the proverb 'all nature comes by nurture'" (A.M.A.) Cp. *Rep.* 377 b μάλιστα γὰρ δὴ τότε πλάττεται καὶ ἐνδύεται τύπον ὃν ἂν τις βούληται ἐνσημῆνασθαι ἐκάστῳ, and *Arist. Pol.* 1287 b 5 ἔτι κυριώτεροι καὶ περὶ κυριωτέρων τῶν κατὰ γράμματα νόμων οἱ κατὰ τὰ ἔθνη εἰσίν.

e 2-7. Stobaeus (101. 5) quotes this passage with two careless mistakes, and one important variant: the former are δὴ for δεῖν in e 3, and διασώζει for διαζήσει in e 7; the latter is λείον for ἔλεον in e 6—very probably the correct reading. The more colourless word suits this passage better. Cp. *Crat.* 406 a 8 τὸ μὴ τραχὺ τοῦ ἡθοὺς ἀλλ' ἡμερόν τε καὶ λείον. The word ἔλεως is not likely to have been used again so soon after b 7 and d 2.—It is noticeable that Stobaeus confirms the προσχρήσεται of A and O as against the προσχρήσεται of A<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>2</sup>, as also the εὐμενές of L and O<sup>2</sup> as against the εὐμενῶς of A and O. (Possibly we ought to read εὐμενῶς πρᾶον, omitting τε.)

e 4. θεραπεύειν has here almost the sense of φυλάττειν, τὰς φερούσας is the object of θερ., and ἐνιαυτόν acc. of time.

e 5. τε . . . δέ, οὔτε . . . δέ, μήτε . . . δέ are not uncommon; cp. *Soph. Phil.* 1312, *Eur. Suppl.* 223.—μάργοις the Scholiast interprets by ὑβριστικοῖς, ἀκράτεσι, μαινομένοις.

e 7. τιμῶσα: for τιμᾶν (*colere*, cultivate) used of dispositions cp. *Rep.* 572 c τὰς χρηματιστικὰς ἐπιθυμίας τιμῶντι μόνas; so too, perhaps, *Eur. Phoen.* 536 ἰσότητα τιμᾶν.—(Badham says διαζήσει is a mistake for διάζει.)

793 a 4. μέσον δέ τινα (sc. βίον) τέμνειν: τέμνειν being used poetically with some word for *path*, *road*, *course* as its object, in the sense of *transire*, "take," the idiom is here extended, and βίον τέμνειν = βίον βιοῦν, and the μέσον in the phrase—recalling such expressions as μέσον τι τέμνειν (*Prot.* 338 a) and διὰ μέσων τέμνοντας (*Polit.* 262 b)—makes the extension sound more natural.—καλῶς . . . ἄμα: i.e. "you have made a satisfactory speech, and you have got a satisfactory answer to it." (Not, as Schneider, ". . . et simul bene cognosti causam.")

a 6. μάλα μὲν οὖν ὀρθῶς: this is a compliment to the way



Cleinias has summed up the Athenian's views. "You do more than agree courteously; you express what I mean with admirable precision."

**a 9 ff.** The object of this paragraph is to insist afresh on the great importance of such regulations as have been recommended. They deserve, he says, all the respect due to what time-honoured phrases describe as "unwritten laws"—the *ἄγραπτα νόμιμα* of *Soph. Ant.* 454, the *ἄγραφοι νόμοι* of *Xen. Mem.* iv. 4. 19, and *Thuc.* ii. 37—"immemorial tradition," and "social usage." He compares them to a screen protecting the laws, and to the braces or clamps of metal which keep the stones of a building in position, and again to the main supports on which a superstructure rests. Cleinias's city, being a new one, will not inherit such a traditional public conscience; therefore the lawgiver must, in this case, not stop short at positive enactment, but must risk prolixity by going into minute detail on such subjects as are now before us.

**b 2.** ὁ νυνδὲ λόγος ἡμῖν ἐπιχυθεῖς, "the conviction borne in upon us just now"; the reference is to 788 a 3 f.—Campbell on *Polit.* 303 c τοῦ νῦν ἐπικεχυμένου λόγου κατ' ἀρχάς cps. this passage, *Rep.* 344 d ἡμῶν καταντλήσας . . . τὸν λόγον, *Soph.* 264 c ἐτι μείζων κατεχύθη σκοτοδινία, and *Laws* 682 a 7 τοῦ νῦν ἐπελθόντος ἡμῖν μύθου; cp. also *Laws* 672 b 3 λόγος τις . . . ὑπορρεῖ πως.

**b 4.** μεταξὺ pursues (I think) the metaphor of the "clamps"—"between stone and stone," not, as Fic. and others, "between present and future laws." The πάντων is in favour of the clamp metaphor: "binding together all laws, whether actually made, or to be made in future."

**b 6.** Burnet is the only editor who ventures to print the isolated pass. form *θησομένων*, relying on A and O as against O<sup>2</sup> and the grammars.

**b 7.** τεθέντα καὶ ἐθισθέντα is equivalent to ἐν ἔθει τεθέντα, as opposed to ἐν γράμμασιν τεθέντα.

**b 8.** τότε is "hitherto."

**c 1.** ἂν δ' . . . πλημμελῶς: cp. *Tim.* 30 a κινουμένον πλημμελῶς καὶ ἀτάκτως; "if they transgress beyond the proper bounds"; "they" is the *feelings, convictions* and *habits* of the community—very much what we should call *public opinion*. In the language of the metaphor it is "get out of the straight."

**c 2.** ἐκ μέσου: probably only "from their place," but possibly containing the suggestion of a support to the *centre of gravity* of the superincumbent structure.

c 3. Badham conjectures that ἄλλα ὑφ' ἐτέρων is a scribe's error for ἄλλο ἐφ' ἐτέρῳ.

c 4. καλῶς: it doesn't matter how excellent the fresh laws are, if the previous structure is unsound.

c 7. ὅσα = πάντων ὅσα.

d 2. ἐκότερα: i.e. neither the *unwritten*, nor the *written* laws.

d 4. The δοκοῦντα of all texts but Burnet's has no MS. authority beyond that of the second hand in O. It gives a satisfactory meaning, but the addition of another word in -α makes the passage awkward and monotonous. It is possible that A and O and Burnet are right: δοκοῦντων εἶναι may be a highly idiomatic and elliptical gen. abs. clause, meaning "as they seem to us," in which the εἶναι is like that in ἐκὼν εἶναι, τὸ νῦν εἶναι.—νόμιμα ἢ καὶ ἐθίσματα: the same two classes referred to in the ἐκότερα of d 2 and in the νόμους ἢ ἔθῃ of d 1—"whether they be laws or customs."

d 6. Bekker, followed by Wagn., Zür., and Herm., changed the MS. γε to τε: acc. to Zür., MS. Angel. c. 1. 7 has neither γε nor τε.

d 7. εἰς μὲν . . . τρεφομένοις, "so be it: until the boy or girl is three years of age, the careful and conscientious observance of the precepts I have given will substantially benefit our tender nurslings."—A, L and O have τοῦ τριετῆ; the first correction of this comes from the Ven. MS. E which has τοῦ τριετοῦς, and so all printed edd. before Bekker, who corrected the MS. τριετῆ to τριῖ ἔτη, and all subsequent editors have followed him. As at 792 b 4, I doubt this correction. It is not certain that the α of τρία would be elided; I suggest that Plato wrote εἰς . . . τὴν τριετῆ γεγονότος ἡλικίαν κόρον καὶ κόρης, and that some early corrector put in a τοῦ above the line, which got before the τριετῆ by mistake. I have therefore removed the commas from after ἡλικίαν and κόρης.

e 4. ἐξετεῖ ἥθει ψυχῆς: a common, rather poetical, enallage; cp. Eur. *Andr.* 159 ἡπειρώτης ψυχῇ γυναικῶν, Soph. *Antig.* 794, Eur. *I.A.* 1266, *Bacch.* 866. So Keats talks of the "green felicity" of branches, and we see nothing strange in talking of "a happy time"; cp. above on 790 b 1.—Ficinus and the first five printed edd. made nonsense of this passage by reading παιδιῶν in spite of the παιδιῶν of the MSS. Ast and Schulthess first corrected this.

e 5. τρυφῆς δ' ἤδη παραλντέον: there was the danger of getting "spoiled" in the nursery.—The two new instruments of education,

then, that are to be introduced after the age of three are (1) *games*, and (2) *punishment*.

e 6. The MSS. have τε λέγομεν; the first four printed edd. have τ' ἐλέγομεν; Steph. tacitly altered τ' to γ', and so all subsequent edd. Fic. has *diximus*.—ἐλέγομεν has here the force of ἐκελεύομεν, as at *Theaet.* 209 d 5. The following precept is not the exact reproduction of the recommendations given above about slaves at 777 e 4 ff., but the likeness between the two passages justifies the reference.

e 7. Burnet's note explains the aberrations of the MSS. and edd. A's ἐμποιῆσαι was not clearly written, and A<sup>2</sup> and O mistook it for ἐμποιῆσειν—which is the reading of the first five edd., and even of Stallb. who defends it; O<sup>2</sup> suggested ἐμποιεῖν, which most edd. have adopted; Steph. also suggested ἐμποιῆσαι or ἐμποιεῖν, and Ast printed the latter.

794 a 1. L has again, in τρυφήν, preserved the correct reading, which occurs also in O<sup>2</sup>; possibly the scribes of A and O thought that τρυφᾶν could be used actively in the sense of θρύπτειν.

a 2 f. Plato here, as A.M.A. says, anticipates Dr. Montessori.

a 4. The κῶμαι may be assumed to be the twelve country districts allotted one to each tribe; each tribe had a sacred enclosure—see also below, τὸ ἱερόν at b 5—where children under six were to play. We are not bound to suppose that all the children of a κῶμη played together in one game.

a 6. ἕκαστα: ἐκάστων would be more natural here; as it is, it must be merely a variant for πάντα, like ἕκαστοι for πάντες at e 2.

a 8. There is an anacoluthon here: τῶν δὲ τροφῶν begins as if μίαν τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπιμελίσθαι (δεῖ) were to follow; actually ἐπιμελίσθαι is replaced at b 1 by (ἐφ' ἐκάστῃ) τετάχθαι κοσμοῦσαν, which means the same thing, but could not grammatically take the same construction. (Ast says τῶν τροφῶν depends on ἐκάστῃ; Stallb. that it is "*absolute positum*.")

b 1. With ἐκάστῃ we must supply ἀγέλη, which in sense is the same as φυλῇ.

b 2. I am convinced that Badham is right in correcting the MS. προειρημένων to προηρημένων. The following αἰρεῖσθωσαν explains sufficiently what was meant by "the twelve previously chosen women." (Neither the view of Ast and Stallb. that τῶν προειρημένων is "the nurses," nor Ritter's that it is "the games," will fit the passage. Ritter suggests that besides the games which sprang up spontaneously among the children, there were some more elaborate ones to be prescribed by the νομοφύλακες (b 2).

But if τῶν προειρημένων meant "the above-mentioned games," it *would* be the spontaneous ones, for only these have been mentioned.) —τάξωσιν: i.e. to a particular tribe; not, apparently, their own.—The alteration of ἀς to ὥς by L<sup>2</sup>, and to ὅσα (tacitly) by Steph., shows a wish to take this clause with κοσμοῦσαν in the sense of *administer*. Fic. seems to have read ὥς, as he translates "imperatura prout legum custodes ordinaverint."

b 3. αἱ τῶν γάμων κύριαι: cp. above, 784 a ff.

b 5. ἀρχέτω φοιτῶσα, "shall pay an official visit."

b 7. αὐτή, here, and at c 3 (where the early edd. read αὐτή), is "summarily."

c 3. In μετὰ τὸν ἐξέτη, as in ἵππων διδασκάλους at c 7, we have a quite intelligible conversational brachylogy.

c 4. κόροι . . . ποιείσθωσαν: an ordinary explanatory asyndeton. Inasmuch as the δέ in c 6 corresponds to the μέν in c 4, it is perhaps better not to print it with parenthesis marks (as Burnet), but with colons (as other edd.).

c 8. ἐὰν δέ πη . . . τὰ θήλεα: girls may *learn* to ride and shoot if they like, but they are not (like the boys) to be *compelled* to do so. The words καὶ δὴ . . . χρεῖαν follow closely on σφενδονήσεως, the πρὸς resumes the πρὸς in c 6, and the words do not apply to the girls, but to the use of weapons in general; again the μέν and δέ prevent this clause from being marked off as a parenthesis in Greek.—The subject of συγχωρῶσιν is "the girls"; not, as Fic., "people," "public opinion."

d 1. τὰ μάλιστα, as at 811 d 4, and *Critias* 108 d 2, is used in the sense of the more usual ὅτι μάλιστα or ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα. (Ast and Stallb. wrongly take τά with πρὸς . . . χρεῖαν; with this, as explained above, we must supply *τρέπεσθαι* from c 6.)

794 d and e. I have derived much help in this difficult passage from notes kindly sent me by Prof. Henry Jackson.

d 2 ff. τὸ γὰρ δὴ . . . χωλοὶ γεγόναμεν ἕκαστοι, "Of course almost everybody misunderstands the conditions now prevailing with respect to such matters" (i.e. the use of weapons, and the like).

CL. "What conditions?" ("What do you mean?" H.J.)

Ath. "They think it is *by an ordinance of nature* that right and left differ in application to particular actions where the hands are concerned; the truth is that, while there is clearly no difference in the capability of the feet and the lower parts, *thanks to the folly of our mothers and nurses* we have all grown up with a kind of hand-lameness."—I have in d 7 and d 8 adopted the punctuation of the earlier texts, putting a colon after χεῖρας and only a comma



after φαίνεται. The main antithesis in the whole sentence is between φύσει in d 6 and ἀνοία τρ. καὶ μητ. in e 1. The "mistake" is in assigning the "hand-lameness" to the former cause instead of to the latter.

d 2. γὰρ δὴ here does not *explain*, or *give a reason* for the previous words, but (like the Scotch conversational "again," in a question) explains an unexpressed thought. In this case the thought is something like "*such as it is*." Perhaps an English "of course," or "I must tell you that," comes as near it as may be. Cp. *Phaedr.* 229 a 4, where γὰρ δὴ may be translated "of course": εἰς καιρόν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀνυπόδητος ὦν ἔτυχον· σὺ μὲν γὰρ δὴ αἰεὶ; so too *Crat.* 391 d 7 δῆλον γὰρ δὴ ὅτι κτλ. where it is "you may be sure."—τὸ νῦν καθεστὸς: used like τῶν τότε καθεστώτων below at 798 b 4; "the prevailing conditions."

d 3. ἀγνοεῖται: not "is not known," or "is ignored," but "is not recognized for what it is," i.e. people are mistaken in what they think about the matter; so at *Gorg.* 517 d ἀγνοοῦντες ἀλλήλων ὅτι λέγομεν, "misunderstanding each other's meaning" (Cope).

d 4. For τὸ ποῖον; H.J. would prefer an ambiguous translation, "what do you mean by that?"

d 7. χεῖρας: a corrector of L (and Ficinus) saw that all the MSS. had gone wrong in writing χρείας here; Steph., however, was the first to print it correctly. Was it possibly Ficinus who made the correction in L?—ἐπεὶ is "whereas" or "the truth is" (H.J.). (For the adversative force of ἐπεὶ cp. above on 669 b 6.) [F.H.D. takes ἐπεὶ to be "*since*," and keeps Burnet's punctuation.]—L and O do not share A's mistake of κατὰ for κάτω.—The passage in Aristotle's *Politics* (1274 b 12 ff.) in which the views here given are mentioned as one of Plato's heresies, is by many thought to be spurious; but other passages show that Aristotle directly traversed Plato's views about *right* and *left*: *Eth. N.* 1134 b 33, *De part. an.* 666 b 35 ff., where he says the natural superiority of the *right* (not *hand* only) is due to the fact that it gets more *blood* than the left; and also at 684 a 26, and (at length) at *De an. incessu* 705 b 13.

e 1. ἀνοία: two minor MSS. have ἀγνοία in the margin, a reasonable suggestion, which the previous ἀγνοεῖται supports; but the σχεδὸν ἀνοία of 795 a 1 reads like a justification of the more forcible word here.

e 3. All modern edd. except Schneider accept the ἔθθ of Steph. and others for the MS. ἡθθ. Fic. translates "per consuetudinem." Schn. trans. ἡθθ "instituta."

**e 4.** οὐκ ὀρθῶς: though modern physiologists would probably agree with Plato, as against Aristotle, as to the equal *possibilities* of right and left, it may be doubted whether the superior "dexterity" gained by the exclusive use of one hand for certain purposes is not a greater advantage than the power of using either—but with less "dexterity." There are a great many actions in civilized life which use only one hand. ἐν ὅσοις . . . μὴ μέγα διαφέρει, "in insignificant matters"; cp. below, 795 a 7. For διαφέρει μέγα in this absolute sense cp. above, 780 c 1.

**e 5.** χρώμενον is in agreement with an imaginary *τινα*, the subj. to an equally imaginary inf. such as ψάλλειν or κρούειν.—O. Apelt (p. 13) plausibly suggests that χρώμενον is a mistake for χρωμένων (sc. ἀνθρώπων vel ἡμῶν). The following χρώμενον may well have caused the change.

**e 6.** πρᾶγμα οὐδέν, "it doesn't matter"; *Gorg.* 447 b.

**e 7.** I think it is best to suppose that there is a highly conversational ellipse of a second χρῆσθαι, and not to separate μὴ δέον from οὕτω χρῆσθαι. "For a man to use these cases as precedents for others, there being no *necessity* for such arrangements" (between the two hands) "is pretty foolish."—Ritter suggests that the argument from lyre and plectrum may have been advanced in writing by some opponent of Plato's thesis.

**795 a 1.** The Scythian can cover 180 degrees with his aim; the right-handed man only 90. (The modern game of fives would have furnished Plato with a good illustration of his point.)

**a 2.** ἀπάγων: an enallage similar to those noticed above at 790 b 1 and 793 e 4.

**a 3.** Whether, with Ast, Bekker, Wagn. and Zürri, we adopt Gataker's ἐκατέραις, or, with Stallb., Schneider and Burnet, retain the MS. ἐκατέροις (cp. ἀριστερά in a 6), the words must refer to "right and left," and not to "bow and arrows."

**a 4.** ἐν ἡνιοχίαις: cp. Marc. Aurel. xii. ch. 6.

**a 5.** ἐν οἷσιν μαθεῖν δυνατόν, "which are enough to show us."

**a 6.** The word κατασκευάζουσιν implies a deliberate educative process.

**b 2.** μέγα διαφέρει, "it matters a great deal."

**b 3.** ὅπλοις: i.e. shield, spear, and sword.

**b 4.** μαθὼν μὴ μαθόντος: the absence of the article gives an incisive proverbial tone; the form of the expression somewhat resembles Strafford's "stone-dead hath no fellow."

**b 8.** οὐκ . . . ἐφέλκεται πλημμελῶν: ἐφέλκεται is used for

a *laborious clumsy* movement, not of the leg only: "his motions are not gauche and ungainly squirms."

c 1. διαπονεῖν is the regular word for educational *exercises* or *practices*; cp. below 810 b 2, 813 b 7, d 8.—ταὐτὸν δὲ τοῦτ': adverbial, "just so."

c 2. χρὴ προσδοκᾶν ὀρθόν, "it ought to be considered the proper thing"; there is some pleonasm in the δεῖ after ὀρθόν. Perhaps it was a consciousness of this that led to the correction (in A) of δεῖ to δὲ. For προσδοκᾶν, "regard," "reckon," cp. below, 803 e 6.

c 4. μηδὲν . . . κατὰ δύναμιν, "he must not let any of these limbs be idle or incapable, if he can help it."

c 5. Γηρύνον κτλ., "what a waste of good material," he suggests; "suppose a hundred-handed giant could only *throw* with one of them!"—δέ γε is "why!"

d 2. ἐπισκόποις γιγνομέναις: for the general practice cp. Plut. *De ed. liberis* 5 a and *De fortuna* 99 d.

d 5. τὰς φύσεις ("what nature has given them"): we have here the same antithesis between *natural endowment* and *habit* which we had at 794 e 2.

d 6. The rest of this page contains many roughnesses of expression. Though the thoughts are precise, the style is conversational, or rather, perhaps, that of notes for a lecture. It is therefore better, with Burnet, to leave the roughnesses alone. We cannot hope that any polish we might apply would have satisfied the taste of Plato.—χρήσασθαι: this curious inf. depends on διττά: "two-fold, so to speak, in virtue of their *application*"; i.e. "the kinds of training open to us are, *practically*, two."

e 2. μιμουμένων: cp. Ar. *Poet.* 1462 a 9 ὅπερ καὶ Καλλιπίδῃ ἐπετιμᾶτο καὶ νῦν ἄλλοις ὡς οὐκ ἔλευθέρας γυναικας μιμουμένων. Whereas μιμουμένων is said of the *pupils*, φυλάττοντας is said of the *teachers*; in this is possibly to be found the motive for the very abrupt change of construction (cp. the χρώμενον of 794 e 5; this is worse). (Badham reads ἄλλο μὲν . . . μιμούμενον (doubtfully) . . . φύλαττον . . . ἄλλο δέ; but cp. on d 6.) The former branch of ὄρχησις aims at "serious tragic style and gentlemanly deportment"; the latter at healthy and comely development of the muscles and bodily frame (the modern Swedish drill).—With the expression Μούσης λέξιν μιμῆσθαι cp. our "to act Shakespeare."

e 4. τὸ προσῆκον, is not adverbial (as Ast and Stallb.) but, like τὸ μεγαλοπρεπές at e 2, is the object of (a quite imaginary and

ungrammatical) φυλάττοντας. What the teachers of the Swedish drill kind are on the look out for is "*reach and mobility*."

e 5. The καί ("also," "moreover") before ἀποδιδομένης—which all editors but Schneider, Zürr. and Burnet follow Ald. in omitting—connects φυλάττοντας with ἀποδιδομένης; in the latter we have another abrupt change of construction: instead of ἀποδιδόντας εὐρυθμον κίνησιν, we have ἀποδιδομένης εὐρ. κινήσεως, "there being moreover conferred upon all (the pupils) the power of moving themselves gracefully, which is at the same time completely transfused through, and associated with *all* kinds of dancing" (i.e. both the character dancing, and the purely gymnastic). I believe no two editors punctuate this passage alike; and I also believe that Burnet's is the right way: i.e. commas after μιμ., ἐλεύ., (ἄλλη) δέ, κάλλους, ἐκτάσεως, and κινήσεως. (Herm. alters ἀποδιδομένης to ἀποδιδούσα.)

796 a 1-b 3. "As concerns wrestling, the expert devices invented by an Antaeus or a Cercyon as displays of profitless mastery, or those of pugilism devised by an Epeius or an Amycus, are useless for hostile encounter, and are not worth describing; but all that belongs to stand-up wrestling—devices for freeing neck, arms, and ribs from an opponent's grasp, laboriously acquired in many a contest to the improvement of physique and bearing, and the establishment of health and strength,—such as these are useful under all circumstances; far from neglecting them, at the proper place in our regulations we must urge teachers and learners alike, the former generously to impart, and the latter gratefully to receive them."

a 1. The scholiast who gives an account of these mythical wrestlers tells us that Cercyon introduced the use of the legs into wrestling, which, along with the "catch-as-you-can" style, which included struggles between combatants lying on the ground, was evidently to be ruled out from ὀρθὴ πάλη, or ὀρθοπάλη as it is called by Lucian (*Lexiphanes* § 5).

a 2. ἡ πυγμῆς Ἐπειός stands for ἡ τὰ πυγμῆς (or κατὰ πυγμὴν) ἃ Ἐπειός.

a 4. This use of ἀπό is peculiar: it is an extension of its signification of *origin*, and seems to mean "*coming under the head of*," "belonging to"; the ἀπό, "*due to*," in ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν ποδῶν ὀξύτης at 832 e 8, which Ast cps., is similar, but not quite the same; in ἀπ' αὐχ. κτλ. we have an ordinary explanatory asyndeton.

a 5. For ἐξείλησις Ast and Stallb. refer to *Et. Mag.* s.v.



ἐξειλήσαι τοῦτο λέγουσιν οἱ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐκφυγεῖν. εἰκόασι δὲ μεταφορικῶς λέγειν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ παλαίειν ἀναλύνοντων ἑαυτούς, where this passage is quoted.

a 6. It would be as well to follow the older editions in putting a comma after εὐσχήμενος, to show that it qualifies καταστάσεως (Stallb. and Jowett would make it qualify ῥώμης). —I see no reason for either expelling the μετ' with Stallb. or for changing it, as O. Apelt suggests, to μάλ'; μέγ' would be nearer).—καταστάσεως (which Stallb., with L. & S.'s approval, would change to κατατάσεως) is quite sound, and means, I think, "*bodily condition*," or *physique*. (Ritter interprets it to be the "*firm stand*" of the wrestler, Jowett "*constancy*".) —The altered position of the second μετά prepares us for a slight difference in meaning; the first μετά is the quasi-instrumental μετά noticed above on 791 a 7: the *conflicts* are the *means* of acquiring the skill; the improved *physique* accompanies them, and is a *result*.

b 1. τοῖς μὲν . . . τοῖς δέ: the ordinary chiasmus.

b 4. Κουρήτων: these mountain demons, who formed the body-guard of the infant Zeus, were represented in art as youths dancing the πυρρίχην.

b 5. Διοσκόρων: cp. Athen. iv. 184 f καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν δέ φησιν Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Μούσαις ἐπαυλῆσαι τοῖς Διοσκόροις τὸν ἐνόπλιον. Another account says that Athena invented the ἐνόπιος ὄρχησις to celebrate the triumph of the gods over the giants (Dion. Hal. vii. 72).

c 1. διαπεραίνειν: here like the simple περαίνειν "perform"; cp. Adam on Rep. 532 a 3 and above, 723 e 2.

c 3. τιμῶντας, "conciliating," i.e. striving to get, the "favour" of the goddess.—πολέμον τ' ἐν χρεία: a different use of the difficult word χρεία from that in the apparently similar ἐν χρεία δορός of Soph. Aj. 963; it is much the same use as in the πρὸς τὰς χρείας at 794 d 6. The best of the many translations given for it is Ficinus's "*ad usum belli*."

c 4. εὐθύς τε . . . ἴωσιν: i.e. from *six* to *twenty* years of age (cp. 785 b 6).

c 6. ποιουμένους: as Stallb. says, δέον ἂν εἴη . . . κοσμεῖσθαι might take either παισί or παῖδας.—μεθ' ὅπλων τε καὶ ἵππων ἀεὶ κοσμεῖσθαι: again the quasi-instrumental μετά; I do not think it means that those who were on horseback had hoplites' arms and armour as well; some join the procession as hoplites, some as cavalry.

c 7. The "slow and quick movements" probably apply to dances and processions alike.

c 8. *ικετίας* is used, doubtless with a consciousness of its etymology, not of spoken words, but of the processions and dances themselves. (Those interpreters who take it to mean spoken words are bound to suppose the injunction to be to say the words sometimes fast and sometimes slow.)—The *ἐν* is quasi-instrumental.

d 1. *ἀγῶνας καὶ προαγῶνας*: in effect "contests, and practising for contests."

d 2. *τούτων ἕνεκα*: i.e. *πολέμου τ' ἐν χρεία καὶ ἐορτῶν ἕνεκα*.—Any kind of bodily training or development which has not one of these two objects in view is *οὐκ ἐλευθέρων*, "ungentlemanly," *βάνανσον*. It will be remembered that in Bk. II. *γυμναστική* is spoken of as the handmaid of *χορεία*, which word he there uses as a comprehensive term for the whole of education (672 e and 673 a).

d 6. *ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις λόγοις*: i.e. 673 d 7. Bruns (p. 88 ff.) regards the passages at the end of Book. II., to which reference is here made, as originally belonging to the discussion in Bk. VII. and the reference itself as an evidently apocryphal patch from the "Redaktor's" hand. If, he says, the subject of *γυμναστική* (and *ἀγωνία*) is "finished" here, how is it that, at 834 d 8 ff., we are again told that now we have done with *ἀγωνία*, and the *μάθησις γυμναστικῆς*? (On this see notes there.)

e 2. *εἶχειν* is "find."

e 4. *τὸ τούτοις ἐξῆς*: in Bk. II. "Music" was treated first, as being the more important subject; here *γυμναστική*, because the bodily training begins at an earlier stage of education.

e 7. *ᾶ* is used for the indirect interrogative, and *πᾶσιν ῥητέα* must be taken with *ἐστίν* as well as with *πρῶτα*. "(I thought I had exhausted the subject of *μουσική*,) but I now see clearly, not only what ought to be said to everybody, but also that it ought to be said to them before anything else." Ritter is perhaps right in thinking that there must once have been an *ἔτι* in this sentence; he would introduce it after the second *ἐστίν*, or else substitute *ἔτι* for the second *ἐστίν*. (To change *ᾶ τ'* to *ᾶττ'*, as might be suggested, would sacrifice the valuable *τ'*.)

797 a 1. H. Richards would read *δῆ* for the MS. *δέ*—rightly, I think.

a 2 ff. Ritter (p. 189) cps. this passage with *Rep.* 450 a ff. (and *Laws* 739 a ff. and 780 b ff.) where the speaker expresses the same anxiety as to how what he is going to say will be received.—

Above (at 656 ff. and 700 d ff.) the Ath. has urged the necessity for a state regulation of "Music." Here he extends the sphere of regulation by including children's games, which he treats as belonging to μουσική rather than to γυμναστική.—For similar language about "Music" cp. *Rep.* 424 c εἶδος γὰρ καινὸν μουσικῆς μεταβάλλειν εὐλαβητέον ὥς ἐν ὅλῳ κινδυνεύοντα· οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ κινεῖνται μουσικῆς τρόποι ἄνευ τῶν πολιτικῶν νόμων τῶν μεγίστων, ὥς φησί τε Δάμων, καὶ ἐγὼ πείθομαι.

a 7. τὸ τῶν παιδιῶν γένος, "games generally," or simply "games" (not, as Wagner, "the kind of games").

a 9 ff. ταχθὲν . . . ἡσυχῇ, "for where games are prescribed, and the regulation secures that the same people always play the same games, in the same circumstances, in the same way, and delight in recreation of the same kind, they help the institutions of real life to remain undisturbed."

b 4. The MSS. have τὰ αὐτὰ here and ταῦτα in the next line. Editors all correct ταῦτα in b 5 to ταῦτὰ, but leave τὰ αὐτὰ in b 4. Most likely the two got accidentally transposed, and we ought to read ταῦτα in b 4. Ficinus translates, "sin autem mutetur id genus." The omission of the τὰ before the second αὐτὰ in b 1 in A and O, and the αὐ τ' at c 8 in A are other marks of carelessness at this part of the MSS. Very possibly an early MS. had ταῦτα in both places; a corrector saw that the second ταῦτα ought to be τὰ αὐτὰ, and by inadvertence wrote the correction over the wrong one.—The κινούμενα clause, and the gen. abs. (b 5), and the following acc. c. inf. clauses (b 6 ff. and b 8 ff.) all count as a complex, loosely constructed *protasis* to the apodosis τούτου πόλει λώβην κτλ. in c 3.

b 6. μήτ' ἐν σχήμασιν . . . καὶ ἄσχημον, "and if what is good or bad 'form' in their own attitude, gesture, or equipment is not always indisputably fixed."

c 3. τούτου: probably masc. here and at c 6.

c 4. λανθάνειν γὰρ . . . ἔντιμον, "for he is changing the characters of the young behind your backs. He makes them scorn the old, and worship the new." For the reproach of "ἀρχαιότης" cp. 657 b 7.

c 8. αὐτ' (for which A has αὐ τ') is, I think, for αὐτά, not αὐτό.

d 4. φαύλους ἀκροατὰς πρὸς, "deaf to."

d 8. μειζόνως ἡμῶν αὐτῶν: i.e. "we must surpass ourselves both as listeners and speakers."

d 9. γὰρ δὴ, as at 794 d 2, introduces an important pronounce-

ment.—*μεταβολὴν κακῶν*: not merely, as might seem at first sight, “change from bad (to good)” —such a self-evident proposition would be out of place as part of a solemnly enunciated principle —but also “change between bad things,” i.e. “change from one bad thing to another (equally bad).” The principle is that *change* is detrimental to the power or efficiency of anything. Ritter (p. 190) acutely points to 816 e as furnishing an instance of the *weakening* of the power of evil by change; we are told there that if we *must* have unedifying spectacles on the stage, they should be *varied*—so as to do less harm than we should get from *familiarity* with *one* such spectacle. (Plato’s fear is not, as Tennyson has it, “lest one good custom should corrupt the world,” but lest one *bad* custom should do so. Cp. *Rep.* 380 e ff.)

d 11. ἐν τρόποις ψυχῶν: cp. *Rep.* 445 c ὅσοι, ἣν δ’ ἐγώ, πολιτειῶν τρόποι εἰσὶν εἶδη ἔχοντες, τοσοῦτοι κινδυνεύουσι καὶ ψυχῆς τρόποι εἶναι, and *Rep.* 449 a περὶ ιδιωτῶν ψυχῆς τρόπον κατασκευήν.

d 12. As Stallb. says, οὐ τοῖς μέν, τοῖς δ’ οὐ is equivalent to ἐν ᾗ πᾶσιν, and ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν qualifies this in the usual way.

e 1. Though Bekker’s ingenious οἷσπερ may even be thought an improvement on the MS. ὅτιπερ, the latter reading is probably sound. For ὅτιπερ in the sense of the simple ὅπερ (which Stob. has here) cp. *Soph.* 255 a 7 ὅτιπερ ἂν κοινῇ προσεῖπωμεν κίνησιν καὶ στάσιν, τοῦτο οὐδέτερον αὐτοῖν οἶόν τε εἶναι.

e 2. ὥς, “just as,” corresponds to the ταῦτόν δὴ τοῦτο in 798 a 6.

e 3 ff. καὶ τὸ πρῶτον . . . ταύτῃ τῇ διαίτῃ is a quasi-parenthetical explanation of what is meant by συνήθη γενόμενα; the construction is “asyndetic,” the καί being “even (though).”—The ταχθέντα in the margin of A is probably merely a record of a mistake for παραχθέντα in some earlier MS.

e 4. οἰκείας τούτοις: the flesh made from the diet is fancifully spoken of as “akin” to it. By the time the new diet has worked into the body and become part of it, the body and the diet are no longer strangers but friends—even relations.

798 a 1. γνώριμα, which agrees with σώματα, would hardly be used by itself in the active sense of “familiar with,” but the conjunction with the kindred συνήθη and φίλα and οἰκείας enables it to carry that meaning.

a 3. Here the construction changes, and we must supply τις as the subj. of ἀναγκάσθῃ.—μεταβάλλειν is here “to change to.”

a 4. εὐδοκίμων, “reputable.”—No doubt A has preserved in τό



γε the right reading—τότε L O and Stob.—Bekker first corrected the text.

**a 5.** κατέσθη (gnomic aor.), "he recovers himself."

**a 6.** ταῦτον δὴ κτλ.: as Ritter points out—comparing 802 d—the parallel between body and soul is not complete: it is possible for the ψυχὴ to feel ἡδονή without experiencing ὑγίεια; in the body it is assumed that the two always go together.

**a 8–b 4.** The subj. of ἐντραφῶσιν is οἱ ἄνθρωποι, supplied from the preceding sentence. Strict grammar suggests that ἀκίνητοι γίνονται also belongs to οἱ ἄνθρωποι—and so Wagner translates—but I think that the other interpreters are right in taking ἀκίνητοι to belong to νόμοι—which, by a further grammatical irregularity, are subsequently denoted by the neuters αὐτά and τι. (H.J. and A.M.A. agree with Wagner.)—ὥς is used in the sense of ὥστε.—Ficinus (alone) separates σέβεται from φοβεῖται, taking the former to govern a τοὺς νόμους, and the latter only the inf. κινεῖν—perhaps rightly. (H.J. and F.H.D. prefer the usually accepted hendiadys.)—πάσα ἡ ψυχὴ: certainly not—as all interpreters take it—equivalent to, or a mistake for, πᾶσα ψυχὴ; like the πᾶσιν τῇ ψυχῇ at 964 e 3, it means "the whole soul," "every faculty of the soul," as we might say; there the plural ὁξύτητας (ἐν πασῇ τῇ ψυχῇ) suggests different "faculties." (Cp. *Rep.* 435 e–439 e.)

**b 5.** ἐννοεῖν seems used here, like our "spy, discern," in the sense of *discover*; ἐπινοεῖν (which Cobet would read here) generally means *devise, discover*, but is also used merely for *perceive, notice*.—τοῦτο is "reverence for the law."

**b 6.** τῇδ' οὖν ἔγωγε εὗρίσκω, "this is the suggestion I have to make," lit. "this is where I discover a μηχανή"; i.e. the *prevention* of change in children's games.

**b 7.** πάντες is not *all the world*, but *all legislators*—"they all fancy"—the αὐτῶν of d 1 confirms this interpretation.—ἐμπροσθεν: i.e. at 797 a 8.

**c 1.** σπουδὴν καὶ βλάβην: a hendiadys.

**c 4.** ἑτέροισιν ἀνδράσιν τῶν ἐμπροσθεν γενέσθαι παίδων, "(must) grow up different men from what the previous generations of boys grew to be." (It would seem to us a much more natural expression if παίδων were not there; is it possibly spurious?) It will be remembered that in the *Republic* the decline in goodness of constitutions comes from the decline in goodness of each generation compared with its predecessor.

**c 6.** μετὰ τοῦτο, "thereafter," almost "in consequence," goes,

not with φοβείται, but with ἡξοντος.—For the construction cp. on 624 a 7.

c 7. νυνδῇ : i.e. at 797 d 10.

d 1–5. “If the change could be confined to externals, it would not matter; but it can’t.” As we were told at 797 c 4 λανθάνειν τὰ ἡθῆ μεθιστάντα τῶν νέων; their sense of *moral values* is extensively (πυκνά) altered, and this undermines the social fabric. Fic. translates ὅσα δὲ . . . μεταπίπτει “crebra vero in laudandis vituperandisque moribus in(n)ovatio.”—πάντων μέγιστα, “the most powerful of all changes”; not (as Jowett) “the greatest of evils.”—διεξεργάζοιτο : Badham, referring to Cobet’s dictum that δι and εε are often confounded, thinks the two prepositions are due to a dittography, and would reject the δι. (The whole of this passage d 1–5 would in a modern book probably have been a footnote.)

d 7. τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις : i.e. 655 d ff. Bk. II. deals with the same subject as that which occupies us here, but the point of view is different. There the questions were (1) is there a right and a wrong in “Music,” and (2), if so, how are they to be discovered, and to obtain general recognition? Bk. VII. is concerned with the educational curriculum as a whole. The great importance of the subject justifies this double treatment.

e 5. The two objects to be secured are : (1) that the children shall not *want* any change, and (2) that temptation to change shall be kept out of their way. The former object will be secured to a large extent by the above recommended uniformity in *games*; the latter danger is to be guarded against by legislation on the Egyptian model. Fic. translates ἐπιθυμῶσιν by (pueritia) *ardeat*, as if he had read τολμῶσιν.

799 a 2. τῶν Αἰγυπτίων : cp. above, 656 d ff.

a 5. συλλογισαμένους, subordinate to τάξαντας and its clause, explains in what the settling of the feasts consists; it seems to be used as the corresponding verb to συλλογή in the sense of “collection”: they are to draw up an ecclesiastical calendar.

a 6. οἷσιν ἐκάστοις : ἕκαστος is added to ὅστις as it is to εἷς, εἷς τις, αὐτός; cp. Hesiod, *Theog.* 459 ὅστις ἕκαστος . . . ἵκοιτο; here and at a 8 it has the force of an English “respectively.”

a 7. The καὶ δαίμοσι may well have been a commentator’s explanation of καὶ παισὶ τούτων.

b 1. Steph. was undoubtedly right in reading πρῶτόν τινας for πρ. τίνας, though Corn. and Stallb. are wrong in translating it by *aliquas*, and *quasdam*; τινας is clearly the subject to τάξει—the

special musical experts who select the "music" (cp. 765 a 5, 801 d 5), and is contrasted with πάντας τοὺς πολίτας who are to be the dedicating or consecrating body.—*ἀ δ' ἄν*: the first hands in both A and O omitted the δ', a mistake which probably was first made in copying from a "majuscule" script.

**b 3.** ᾠδὰς (see b 5) is supposed to imply χορείας as well.

**b 4.** Steph. first corrected the MS. *τις τῷ* to *τίς τῷ*; previous texts had *τις τῶν*.

**b 6.** ἐξείργοντας . . . κατὰ νόμον: i.e. "that in excluding them from the festival they do so with the sanction of divine and human law."

**b 7.** ἂν μὴ ἐκὼν ἐξείργηται, "if he resists"; this detail was not necessarily Egyptian.

**c 1.** πρὸς τούτῳ δὴ νῦν γινόμενοι τῷ λόγῳ, "now that we have embarked on this subject"; cp. *Phaedo* 84 c 2 καὶ αὐτός τε πρὸς τῷ εἰρημένῳ λόγῳ ἦν ὁ Σωκράτης.—πάθωμεν τὸ πρέπον ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς, "let us be content to act as becomes us."

**c 5.** Bekker's *πω* for *πως* is palaeographically so clearly possible that its adoption would be easy if the sense were improved by it; but this is doubtful: "not at all familiar in any way" fits the passage better, I think, than "not at all familiar yet."—οὐκ ἂν . . . οὕτως εὐθύς, "would not rush impulsively to a settlement of his doubts about them." *συγχωρεῖν c. acc.* is *accept, acquiesce in, "swallow"*; cp. *Theaet.* 151 d 2 ψεῦδος συγχωρῆσαι (the object is really a solution of the ἀπορία). οὕτως qualifies εὐθύς.

**d 1.** καί is *or*—The simile and the state of mind typified are mixed up here: *στὰς δ' ἄν* belongs to the man confronted with any unfamiliar dilemma; *τύχοι* belongs to the imaginary traveller at the cross-roads; *ἀνέροιτ' ἄν, ὁρμήσειεν*, and *βεβαιώσονται* belong to both; the simile has become a metaphor.

**d 2 f.** πρίν πῃ . . . φέρει, "until he had formed a pretty clear notion of where the way led." For the attracted opt. *βεβαιώσονται* cp. Goodwin, *M. and T.* § 643.

**d 5.** σκέψιν πᾶσαν ποιήσασθαι, "investigate it thoroughly."

**d 6.** ῥαδίως οὕτως, "without more ado."

**d 7.** ἐν τῷ παραχρῆμα, "off-hand."

**d 8.** τι σαφές, "a trustworthy explanation."

**e 1 ff.** οὐκοῦν . . . διαπορούμενον, "we will take our time about this, and not decide the question without thorough deliberation. We do not want to be prevented unnecessarily from completing the regulation order which should accompany those laws with which we are dealing; so we will go on to the end of them. If

we are fortunate, that enumeration, when complete, may perhaps suggest a satisfactory solution of our present difficulty." The "difficulty" is, "what should be the attitude of *legislation* towards matters of musical taste? How can laws of art become laws of the land?" For *τάξις* in the sense of "fixing by ordinance" cp. 802 e 11, 807 d 6. We should be able, the Ath. thinks, to see what sort of ordinance we can make for the purpose when we have gone through all the laws on the subject. The *διέξοδος* is, as Ritter (p. 191) says, not the whole of the laws enumerated in the treatise, but only the chapter about music in education.

**e 10.** *δεδόχθω*: as above at 712 a 4 and 736 b 6, the perf. imperative is used of a *postulate*. "Let it be granted, I say, that, strange as it may seem, our *odes* have become *laws*."

**e 11.** *καὶ καθάπερ*: instead of a normal completion of the *καθάπερ* clause—such as "let us too regard it"—the *δεδόχθω* of e 10 is bluntly resumed at 800 a 3 in the words *τὸ δ' οὖν δόγμα περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦτ' ἔστω*. Burnet does well to put parenthesis marks after *ὠνόμασαν* and *αὐτό*. It would be much simpler if, as Stallb. suggests, we could read *καθάπερ καὶ* instead of *καὶ καθάπερ*. The *τότε* seems out of place; O Apelt is very likely right in reading *τό γε* for it.

**e 12.** *ὠνόμασαν* governs *ῥῥῆας* understood: "gave the tunes some such name when played on the lyre."

**800 a 1.** *τοῦ νῦν λεγομένου*, "what we are now urging," "our present proposal"; cp. below 821 a 7.

**a 2 f.** *καθ' ὕπνον δὲ . . . αὐτό*, "but maybe someone formed a kind of dim idea of the truth in a dream, or even by an inspiring vision when he was wide awake." *ὑπαρ* is adverbial.

**a 4.** For the hyperbaton of the *τε* cp. *Rep.* 452 a 1 *μουσικὴ μὲν ἐκείνοις τε καὶ γυμναστικὴ ἐδόθη*, with Adam's note.

**a 5 f.** *μᾶλλον ἢ . . . νόμων*: a brachylogy for "any more than (he would act) in violation of any other law"; still with a reference to the double meaning of *νόμος*.

**a 7.** *τοιούτος*: used "pregnantly," for "the man who so conforms to the law."

**a 8.** *νυνδῆ*: i.e. 799 b 5.

**b 1.** *κείσθω*: for the imperative in a question cp. below 801 a 1, and *Polit.* 295 e 8. Below at e 9 we have *κείσθω* in a dependent clause introduced by *εἰ*. Such constructions throw light on the much discussed *οἶσθ' ὃ δρᾶσον, οἶσθ' ἃ μοι γενέσθω* (*Eur. I.T.* 1203), and the like.

**b 5.** *τοιόνδ' ἔτι*: the vulgate *τοιόνδε τι* was first corrected by



Bekker; it is sufficiently condemned by the *τοιόνδε τι* three lines lower down; Schneider and Stallbaum retain it.

**b 6.** *ἐκμαγεῖ* ἄττ' αὐτοῖσιν, "a few cases typical of them"—"them" being the αὐτά of b 4, the cases for which legislation is needed. The dative goes with *ἐκμαγεία* as does *ῥῥαῖς* with *ἐκμαγείων* below at e 9. *ἐκμαγεῖον* is a kind of synonym for *εἶδος*.

**b 9.** *φαμέν* is equivalent to an English "let us imagine."

**c 2.** ἂν *φαίμεν*, "we would ask"; Stallb. was the first to recognize this as a parenthesis. Cp. *Phaedo* 87 a 8 and Riddell, *Digest*, § 295.

**c 3.** *καί*, as at 799 d 1, is *or*.

**c 5.** "Well, that's what happens to pretty nearly all states in our part of the world." In this passage there blazes out the same indignation at the chaotic state of contemporary music as above at 669 c 3 ff., where Plato inveighs against the mixture of *θανατοουργία* and *ἀμουσία* which took the place of real music in his day.

**d 1.** *πᾶσαν*, "sheer."

**d 3.** *συντείνοντες*, "harrowing." Cp. Shakespeare's "gripping grief" (*Romeo and Juliet* iv. v. 128), "sorrow gripes his soul" (3 *Henry VI.* I. iv. 171), and the French *serrer le cœur*.

**d 4.** *παραχρήμα*, "offhand." The suddenness of the effect produced on the crowd is an indication of the violence and "cheapness" of the appeal.

**d 6.** *νόμον*: although we must suppose that here, as at a 6, 801 a 4, 5, and 8, and c 6, the musical sense of *νόμος* was present to the speaker's mind, yet the primary sense is not, as Jowett, "strains," but "regulation," "authorized proceeding."

**d 7.** *οἴκτων*, "dismal ditties." Cp. *Rep.* 605 d.

**d 8.** *μὴ καθαραί . . . ἀποφράδες*: such performances should only be tolerated on "*dies nefasti*," when no public ceremony could be transacted—days which were used, the scholiast tells us, for taking libations to the tombs.

**e 2.** *ῥῥοῦς*: an adj. here (Winckelmann would read *χορηγούς* for *χορούς*).—*οἶον οἱ . . .*: lit. "as, for example, the . . ."; we should say, "like the hired mourners who . . ." Cp. *Rep.* 387 e 9. —*Καρικῇ τινι μούσῃ*, "with doleful Carian strains." At Aristoph. *Frogs* 1302 Aeschylus says Euripides got his melodies from *Καρικὰ ἀνλήματα*. Stallb. quotes from Pollux iv. 75 *θρηνῶδες γὰρ τὸ ἀνλήμα τὸ Καρικόν*, and Hesych. s.v. *Καρικαί*. Plato hated *ἀνλητική*; cp. *Rep.* 399 d.

**e 3.** The repetition of the word *τελευτήσαντας* would never have survived the author's revision; possibly the first or the

second τοὺς τελευτήσαντας is a scribe's mistake for τοὺς ἐκφερομένους, or some such expression, and was originally a commentator's "gloss."—τοιούτον που: the asyndeton is explanatory and emphatic, "That's the sort of accessory music, etc." In all texts before Bekker's a (,) was placed before τοιούτον, and a (;) or (·) before οἶον (also τι was read instead of the MS. που); i.e. τοιούτον was taken to be the correlative of οἶον.

**e 5.** ἐπικηδείους, "funereal."

**e 9.** ῥδαῖς: cp. on b 6 above.—εἰ . . . κείσθω: cp. on b 1 above.

**801 a 1.** ὑπαρχέτω: cp. on 800 b 1.

**a 3.** πάσαισι ταῖς ψήφοις: with a reference to ἀποψηφιζόμεθα in d 6 above.

**a 6.** The second νόμος, for which no ἐκμαγεῖον is needed, is a positive one; i.e. what utterance there is must consist of *prayers* to the gods to whom the sacrifices are offered.

**a 8.** The third νόμος enjoins that the things asked for in those prayers should be *proper subjects for request*. Of this question certain high officials are to be judges. No prayers are to be sung which have not been seen and approved by these officials.

**a 9.** δεῖ δὴ . . . αὐτοὺς emphatically resumes the δεῖ τοὺς ποιητάς.

**b 3.** εὐχῆς τοιαύτης γενομένης is expegetic of τοῦτ'.

**b 6.** ἀργυροῦν πλοῦτον: the author of Περὶ ὕψους (ch. 29) says that in this periphrasis Plato, in his desire for a *recherché* form of expression, has exposed himself to ridicule; you might as well, people say, call sheep προβάτειον πλοῦτον. Ast's defence of Plato is: "Πλοῦτον videlicet ambigue positum est, ita ut simul ad Πλοῦτον deum referatur; hinc ἰδρυμένον ἐνοικεῖν" ("as a regular institution"). For ἰδρῦσθαι cp. 738 b 7. Dr. Verrall (*C. Phil. Soc. Trans.* 1905) suggests that here (as at 778 d 5) Plato was quoting from a poet unknown to Longinus.

**b 9.** παράδειγμα: Plato uses this word much in the same sense as he has just used ἐκμαγεῖον, i.e. "a suggestive illustration." His "idea," as we should say, in mentioning the objection to *coined money* is this: "many people desire money, and poets are likely to give expression to this desire; but if a higher statesmanship decides that it is better to have no money in the state, such prayers must be repressed, and it is evident that, to do this, there must be a state censorship of poems."

**b 10.** οὐ πᾶν: a natural μείωσις. (If with Badham we read οὐ πᾶν, the following σφόδρα would be *de trop*.)

**c 2.** τοῦτο <τὸ> ἡμαρτημένον εὐχὰς οὐκ ὀρθάς: I would with much hesitation suggest that a τὸ has fallen out after τοῦτο; if it be replaced we shall have an intelligible phrase, "prayers which are vitiated by *this* fault," i.e. that of *asking for money*. (The difficulty of understanding how the *tune* (μέλος) could offend is much the same in either case.) There should therefore be no comma after ἡμαρτημένον.—Possibly ῥήμασιν ἢ καὶ κατὰ μέλος means "whether in *spoken* words or in *song*." The prayer might be, e.g., in hexameters, or it might be set to music; cp. *Phaedr.* 278 c ποίησιν ψιλὴν ἢ ἐν ᾠδῇ. No satisfactory explanation has been given of the MS. reading—"quum hoc cecinerit . . . sic ut a recto sit aberratum, hoc est preces non rectae sint" Stallb., "praeter ipsam rationem preces non rectas" Fic. Schneider takes εὐχὰς οὐκ ὀρθάς with εὐχέσθαι, which would be admirable but for the τάναντία. (Is it possible that εὐχὰς οὐχ ὀρθάς was a commentator's explanation of ἐναντία?)

**c 3.** ἡμῖν . . . τάναντία: most interpreters unwarrantably give to τάναντία the meaning "the opposite of *what is good*," and treat ἡμῖν as a simple possessive dative with τοὺς πολίτας; but ἡμῖν is *emphatic*, and should be taken with τάναντία: "the opposite of *what we*"—the ἡμεῖς of b 5, "the authorities"—"ordain." (Cf. below, c 8 παρὰ τὰ τῆς πόλεως νόμιμα.)

**c 6.** νόμων καὶ τύπων: a hendiadys.

**c 7.** τίνα; this natural question enables the Ath. to formulate precisely his demand for a state censorship of poetry.

**d 3.** ἀποδεδειγμένοις, "appointed."

**d 4.** σχεδόν, "actually"; cp. 722 c 7 (A.M.A.).

**d 5.** οὗς εἰλόμεθα stands for "whose election we ordained"; cp. 764 c 5 ff.—καὶ τὸν τῆς παιδείας ἐπιμελητὴν: a curious piece of careless writing; he meant the nom.

**d 7.** νόμος καὶ τύπος ἐκμαγεῖόν τε: this might be called a ἐν διὰ τριῶν.

**e 3.** The MS. γίγνοιτ' is a conceivable scribe's error after the ᾄδοιτ' in e 2; is it possibly another σχῆμα παρανοητικόν—a temporary aberration of the writer?

**e 6.** νόμος ἄνευ φθόνων εὐθύς: ἄνευ φθόνων γίγνοιτ' ἂν is a modification of the ordinary οὐδεὶς φθόνος ἔστί, "here can be no objection to," which occurs below at 802 a 8, but there is a special significance in the φθόνων, perhaps indicated by the plural; cp. 679 c 1; *envy* is just what would prevent a generous recognition of other people's merits.—εὐθύς qualifies ἄνευ φθόνων; cp. *Meno* 100 a εὐθὺς τοιοῦτος, "just such a man."—We may

translate "There may next be made a frankly generous law as follows."

e 7 ff. ὅποσοι ἔχουσιν . . . αὐτοὺς τυγχάνειν πρέπον ἂν εἶη : a conversational anacoluthon.

802 a 2. We must imagine a pause or break of some sort after ἀσφαλές, to save the author from the "bull" involved in saying "we must not praise *living* people before they are *dead*." For the sentiment, a commonplace of Gk. and Latin literature, cp. Jebb's note on the final lines of Soph. *Oed. Tyr.*

a 5. τὰς δὲ ψῶδὰς κτλ. : here begins a fresh subject—the method of selection of the orthodox, canonical "music."

a 6. Ast was the first to print πολλὰ ἔστιν for the earlier πολλὰ ἔστιν.

a 6 f. περὶ μουσικὴν is a periphrasis for μουσικῆς, and τοῖς σώμασιν in the next line is a *genitival* dative.

a 8. τῇ καθισταμένῃ πολιτείᾳ ("the state which we are founding") is governed by πρέπον and ἀρμόττον (not, as Jowett, "the government may freely select").

b 1. δοκιμαστὰς . . . ποιεῖσθαι, "we must make the choice by selecting examiners of these" (i.e. of music and dances). In *form* ποιεῖσθαι, ἐγκρίνειν, ἀποβάλλεσθαι, ἐπιρρυθμίζειν, and συστήσασθαι (c 3) are infinitives denoting the course to be pursued, and having as their subject the (supplied) ἡμᾶς with which ἐλομένους agrees; in *effect* many of the actions thus described would be vicariously performed by the δοκιμασταί.

b 5. ἐπανερόμενον MSS. Hermann's ἐπαναιρόμενον is better than Steph.'s ἐπανερομένους (ἐπανείρομαι is not the word wanted here), or Ast's ἐπανορθούμενον : what is only partially satisfactory has neither been included in the approved list, nor absolutely rejected, but laid aside for further consideration, and if possible, improvement ; consequently it has to be "taken up again," before the improving process can begin.—The arrangement is *chiastic*, as usual.

c 1. ἀλλ' ἢ τισιν ὀλίγοις : there are a few highly gifted men whose appetite for and enjoyment of pleasure are to be allowed free scope. There are, as Ritter points out, indications of this belief elsewhere : the γινώσκοντα of 659 a 6, καὶ ᾄδοντες αὐτοὶ τε ἡδονὰς τὸ παραχρῆμα ἀσινεῖς ἡδωνται at 670 d 6, 829 d 1 ff., and 936 a 2 ff. ὀλίγοις is a *genitival* dative. Neither Hermann's ὀλίγαις nor Stallb.'s ἐν τισιν ὀλίγοις gives a satisfactory sense. The limitation is in the number of trustworthy poets, not in the kind of "pleasure" or "desire." The pleasure naturally felt in music is a gift of heaven, as we are told at 654 a 2 f. All poets



but a few then will have to be supervised by the δοκιμασταί in this work of improvement.

c 1, 2. In both lines there is a δέ which has no corresponding μέν; the latter δέ seems to resume the main thread, after the digression on the corrections made by composers. "In short, as expositors of the lawgiver's wishes we must set Music of all three kinds on the lines he wished it to take." αὐτῶν refers to βουλήματα. (With the exception of Ast, all editors before Stallb. read αὐτῶν, but not Ficinus.)—If we take ἐξηγουμένους . . . νοῦν to refer still to the help of the composers in rectifying deficiencies in the παλαιὰ ποιήματα, we make too much of τὸ ἐνδεές. The main work for "us" and our δοκιμασταί consists in the selection of what is good. For this the composer's help is not needed.

c 4 ff. πᾶσα δ' . . . μυρίῳ: these words pursue the idea contained in συστήσασθαι; "all unsystematic (formless, or chaotic) musical effort gains immensely by being made systematic, even though there be no feast of sweet things presented." καί is probably concessive, and not (as Jowett) copulative. The latter way assumes that τὸ γλυκύ is a positive fault which "system" would expel; besides, the expression is as awkward as an "and which" clause in English.—L doubtless gives us the right reading in πᾶσα δ' ἄτακτος; Ast and Badham conjecture πᾶσα δ' ἀτάκτον; O has πᾶσα δ' ἀτάκτως, A πασατατακτος.

c 6. τὸ δ' ἥδὺ κοινὸν πάσαις: *delight* can be taken in all styles of music; it depends, he goes on to show, on the *training* the hearer has had, which style delights him. This passage should be compared with the difficult one in Bk. II. 667 b 5 ff.

c 7. ἐν ᾗ γὰρ ἂν κτλ.: both in sense and construction this passage resembles that at 798 a 8 beginning οἷς γὰρ ἂν; in both the relative with which it begins has no antecedent. Here, however, the irregularity of ἀκούων δέ is greater than any there. If the δέ is right, we ought to have ἀκούῃ for ἀκούων; even so the δέ would not correspond to the μέν after σῶφρονι: the δέ corresponding to that comes after τραφεῖς. δῆ for δέ would be a possible reading (so marg. of Cod. Voss.). Hermann would reject δέ; W. R. Paton (in *Class. Rev.*) suggests that it is a mistake for αἰί; I prefer the last suggestion.

c 8. σῶφρονι μέν μούσῃ καὶ τεταγμένῃ, "supposing it to be of a sober and classical style." The two clauses are skilfully connected by the transposition of the μούσῃ from the former to the latter.

d 2. κοινῇ : not "vulgar," but "*vulgaris*."

d 4. νυνδῇ : i.e. at c 6.—περὶ ἐκατέρας (acc. plur.) : the usual periphrasis for ἐκατέρων ; "neither the delight nor the distaste has won the day in either case ;" in other words, the devotees of both styles equally get what they like ; where the advantage and disadvantage come in (ἐκ περιττοῦ δέ) is in the moral effect, which is good in the former, and bad in the latter. The adverbial phrase ἐκ περιττοῦ denotes the opposite of equality.

d 6. ἐκάστοτε, "respectively."

d 8. The fitness of an ᾠδή for a male or female singer depends mainly upon its *subject matter* and *language* ; therefore we may suppose ᾠδὰς to be used here for what we should call "*the words of the song*," "*the poetry*." Cp. below 835 a 7 ff. οἷα δὲ ἕκαστα αὐτῶν εἶναι δεῖ κατὰ λόγον καὶ κατ' ᾠδὰς καὶ καθ' ἀρμονίας ρυθμοῖς κραθείσας καὶ ὀρχήσεσι πολλάκις εἴρηται ; cp. also 669 c 8 and *Rep.* 398 d 1.

e 1. τύπῳ τινί, "roughly" ; cp. *Rep.* 414 a ὡς ἐν τύπῳ, μὴ δι' ἀκριβείας, εἰρηῆσθαι, and *Rep.* 491 c.

e 3. (ὅλη) ἀρμονία ἀπάδειν would refer to an incongruity between the *subject* and the whole style of the *tune* ; ρυθμῷ ἀρρυθμεῖν to incongruity between the *metre* of the song and the *movement of the music*. (The datives are governed by the *verbs*, and not, as Jowett, by δεινόν.) On this difficult subject it would be well to compare, among other passages, 669 c ff. above.—O's correction of the MS. ἐπάδειν to ἀπάδειν is manifestly right.—μηδὲν προσήκοιτα τούτων ἐκάστοις ἀποδιδόντα τοῖς μέλεσιν : we may represent the extremely loose connexion of this clause with what precedes by translating it "which would result if the (authority) assigned to the songs (μέλεσι) what is quite unsuitable in all these points (of tune, mode, pitch, and movement)."

e 5. Ritter (p. 193) is probably right in giving to σχήματα here not a technical musical sense, but the general one, which would make it a variety of the τύπῳ τινί of e 1. In both instances a rough, general, definition is contrasted with the more particular description implied in διασαφεῖν at e 8 (see Ritter's note, and Stallb. on 803 e 5).—καὶ τούτων : i.e. the kinds of ἀρμονία and ρυθμός (as well as the kinds of ᾠδαί suitable to either sex).—ἔστιν δὲ . . . διασαφεῖν : Burnet's discovery that ἀνάγκη (so Cod. Voss.), which Schneider conjectured, is really the reading of A, puts out of court all emendations of this difficult passage which assume the reading ἀνάγκη. I think ἀμφοτέροις (neut.)—cp. τὰ τῶν θηλειῶν—is not "both sexes," but "the songs proper to both sexes" ; and

that αὐτῷ τῷ διαφέροντι bears the same relation to a supplied κατεχόμενα that ἀνάγκη does to the κατεχόμενα in e 6. So far we may translate: "it is quite possible to provide both (kinds of ῥοδαί) with both the tune and the rhythm which musical necessity determines; but the share of the women is determined by the actual (αὐτῷ) difference in nature of each of the two sexes." But, however much we may struggle, we cannot fit in with this the following words as they stand. Most editors rightly put a comma after διαφέροντι (Schneider and Wagner omit the comma, and take τούτῳ with the previous αὐτῷ τῷ διαφέροντι). I would suggest that a δέ has dropped out before δέι, and that the comma should be replaced by a colon. The selection of tune and rhythm, being a matter for musical experts, may be left to them: the difference between men's and women's songs depends on a difference in nature between the sexes, which everybody can observe, "that is the principle on which our actual distinction must rest."

e 10. κόσμιον καὶ σῶφρον: cp. *Gorg.* 508 a καὶ κοσμιότητα καὶ σωφροσύνην.—θηλυγενέστερον ὡς ὃν παραδοτέον ἐν τε τῷ νόμῳ καὶ λόγῳ: if παραδοτέον is sound, it must mean "hand it down" (as a matter of law and theory alike) that it is of a feminine character. The coupling of διδασκαλία and παράδοσις in the next line points to this interpretation of παραδοτέον. Ficinus translates "feminis esse accommodatius, et disputatione asseverandum, et legibus sancendum." Schneider "ut femineum magis, cum lege, tum oratione perhibendum est." (Is it possible that Plato wrote παραδεικτέον?)

e 11. τάξις μὲν δὴ τις αὖτη: like the ταῦτα μὲν οὖν δὴ ταῦτα with which Bk. III. begins, this formula announces the conclusion of a subject—here that of the state regulation of musical education which has been under consideration since 798 e 4. τάξις was thus used at 799 e 3, and is used again in a similar sense at 807 d 6. The τις marks the regulation as general—details are not to be expected here.

803 a 1. διδασκαλία καὶ παράδοσις form a hendiadys, "the way in which instruction in these (musical) subjects is to be conveyed."

a 2. λεγέσθω τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο: he does not mean that he is going to discuss methods of teaching; only that directions on the subject ought to be drawn up by the proper authorities to accompany the legislation just described. So below at 804 e 7 νῦν εἰρήσθω τῷ λόγῳ is used of matter which the Athenian does not

mean to deal with, though he says "that is the place for it." (Ritter, pp. 194 and 205, says that the subject of 802 e is resumed at 804 c 2, after the "digression" which follows. But the meagre directions there given, as to the situation of school buildings and playgrounds, as to the residence of the teachers, and the equality of the education of the two sexes, have nothing to do with "methods of instruction," the choice of pupils (οἰστισιν—cp. also 804 b 1), and the school time-table.)

a 3. οἶον δὴ κτλ.: the asyndeton marks this sentence as an *explanation* of the omission of the details just referred to. What he is trying to do is to determine the *main lines* which education is to follow. The key to the interpretation of the following simile is, I think, the perception that διαστήσασθαι has not quite its usual meaning of "separate into different classes," but is "set forth in their distinguishing points." The object of the shipwright in the simile is not to make a lot of differently shaped boats for different purposes, but to find the best shape and proportions for a ship in general. τὰ τῶν βίων . . . ψυχῶν then means "I am trying to set before you outlines of lives as fixed by types of character." As Ritter says (p. 195), the τρόποι τῶν ψυχῶν are not characteristics which already exist, but characteristics which are to be produced by the sort of life which men are to be made to lead.—τὴν . . . ἀρχήν: an adverbial acc. in apposition to the sentence (not, as Ast says, in apposition to τροπιδεῖα)—"by way of beginning his ship-building."

a 6. It is not to be denied that, as Stallb. and Peipers say, the sentence seems to gain by the rejection of δρᾶν; ταῦτόν would then be adverbial—"in like manner." Apelt, however (p. 13), well defends δρᾶν by a comparison of *Gorg.* 479 b, where καθορᾶν and ἔχειν are exegetic to ποιεῖν, as καταβάλλεσθαι is here to δρᾶν. No one has proposed to reject ποιεῖν there, and to take τοιοῦτόν τε adverbially.

a 7. ὁντως: by this word he indicates that there must be a special significance in the similarity of the sounds of the words τρόποι and τροπιδεῖα—"I am *really* laying (life's) τροπιδεῖα, for I am settling what our proper τρόποι are to be on the voyage of life."

b 3. If σκοπεῖν is sound, we must not, with Ast, say it stands for ὥστε σκοπεῖν, for ὥστε is not *final*, as he makes it—"ad considerandum"; it must be connected by a very awkward asyndeton with καταβάλλεσθαι. I think Peipers (p. 79) is right in altering it to σκοπῶν; "passim confunduntur infinitiva et



participia," Boeckh (on 643 c), who at 954 a 6 rightly alters ἐλπίζων to ἐπίζειν.

**b 3 ff.** The use of the first person in διακομισθησόμεθα prepares us a little for the moralizings on human destiny which follow. The author ceases for the time to be the director of others, and takes his place among the travellers on the "voyage of life." "What," he asks, "is the business of life?—There is no need to be in deadly earnest about anything, especially as men are prone to be in earnest about the wrong things." As Shakespeare says (*Measure for Measure* II. ii. 117)—

Man, proud man,  
Drest in a little brief authority,  
Most ignorant of what he's most assured, . . .  
Plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven  
As make the angels weep.

**b 4 ff.** μεγάλης μὲν σπουδῆς οὐκ ἄξια: cp. *Rep.* 604 b ὡς . . . οὔτε τι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἄξιον ὄν μεγάλης σπουδῆς. Cp. also *Rep.* 486 a 8, quoted by Marcus Aurelius vii. 35.—ἀναγκαῖόν γε μὴν σπουδάξιν· τοῦτο δὲ οὐχ εὐτυχές. . . . ἂν εἶη. "For all that we cannot help caring; that's the pity of it. Being here, however, it is meet that we should try to care properly."—διὰ προσήκοντός τινος, "through a proper medium," "with a proper object."—αὐτὸ πράττομεν: i.e. σπουδάζοιμεν.

**b 7 ff.** "You may well ask," he says, "what I mean by that."

**c 3.** μακαρίον, "beneficent." The dictionaries, and all interpreters but Schneider, make this fem.—the only instance; similar isolated instances are μέτριον at *Tim.* 59 d, and the fem. σωτηρίαν at *Rep.* 465 d. (Schneider translates "omni seria beati cura esse dignum.")

**c 4.** ἐμπροσθεν: at 644 d 8.

**c 5.** Probably εἶναι μεμηχανημένον stands for μεμηχανῆσθαι—"has been constructed as a plaything for God."—καὶ ὄντως . . . γεγόνειν: i.e. "the fact that man gives God pleasure is the noblest thing about him."

**c 6.** τούτῃ δὴ τῷ τρόπῳ συνεπόμενον κτλ., "human beings, therefore, must accept this rôle, and make their diversions as perfect as possible" (παίζοντα ὅτι καλλίστας παιδιάς).

**d 2 ff.** The true relation between war and peace, here under discussion, goes back to the discussion started at the beginning of Bk. I. (625 e 5). People, he says, must turn their notions upside down; must (on some points) think the opposite of what they do now. At first sight it looks as if he were going to say, "instead

of working in order to be able to play, men ought to play in order to be able to work"—and this is Aristotle's practical—and rather shallow?—conclusion in the passage (*Eth. N.* 1176 b 28 ff.) in which he is clearly criticizing Plato's words here. But when we come to the statement of what men *ought* to do, it is that *they ought to think play itself the important thing*, and not any object that may be secured by it; "what (e.g.) everybody has got to do is to make the part of his life spent in *peace* as long and as perfect as possible," and not to devote his chief energies to war, in order to secure peace. *παιδιά*—which includes all *Art*—he hints, is the true *παιδεία*, because it develops our highest possibilities (cp. below 804 b 2 *κατὰ τὸν τρόπον τῆς φύσεως διαβιώνονται*). Put into modern dress, it is as if he had said that Religion and Art should have more to say in education than professional requirements—perhaps, that Classics, even Latin verses, are better for boys and girls than Chemistry and Hygiene. (We may imagine that Plato's special *bête noire* would have been a man who *plays games for money*.)—We may possibly translate (*νῦν μὲν . . . τίθεσθαι*), "*now they seem to think that the importance of 'work' is that it leads to 'play.'*" For instance (*γάρ*), they think that war is the important thing, and that it must be properly conducted in order to secure peace."

d 4. τὸ δ' : Heindorf on *Theat.* 157 b 3 first restored this for the MS. (?) τόδ'.

d 5. ἦν : the "philosophic" imperfect; "was after all," i.e. "is really."—*πεφυκνῖα*, "*real*." (Ast "that has been," and so links it with *οἶσα* and *ἐσομένη*.)

d 6. Burnet rightly adopts Hermann's ὅ for the MS. τό—"and it is just the diversion (and consequent edification) which I say really matters." (Stallb. would put a full stop after *ἐσομένη* and proposes τόδε for τό.)

e 1. *τινὰς δῆ*, "*quasdam*"; an unusual and probably poetical variety of *δῆ τινας* (*Phaedo* 107 d 7, 108 c 1, 115 d 4). Cp. below, 861 d 6 *τινὶ δῆ ποτε*, Eur. *I.T.* 946 *ἐκ τοῦ δῆ χερῶν μιάσματος*, Soph. *Ant.* 158 *τινὰ δῆ μῆτιν* (where Jebb writes *τίνα δῆ*). (Others here write *τίνας δῆ* . . .; and Winckelmann would make two questions by inserting *τί* before *παίζοντα*; Ast would insert *ἦ* before *παίζοντα*, and make the *τίς*, *τίνας* and *ὅποια* (in e 4) dependent on *εἴρηται*.)

e 2. *θίοντα καὶ ἄδοντα καὶ ὀρχούμενον* : clearly, any sort of "display" is to be of the nature of a *religious function*.

e 3. *δυνατὸν εἶναι* : possibly a scribe's addition.

**e 4.** νικᾶν μαχόμενον: not by the favour of a placated deity, but as the natural result of a correct education which fully develops the bodily among other powers; cp. below, 942 d e ff.—ὁποῖα δὲ ᾔδων: the general directions (τὸ τῶν τύπων; cp. on τύπῳ τινί at 802 e 1) already given, and the main lines already indicated in the matter of literature will suffice, especially as we may hope that Heaven's inspiration will, as Homer's words here quoted suggest, supplement our endeavours.—ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτα: i.e. please Heaven, and win victories.

**e 6.** For προσδοκῶντα, "reckon," cp. on 795 c 3.

**804 a 4.** τροφίμους: this word is evidently suggested by the τραφέμεν. It is passive, and a subst., as at *Rep.* 520 d and *Politicus* 272 b; at 845 d below it is active, and an adj.

**b 1.** οἴστυσί τε καὶ ὁπότε: a phrase similar to that used at 803 a 2.

**b 2 f.** The κατὰ τὸν τρόπον τῆς φύσεως, and the θαύματα ὄντες repeat and emphasize the doctrine of 803 c 5 f.—τὸ πολὺ is probably "for most of their time." What follows—σμικρὰ δὲ ἀληθείας ἄττα μετέχοντες—certainly seems to mean "though they now and then get a glimpse of the truth." The exceptional enlightenment is of the nature of the divine inspiration referred to in the Homeric quotation. Ritter well recalls 730 c 1 ἀλήθεια δὴ πάντων μὲν ἀγαθῶν θεοῖς ἡγείται, πάντων δ' ἀνθρώποις. We may recall also, in connexion with what follows, the view, expressed at 709 b 7 ff., as to the very small part which human skill can expect to play in comparison with the greater forces at work in the world.

**b 8.** καὶ παθών: it is generally supposed that παθών is used absolutely here. The instances cited by Stallb. of ὁ παθών for "the sufferer," or "the person affected," do not help us, for it is in those cases always clear *what* the person is injured or affected by; whereas here it is not. It is generally supposed to mean "stirred by the vision," "eaque re affectus" (Stallb.), "von diesem Eindruck überwältigt" (Wagner). But for such a meaning we should require a much more significant word than παθών—such e.g. as τεθῆπός. I would suggest that after all παθών is *not* absolute, but is meant to govern ὅπερ εἶρηκα νῦν; "when I spoke, I had a vision of the Divinity, and I felt in his presence like one of the puppets I have just mentioned." (Prof. Burnet agrees; to him I owe the suggestion that, by a slight zeugma (in the use of πρὸς), πρὸς τὸν θεόν goes with παθών as well as with ἀπιδών; this I have rendered by inserting "in his presence.") (Apelt would emend παθών to ποθών, with a reminder of Socrates's expressed

longing *παρὰ θεοὺς ἦκειν*, *Phaedo* 63 b.)—*ἔστω δ' οὖν κτλ.*: this, taken with the preceding words, amounts to an admission that the sudden overpowering sense of the greatness of God and the nothingness of man has led the speaker into exaggeration. At all events it is no good trying to explain his thoughts to the commonplace Megillus.—I. Bruns (p. 97 ff.) declares that the contradiction between the pessimism of this passage and 644 d ff. on the one side, and the strenuous earnestness of the directions for the conduct of life at 807 c f., and the religious view of life taken at 903 b-c and neighbouring passages, on the other, stamps our present passage as non-Platonic. This is as if we were to be told that the Prospero who said “we are such stuff as dreams are made of” could not be the same Prospero who was “all dedicated to closeness and the bettering of (his) mind,” or who boasted to Ferdinand of his daughter’s perfections. (Bruns, accepting the tradition that Philip of Opus was not only the editor of the *Laws*, but also the author of the *Epinomis*, finds in passages of the *Epinomis*—e.g. 980 b, 992 b, which express similar thoughts in similar language—the proof that 644 b and 803 a-804 b are Philip’s, not Plato’s. It is difficult to see why Plato should have inserted such a digression here; but it is far more difficult to see why an “editor” should have done so.)

c 2. τὸ δ' ἐξῆς τοῖς τοῖς is the subject dealt with just before the digression; i.e. the *τάξις* of 802 e 11.—*εἴρηνται*: this is a mistake. Such buildings and such “playgrounds” have been mentioned or implied—e.g. at 764 c, 779 d, and 794 c—but nothing has been said about their distribution and arrangement. The words *εἰ δ' ἄρα μὴ τότε ἱκανῶς ἐρρήθησαν* show that the author has become conscious of the mistake.

c 7. νῦν εἰρήσθω τῷ λόγῳ μετὰ νόμων: see note on *λεγέσθω* at 803 a 2. For the succeeding words cp. *παραδοτέον* (? *παραδεικτέον*) *ἐν τε τῷ νόμῳ καὶ λόγῳ*. *λόγῳ* does not at either place mean (as Schneider, Wagner, and Jowett take it here) “our present conversation”; it means that, when the law is enunciated, it should be supported by a *reasoned explanation*.

c 8. ἐν τοῖς goes with *οἰκοῦντας*.—The absence of the *δεῖ*, which Eusebius has before *διδασκάλους*, may be due to haplography, but it is more likely that Eusebius added it to the text to make the construction clear.—*ἐκάστων*, “of each separate subject.”—*πεπεισμένους μισθοῖς*: it is implied that the state was to find the funds for paying the teachers; cp. below 813 e 4 where this is stated definitely.



**d 1.** οἰκοῦντας ξένους: possibly "living as guests," i.e. "not at their own charges"; but more probably ξένους has its ordinary meaning of *foreigners*. It is strange, but he seems to lay it down that teachers, like artificers, are to come from other cities. The second hand in A, Cod. Voss., and a commentator on Eusebius conjectured that οἰκοῦντας was a mistake for οὐκ ὄντας; but it would be equally strange that teachers from other cities should be *excluded*. (It is unnecessary to suppose, with Ast, that τε is a mistake for δεῖ; the slight displacement of a τε is very common.)

**d 3.** ὃν μὲν ἄν, and ὃν δ' ἄν μὴ continue and amplify φοιτῶντας.

**d 4.** πάντ' ἄνδρα καὶ παῖδα: a proverbial expression like our "every mother's son"; cp. *Euthyd.* 307 c τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ τοῦτο, αὐτός τε καὶ τὰ παιδία; Ritter (p. 408) well cps. πατρὶ μηδ' αὐτῷ at 810 a 2.

**d 5.** ὡς τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν γεννητόρων ὄντας, παιδεύ-  
τέον ἐξ ἀνάγκης: in advocating free compulsory state education Plato was far ahead of his time. The weighty principle on which he here defends it was doubtless excogitated by himself alone, but it is a question whether the recommendation itself was original with Plato. Boeckh and Bekker question Diodorus's statement (xii. 12) that Charondas ἐνομοθέτησε τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς υἱεῖς ἀπαν-  
τας μαθάνειν γράμματα χορηγούσης τῆς πόλεως τοὺς μισθοὺς τοῖς διδασκάλοις; Hermann accepts it to a certain extent. Cp. Bekker, *Charicles*, ii. p. 25. Stallb. says that, acc. to Dion Cassius lxxi. (ii. p. 1199 ed. Reimar), Marcus Aurelius was the first to provide education at public cost. Ritter well cps. 923 a b ff. In the *Crito* (p. 50 d) Plato says that the laws told fathers to educate their sons, but we hear of no machinery of compulsion at Athens.

**d 6.** The δὲ δὴ (*iam vero*, "mind you"), and the three καί's add emphasis to this pronouncement. Probably the τὰ αὐτά is to be taken adverbially, "in the same manner"; cp. 686 a 7, 751 d 3, 830 d 2, 873 a 3. (Before Burnet editors put a comma after πάντα as well as after ἀρρένων.)

**e 2.** οὐδὲν φοβηθεῖς . . . οὔτε ἵππικῆς οὔτε γυμναστικῆς: lit. "with no fear about any part of horsemanship or gymnastics (that it is going to be unbecoming)." The genitives depend on οὐδέν (so at *Rep.* 367 d τοῦτ' οὖν αὐτὸ ἐπαίνεσον δικαιοσύνης, δικ. depends on τοῦτο); πρέπον agrees quite normally with οὐδέν. (For a different account of the genitives cp. Riddell, *Digest* § 26. Thompson on *Meno* 96 a seems to take the same view as I do. Stallb. makes the genitives depend on τοῦτον τὸν λόγον, which, again, he takes

to be governed, not by εἵποίμ' ἄν, but by φοβηθείς—ὥς οὐκ ἄν εἴη being an explanation of λόγον.)

e 3. ὥς . . . πρέπον ἄν εἴη: for a ὥς clause after a verb of fearing cp. Goodwin, *M. and T.* § 371.

e 4. μὲν . . . δέ: there are two pairs of contrasted statements here suggested: (1) "there were women who rode and shot in the past, and there are such now," and (2) "I have *trustworthy tradition* of the past, and *knowledge* of the present." These contrasts are not fully expressed; we have only the first half of (2) and the second half of (1).

e 5. ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν is best taken as a qualification of μυριάδες ἀναρίθμητοι—"what you may call a countless number"—for which Stallb. cps. *Theaet.* 175 a and Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1010. (Interpreters generally take it with οἶδα, but the qualification is so very common with a numerical expression as to form a natural bond with it.

805 a 1 f. αἷς . . . ἀσκέϊται: the construction is, "among whom familiarity with . . . weapons, having been enjoined upon them to just the same extent as upon men, is cultivated to the same extent."—For κοινωνία ὅπλων cp. Eur. *H.F.* 1377 λυγραὶ δὲ τῶνδ' ὅπλων κοινωνίαι.

a 4. φημί κτλ., "I maintain that, if results such as these can be obtained, it is the height of folly . . . for men and women not to fall into line and engage in the same pursuits with all their might. What actually happens now is that, with the same expenditure, and the same effort, almost every state turns out, as near as may be, the *half* of what it might have been—a strange blunder, surely, for a lawgiver to make!"—οὕτως in a 8 is "as it is now" under the foolish régime just described. One way or other the women *cost* as much to keep, whether they do what we may call *public* work or not; also, seeing that we have to pay teachers for the boys, it would not cost much more if the girls learnt with them. On the other hand, if the women fed at *συσσίτια*, the expense would be less than that of separate home meals. ἐκ is "on an expenditure of." (F.H.D. thinks ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν τελῶν is "on the basis of the same tax-contributions.") (Stallb. curiously understands the words ἡμ. . . . πόνων to mean (that the resulting state is half as great as it would have been) "as the result of *not* incurring the same expense and trouble (over again)," "per eadem tributa et exercitia neglecta (sive intermissa).") He cps. Homer's εὐχλωλῆς ἐπιμέμφεται at A 65, and Euripides's τιμῆς ἐμέμφθη *Hipp.* 1402. Apelt translates τελῶν by *Ziele*, and would read ἐναντίων for αὐτῶν—

“instead of the double efficiency (which would result from) the *opposite* aims and endeavours.”)

**b 3-c 1.** The whole of this paragraph is spoken by Cleinias, but it is easy to see why the early editions gave more or less of the middle of it to the Athenian. Cl. says at the end that something the Ath. has said makes him rebuke himself for having said what he did at the beginning. Ficinus appears to have omitted εἰπών, to have read πάντα for ἔασαι, and to have changed δεῖν to δεῖ. This provides just what seemed to be wanted in the form of a speech of the Athenian's. The first four printed edd. made the Ath. begin at ἔστι μέντοι, but kept the MS. εἰπών and δεῖν. Both they and Fic. made Cl. begin again at μάλα. Schneider first restored the whole speech to Cleinias. Wagner keeps the MS. readings, but gives ἀλλὰ γὰρ . . . δεῖν to the Ath., supposing Cl. to have interrupted him and finished his sentence for him with the words μάλα εἰπές τε κτλ. This is ingenious, but εἶπες would not even then refer to something the Ath. had *just said*. Cleinias means, I think, “the *memory* of what you said once so reasonably makes me repent my words.”—A further difficulty occurs when we ask what previous words of the Ath. are here referred to? I think the answer is that Plato is here thinking of the statement, made at 739 a 7 ff., that the really right course is to explain what is best in theory, and what is second best, and third best, and to leave the practical statesman to choose between them. (Adam, on *Rep.* 484, thinks the reference is to 799 e 5.) Cp. also Cl.'s own words at 702 d ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων ἐκλέξαντες τῷ λόγῳ συστησώμεθα πόλιν. (Herm. and Zürr. follow Cornarius, Steph., and Ast in reading εἶπον for εἰπών and giving ἀλλὰ . . . δεῖν to the Ath.)

**b 5.** A has doubtless preserved in διεξελθεῖν the true reading. The noun διέξοδος is used for the *course* of a statement or argument. Cp. *Critias* 109 a ἡ τοῦ λόγου διέξοδος . . . δηλώσει, and though λόγῳ διεξελθεῖν, and λόγον or λόγους διεξελθεῖν are more common, the verb is used intransitively of the *proceeding* or development of an argument; e.g. *Rep.* 484 a (Adam's note).—The varying of the verb later in the sentence is quite in Plato's style.

**c 4.** τῷ λόγῳ: λόγος is *doctrine* here, as at 804 e 2. The regular antithesis between λόγῳ and ἔργῳ accounts for his calling λόγῳ what he speaks of as τοῦτον τὸν νόμον in the next line.—It is to be noticed that it is only against the *possibility* of training women to do the same things as men that he imagines any argument would be brought. It was the same with the argument



at 794 d about the training of the left hand. In each case it *must*, he thinks, be folly to leave a half of the powers of man or state untrained.—It would be interesting to know what Plato would have said if his interlocutor had quoted against him the words πλέον ἤμισυ παντός (cp. above 690 e 2 ff.).

c 5. ἄλλο τί πού ζητητέον: not “he must look for some other argument,” but “he must try to oppose the enacting of the law by some other means than by *arguing* against it.” The phrase ἄλλο τι ζητεῖν was probably almost proverbial for “to give it up,” “to try some other way.”

c 6. ἐν τούτοις with ἀποσβήσεται, “will not be choked off by *such means*.” For this use of ἐν cp. above 660 a 4 ὁ ὀρθὸς νομοθέτης ἐν τοῖς καλοῖς ῥήμασι καὶ ἐπαινετοῖς πείσει. (Wagner takes ἐν τούτοις with διακέλευμα: “unsere Vorschrift aber *hierin* wird nicht aufhören zu behaupten.”)

d 4. τάξιν, “Lebensordnung” (Wagner). The word is used in exactly the same sense below at 807 d 6.

d 6. ἀποδεδειγμένων (sc. τάξεων) is “established.” κοινωνίας goes with ἔμπροσθεν θεῖμεν.

d 8. ἦν: at 785 b 7 and 868 b 7 we have ἦν χρεῖαν χρῆσθαι, but it would be hard to find an instance like the present, where another noun (τάξιν) has to be supplied with ἦν.

e 1. The infinitives are (conversationally) epexegetic of ἦν (τάξιν).

e 4. εἷς τινα μίαν οἴκησιν κτλ., “we pack all our goods under a single roof, as the saying is, and make our women purveyors and head weavers and spinners.” In other words, “we in our parts do not, like the Thracians, make our women do slave work in the fields, but we confine them *to the house*, while giving them there as ample a field of action as our means will allow.” The proverbial saying, which seems to have much the same sense as our “put all your eggs in one basket,” “venture all your goods in one bottom,” is not used here with its own special significance, but only because it is a familiar expression.

e 7. τὸ τούτων . . . διὰ μέσον: the life of a Spartan woman comes half-way between that of the barbarian, and that of the non-Doric Greek in this respect; it is neither an entirely outdoor life, nor an entirely home life.—φῶμεν, “prescribe.” Cp. Gorg. 489 c καὶ οἱ φῶσιν, “and (if) these men *bid*.”

806 a 3. I think Ast is right in substituting δὴ τινα (cp. above on 803 e 1) for the δέ τινα of the MSS.—ἀσκητικόν, to which Ritter takes exception, does not seem out of place, but I



think it means "cultured" rather than "laborious" (L. & S.). Modified by *δὴ τινα* it is "a life that is to some extent the result of training," "*vitam solertioream quamdam*" Fic. The Spartan woman is, by the training she had as a girl, made capable of something more than mere household duties, though here again, the Ath. goes on to say, the process stops half-way: she has *some* share in home tasks, although she is not expected to work with her hands at spinning; and she does not put her athletic training to its legitimate use, and drill as a soldier.

**a 4.** *διαπλέκειν*: the metaphor suggested by the word is natural to the description of a life of varied interests. (Jowett can hardly be right in suggesting a contrast between "not *spinning*," but "*weaving* the web of life.")—*θεραπείας*: a Greek wife was expected to be able to *cook*, also to tend the sick; *Rep.* 455 c *τὴν τῶν ποπᾶνων τε καὶ ἐψημάτων θεραπείαν*, *Xen. Oec.* 7. 37 *ὅς ἂν κάμνη τῶν οἰκετῶν τούτων σοι ἐπιμελητέον πάντων ὅπως θεραπεύηται*. (Or does *θεραπεία* here stand for the superintendence and provision of the "service" of the establishment?)—The genitives with *εἷς τι μέσον ἀφικνεῖσθαι* are the same as that with *πόρρω* joined to a verb of motion; cp. 660 c 7 *πόρρω προβεβηκότα ἁμαρτίας*.

**a 6.** *εἰ τίς ποτε . . . ἀναγκαῖα τύχη γίγνοιτο*: no doubt Plato, when he professes to imagine a case in which Spartan women *might* help their country by merely *looking like* soldiers, is thinking of the occurrence referred to by Aristotle, *Pol.* 1269 b 37 when the Spartan women, after the battle of Leuctra, instead of being any help in a hostile irruption, *θόρυβον παρείχον πλείω τῶν πολεμίων*. Cp. also *Xen. Hell.* vi. 5. 28, *Plut. Vit. Agesilai* ch. 31, *Grote* ch. 78.

**a 6 ff.** *ὥστε . . . (οὐκ) ἂν . . . δυνάμεναι* stands by a conversational anacoluthon for *ὥστε οὐκ ἂν δύνασθαι*; cp. *Tim.* 56 b *σμικρὰ οὕτως ὥς . . . οὐδὲν ὀρώμενον*.—The earlier editors and Herm. and Zürr. are wrong in putting a (;) or a colon after *ἀφικνεῖσθαι*, for the acc. *κοινωνούσας* belongs in construction to the previous infinitive.

**b 1.** *μετὰ τέχνης*: i.e. "like an expert."

**b 3.** *ὥς* stands for *ὥστε* and is followed by the regular *acc. c. inf.* construction.

**b 4.** The second hand in O has preserved the true reading in substituting *γε* for the *δέ* of A and O.

**b 5.** *Σαυρομάτιδας δὲ μιμήσασθαι*: to "copy Athene" the Spartan women would only have had to stand with shield and

spear and *look like* warriors; to copy the Sarmatian Amazons they would have had to be able to *use* the weapons.

**b 7.** *παρὰ γυναικας αὐτάς*, "as compared with ordinary women."—*ἐκείνων* is the Spartans.

**c 1.** *ταῦτ'*: adverbial, "on this account."

**c 2.** *τὸ δ' ἐμὸν οὐκ ἄλλως ἂν λεχθείη*: i.e. "I abide by what I said before"—that the lawgiver ought not to stop half-way. There is no need to change *δεῖν* to *δεῖ* with Stallb.; *γάρ* here is "I mean," "that is to say."

**c 3.** Schneider has doubtless recovered the original reading in writing *διήμισυν*. The first hand of A may even have meant to write it so: *οὔδι* stands at the end of one line, and *ἥμισυν* begins the next. The breathing may have been a careless addition of his own correcting hand. L and O have *οὐ δι' ἥμισυν*. (Stallb., followed by Herm., conjectured *οὐχὶ ἥμισυν*, though he printed Schäfer's *οὐχ ἥμισυν* in 1850, and defends it in his note.) Three inferior MSS. have actually *οὐδ' ἥμι συνδεῖν*.—In c 6 *ἥμισυ . . . καταλείπειν* is expegetic of *διήμισυν εἶναι*.

**c 4.** *διαίταις τρώμενον* is equivalent to *διαιτώμενον* (Herm.), and the MS. *ἀτάκτως* is undoubtedly right as against the early correction *ἀτάκτοις* (Ald. *ἀτάκταις*).

**c 6.** *εὐδαίμων βίος* is almost "resources"; like the Lat. *beatus*, and our word *fortune*, *εὐδαίμων* came to connote *wealth*.

**c 9.** *καταδραμεῖν*: probably both in Greek and English the meaning *disparage* for "run down" is an outgrowth of the use of the word as a hunting term, though in English the sense "to sink" (a ship) seems an earlier one.

**d 1.** *ἐατέον*: abs., "we must give him a free hand."

**d 7.** *τίς δὴ τρόπος . . . τοῦ βίου*; this question, which is further explained below at 807 a, and answered at 807 c, brings us back to the main subject of the book. "What," he asks, "is the proper *occupation* for men who are not *forced* to do anything?" The answer is that the *Education* of the body and mind does not cease with boyhood, or even youth, but is more than enough to occupy a man's whole time and energy through the whole of his life.

**e 2-807 a 3.** This description of the common mess-arrangements seems rather out of proportion in the description of the condition of perfect leisure. The detail was introduced partly, perhaps, to give us a realistic picture of a feature in the life; partly because for the *women* it was of vital importance—otherwise they would have all their time occupied with household affairs.

e 3. ἐγγὺς δ' ἐχόμενα: this might mean "at neighbouring tables," or, more probably, "in a neighbouring hall." We may conclude from 794 a ff. that both boys and girls under six were still in the hands of nurses. Boys over six would probably mess with the men.

e 5. λύειν: each table, we may suppose, would have a president; otherwise the supervision here described could hardly be efficient. Whether each of the presidents would be severally entrusted with the duty of "dismissing the table," as the old English phrase has it, or whether the sing. τὸν ἄρχοντα at 807 a 1 is a hint that the "grace after meat" was directed or started by *one* official for the whole hall, we are left to guess. (F.H.D. thinks λύειν may here be used in the sense of *pay for, find the money for*.)

e 7. All editors but Schneider now adopt Schulthess's emendation of the MS. συσσιτίων to συσσίτων, giving to διαγωγῇ the unusual meaning of "*behaviour*"; with Schneider διαγωγῇ means "*management*." The mistake was an easy one for a scribe to make, and συσσιτίων would be very awkward after the συσσίτια in the previous line.—L and some inferior MSS. actually have the nonsensical ταύτας πείσαντας, and the scribe of O thinks it worth while to give πεισόντας as a *var. lect.*

807 a 2. κατὰ ταῦτα οὕτως, "in due course and order"; an amplification of a simple κατὰ ταῦτα, in which the οὕτως is like that in ἀπλῶς οὕτως.

a 3. τοῖς ταύτῃ κεκοσμημένοις, "for men equipped with these advantages."

a 4. It looks as if all imperative duties had been cleared out of the way. Plato soon shows, however, what a mistake this is.

a 5. ἐν τρόπῳ: this unusual and more elaborate form of expression, if genuine, is perhaps chosen with reference to the previous use of τρόπος in the question τίς ὁ τρόπος . . . τοῦ βίου; Cp. *Ep.* vii. 331 b 2 ἐν τινι τρόπῳ. Plato uses ἐν δίκῃ more often than the simple δίκη. Badham ingeniously suggests ἀλλ' ἢ τρόπῳ β. ἔκ. π. αὐτῶν διαζῆν.

a 6. τό γε: the τό is demonstrative; cp. above 684 b 5, and *Euthydemus* 291 a 2 (where, however, Burnet accepts Bernhardt's τόδε γε for the τό γε or τόδε of the MSS.).

a 7. ἀτυχήσαι τοῦ προσήκοντος: with a grim reference to the question above, whether there was no "*manifest destiny*"—παντά-πασι προσήκον—left. The man may try to avoid his *duty*, but he cannot escape his *fate*.

b 1. ἀργῶ καὶ ῥαθύμως καταπεπιασμένῳ ζῶψ: these scathing



words suggest, as Ritter says, Glaucus's contemptuous ἰὼν πόλις at *Rep.* 372 d.—The καταπεπιεσμένῳ of A and O is almost as exactly the wrong word here as the impossible τετραφωμένων of AL and O is in the next line. L has preserved the right reading in the former case, and Cod. Riccardianus 67 in the latter.

**b 2 f.** τῶν . . . πόνων, "one of the lean creatures who are worn to the bone thanks to their vigorous exertions" (cp. 654 e 10 ἀνδρικῆς ψυχῆς ἐν πόνοις ἐχομένης). μετὰ is here used in a quasi-instrumental sense. Cp. above 720 d 7 μετὰ πειθοῦς ἡμερούμενον, *Theaet.* 180 c 8 μετὰ ποιήσεως ἐπικρυπτομένων τοὺς πολλούς, *Tim.* 28 a τὸ μὲν δὴ νοήσῃ μετὰ λόγου περιληπτόν, τὸ δὲ αὖ δόξῃ μετ' αἰσθήσεως ἀλόγου δοξαστόν. The contrast suggests that between the *sans-culotte*, and the noble of the *ancien régime*.

**b 3 f.** ταῦτα . . . γένοιτο: the first difficulty here is, what is ταῦτα? Certainly not the state of things last mentioned, which was the growing fat and being slaughtered like a beast; ταῦτα must be either the state of leisure described above (d 8—a 3 οἷσιν . . . πορεύεσθαι), or the proper employment of that leisure, i.e. the ideal τρόπος βίου. Prof. H. J., who has sent me valuable notes on this passage, takes it in the latter sense, and he gets round the extremely difficult ὡς καὶ νῦν, εἰ ζητοῦμεν ἄν by accepting Badham's νυνί for νῦν, εἰ, translating "on the lines of our present proposed inquiry." Though in doubt, I certainly have nothing better to suggest than this. (Badham would also read ζητούμεν' ἄν for ζητοῦμεν ἄν, and holds that a large passage has been lost before ταῦτα.) For the ideal and the second best see above, 739.

**b 6.** ἀπαντ' ἢ in Steph.'s correction of the MS. ἀπάντη.

**b 7.** τὰ νῦν λεγόμενα: these words can hardly mean anything but (that the description) "just given"—more particularly of the σισσίτια arrangements—is of the "second best" kind. This assumption is borne out by the fact that at 806 e 3 one's "own belongings" are expressly mentioned.

**c 1 ff.** ἔργον . . . ὀρθότατα: this answer is in form an echo of the question at a 3 ff.; λείπεσθαι corresponds to λειπόμενόν ἐστι, and ἔργον has two attributes in both sentences. The first quasi-answer to the question (that at a 5 ff.) was pronounced οὐ δίκαιον, the present one on the contrary is an ordinance of a δίκαιος νόμος.

**c 2.** οὕτω: i.e. in the possession of ample leisure.

**c 3.** εἶναι προσηταγμένον: i.e. προστετάχθαι.

**c 7 ff.** ὁ περὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος πάντως καὶ ψυχῆς εἰς ἀρετῆς ἐπιμέλειαν βίος εἰρημένος ὀρθότατα: so the MSS. The insuperable difficulty here is that ἐπιμέλειαν has two prepositions, περὶ and εἰς



Ast obviates this difficulty by reading εἰς ἀρετὴν, Stallb. by omitting εἰς (which may possibly have been due to the preceding -ῆς). Prof. H. J. prefers the latter emendation, while pointing out that if εἰς ἀρετὴν is right, τοῦ σώματος πάντως must balance against εἰς ἀρετὴν—"of the body in all respects, and of the soul in respect of virtue." With εἰς ἀρετὴν ἐπιμέλειαν we may compare μείζουσι πρὸς ἀρετὴν at 757 c 4. (F.H.D. ingeniously suggests that perhaps after ψυχῆς we ought (in sense) to supply νίκην to go with τήν from νίκης in c 6.)

c 8. εἰρημένος ὀρθότατα I take with βίος alone. The different βίων σχήματα were alluded to at 803 a 6; this one is the only *real* βίος: cp. Phil. 62 c 3 εἴπερ γε ἡμῶν ὁ βίος ἔσται καὶ ὅπως οὖν ποτε βίος. (There is no MS. authority for the early vulgate ἡρημένος.)—With a doubtful preference for Ast's εἰς ἀρετὴν, I would translate the whole passage (c 1 ff.): "No; we hold that for those who live in this fashion there does remain no small or insignificant occupation: on the contrary we assert that, by a just ordinance, the most important occupation possible has been assigned to them. Compared with the life which yearns for Pythian or Olympian victory—a life which is a complete bar to all other activities—doubly and much more than doubly a bar to them is that *real* life which is devoted to the cultivation of the body in all respects and of the soul in virtue." The general sense of the comparison is clear; the athlete neglects everything for the perfection of his *body*. How much more than double must be the absorption necessary for a pursuit which aims at perfecting the far more important and complicated *mind as well*! "I hold that the value of life is to improve one's condition." Abraham Lincoln at Cincinnati 13th Feb. 1861.

d 1. πάρεργον οὐδὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἔργων: i.e. "no task which does not conduce to this object"; lit. "no side-work out of the (many) other works."—Ast rightly says that διακώλυμα εἰς ἀπόδοσιν is equivalent to διακώλυμα τοῦ ἀποδιδόναι, and that we must supply εἰς ἀπόδοσιν with (τῶν) ψυχῇ (προσηκόντων) μαθημάτων τε καὶ ἔθων in d 3.

d 4 f. οὐκ ἔστιν ἱκανὴ . . . ἐκλαμβάνειν, "is not long enough, for the man who is trying to do this, to get from them their complete and sufficient effect." αὐτῶν is the προσήκοντες πόνοι καὶ τροφή, and the προσήκοντα μαθήματα καὶ ἔθνη.—With τοῦτ' αὐτὸ πράττοντι cp. Crito 47 b γυμναζόμενος ἀνὴρ καὶ τοῦτο πράττων. (L. & S. is surely wrong in giving ἐκλαμβάνειν here the meaning "understand.")

**d 6 f.** τάξιν δέι γίνεσθαι τῆς διατριβῆς κτλ. : i.e. the whole of the twenty-four hours must have a time-table; each period must have its fixed occupation!—ἐλευθέροις in a special pregnant sense, "free from all compulsory employment," "gentlemen at large" (cp. *Theaet.* 172 d 1).

**e 3.** ἀσχήμων, "undignified." Above at 788 b 5 this descent into trivial detail has been described as ἀπρεπὲς ἅμα καὶ ἄσχημον for the legislator.

**e 5.** φυλάξειν: this word reminds us of the φύλακες of the *Republic*.

**808 a 2.** εἴτ' οὖν . . . χρεών: i.e. whether such a proceeding be prescribed by law, or only by custom.—A great English bishop (Creighton) has defined an *energetic* man to be "the man who gets up directly he wakes." Ast quotes *Il.* B 24 f.:

οὐ χρεὴ παννύχιον εὖδειν βουλευφόρον ἄνδρα,  
ᾧ λαοὶ τ' ἐπιτετράφαται καὶ τόσσα μέμηλε.

**a 4 f.** πρῶτην αὐτὴν ἐγείρειν τὰς ἄλλας: cp. Aristoph. *Lysistrata* 18 ἢ δ' οἰκέτην ἡγείρειν.

**a 5.** λέγειν χρεὴ πρὸς αὐτοὺς: L alone has preserved the correct αὐτοὺς (so Ast) = ἀλλήλους.

**a 6 f.** ὄλην καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκίαν: a conversational redundancy which gives an air of mock-seriousness to the sentence; cp. above 734 e τῷ παντὶ καὶ ὅλῳ, and 944 c 3 διαφέρει δὲ ὅλον πον καὶ τὸ πᾶν. Jowett takes οἰκία hyperbolically of the material part of the establishment. This gives a needful *raison d'être* to the "if it had been possible," and is perhaps the true explanation of this funny sentence. (The other explanation is that it implies that of course the slaves think the mistress ought to call them; the difficulty is to make this view prevail with the authorities.)

**a 7.** Stobaeus's πάντως seems preferable to the MS. πάντας; δεῖ πάντως is "there is no doubt that people ought."

**b 1.** μέρη πολλά: as we should say, "a good proportion."

**b 2.** For the night work of the ἄρχοντες cp. the directions at 951 d 5 ff. for the νυκτερινὸς σύλλογος.

**b 4.** ταῦτα πάντα: i.e. the τὰ πολιτικά καὶ τὰ οἰκονομικά of b 1. (Jowett takes ταῦτα πάντα to refer to σώματα καὶ ψυχαί.)

**b 5.** (οὐχ) . . . ἀρμόττων ἐστὶν κατὰ φύσιν, "is not in natural harmony with," i.e. "is not good for."

**b 6.** ἀλλ' ὅστις . . . κηδεμών, "anyone of us who cares greatly for the activity of body and mind."

**c 1.** τὸ πρὸς ὑγίειαν αὐτοῦ μόνον φυλάττων χρήσιμον, "only keeping for himself as much of it" (i.e. sleep) "as is conducive to

health." πολὺ in the next line agrees with τὸ χρήσιμον. (Aristotle writes αὐτοῦ, making it depend on ὑγίειαν.)

c 2. καλῶς εἰς ἔθος ἰόν: ἰόν is not absolute, but is attracted into the gender of πολὺ; it agrees, that is, with τὸ χρήσιμον τοῦ ὕπνου—"when it has well got into a habit." The MS. variants καλός for καλῶς, and ἰών for ἰόν point to the perception on the part of the scribes that ὕπνος is understood; there is, however, no variant πολὺς. (Jowett translates: "if the habit of not sleeping be once formed.")

c 2 ff. ἐργηγορότες . . . πόλει: Ritter thinks this passage too rhetorical for Plato. The passage on sleep was often quoted in antiquity; it is possible that the later passage is an extract from another author on the same subject, which has coalesced, through juxtaposition, with the Platonic *locus communis*.

c 7 ff. νύξ μὲν δὲ . . . ἡμέρας δὲ ὄρθρον κτλ., "so much for the night—as to which I may add that short slumber tends to promote courage. With the first return of daybreak the day's business begins with the dispatch of the children to school." There is a jerkiness about the introduction and co-ordination of the subjects here which reveals the lack of a final revision.

d 3. ἄλλο οὐδὲν πω: so MSS. I believe that πω—which nobody translates—is a mistake for πῶν. The first letter of βιωτέον had in many MSS. doubtless the form *u* which is very like *v*, and this may have caused the loss of the letter. (Most translators modify the statement οὐδὲν ἄλλο by putting in some word for *animal* or *creature*, which certainly is not to be found in the Greek.) Plato may well have chosen the Epic πῶν from the sense of its etymological connexion with the preceding ποιμήν. (Cp. the assumed connexion below at 809 b 2 f. between μηνυτής and ἀφερμηνεύειν.) The fact that πῶν was (apparently) only used of *sheep* would not be enough to prevent Plato from suggesting that the cognate of ποιμήν might be applied to other flocks. (It is curious that at 811 e 1 the first hand of A apparently wrote πω for πον.) Cp. the extraordinary phrase at *Minos* 318 a 1 τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν ἀγέλην τοῦ σώματος (under the direction of the παιδοτρίβης).

d 5 ff. ὅσῳ γὰρ . . . γίγνεται, "with his abounding intellect, as yet untrained, he is insubordinate and cunning and the most aboundingly outrageous of creatures." With this semi-humorous tirade against the human boy cp. Plato's language above at 766 a about un- or ill-trained human nature in general: μὴ ἱκανῶς δὲ ἢ μὴ καλῶς τραφέν ἀγριώτατον ὅσα φύει γῆ; and *Theaet.* 174 d δυσκολώτερον δὲ ἐκείνων ζῶον καὶ ἐπιβουλότερον ποιμαίνειν τε καὶ



βδάλλιν νομίζει αὐτούς.—Stallb. takes ὅσῳ μάλιστα as qualifying μήπω κατηρυμένην, i.e. he understands Plato simply to be saying that the danger is due to the extent to which training or expression are deficient. For this we should need τὴν πηγὴν instead of πηγὴν. Plato *does* mention the deficiency of training as a danger, but is also pointing out that the boy's *intellect* makes him capable of worse mischief than the beast can do.—“Voc. δριμύ in malam partem de *astuto* usurpatum illustravit Wyttenbach ad Plutarchi Mor. p. 48 A” Stallb. At Rep. 535 b 5 δριμύτης is used of *intellectual sharpness*.

e 3. παιδίας καὶ νηπιότητος χάριν, “to help his childish incapacity.” Ficinus’s “*ad puerilem lasciviam regendam*” shows that he, like the first four printed edd., read παιδιᾶς. Stallb. in his note sufficiently defends παιδίας, which seems to have been the original reading of A. Cp. L. & S. s.v. παιδεία.—τοῖς διδάσκουσιν καὶ ὅτιοῦν καὶ μαθήμασιν: the τοῖς goes with μαθ. as well as with διδ., and the καὶ ὅτιοῦν is meant in a way to qualify μαθήμασιν—as if he had said καὶ μαθήμασιν οἰστισινοῦν—“by teachers and studies of all conceivable kinds.” (Wyttenbach on Plut. Mor. i. 50 would reject the second καί, making διδ. qualify μαθ.)

e 4. ὡς ἐλεύθερον, “as becomes a free being.” Education, that is, is the proper kind of *bridle* and *fetter* for the free. But, though literal bridles and fetters are to be banished, *chastisement*, which is another way of dealing with inferior creatures, is to be employed in education—and even to be extended to those *educators* who are faithless to their trust. (Ritter and Susemihl are surely wrong in thinking that the directions here given apply (1) to *free* children, and (2) to the children of *slaves*—whom they suppose to be at school with the children of citizens.)

e 6. The omission of τὸν before διδάσκαλον is peculiar: possibly the liability to summary punishment is to be confined to the teacher who is also a paedagogus, and therefore a slave. Apparently Stallb., Wagner, and Hermann think the omission in ALO to be accidental, for they, like all the early editors, print καὶ τὸν διδάσκαλον.

e 7. All editors but Schneider and Wagner retain the τι before τούτων, which is inserted as a correction in O. The correction probably represents a genuine tradition.

e 8. τῇ δίκῃ: this seems to mean no more than the κατὰ τρόπον three lines below, i.e. “adequately.”—πρῶτον: two things are to happen to the man who has thus failed in his duty to the state: first he is to suffer in reputation—which, to a sensible



man, we are told below (926 d), is worse than a big fine; and next he is to be in some way in the black books of the ἐπιμελητῆς πάσης παιδείας (765 d), who is the most important of all state officials.

**809 a 2.** In οἷς, for the οἷ of A and O, the corrector of O has preserved for us the right reading.

**a 4 ff.** βλέπων δὲ ἡμῖν ὁξὺν . . . κατὰ νόμους, "and this functionary of ours must be a man of keen insight, and must devote himself absolutely to the task of rearing the children—guiding their natures aright, and turning them always towards what is good and lawful."

**a 6.** τοῦτον: again all editors have recognized in this correction in O the true reading, as against the τούτων of AO and Cod. Voss.

**a 7.** παιδεύσειεν: in spite of Ast's caution, Ritter and others suppose Plato here to be talking of some special *training* which will prepare this high official for his duties—as if he was to be caught young and destined, from the beginning of such training, to fill the office! παιδεύειν is playfully chosen because the man in question is παιδείας ἐπιμελητῆς, and only means "instruct" (him in his duties). There is a similar playfulness in the ὁ νόμος αὐτός, which is used because of the immediately preceding κατὰ νόμους.

**b 1.** εἶρηκεν: the personified Law takes the place of the author who is expounding it; εἰρήκαμεν takes its place at c 1.

**b 2.** μηδὲν παραλείπειν αὐτῷ: not, as Wagner and Jowett, "leave nothing to him," but "omit nothing that concerns him"; the dat. is ethical.

**b 3.** The μηνυτῆς echoes the ἀφερμηνεύειν, which we may assume that Plato regards as etymologically connected with it; so the τροφεύς recalls the τροφῆς of a 5.

**b 4.** μελῶν τε: the τε is explanatory, "that is to say"; cp. 654 b 3 χορεία γε μὴν ὀρχησίσ τε καὶ ὥδῃ τὸ σύνολόν ἐστιν.

**b 5 f.** ἐκλεκτέα . . . ἐπανορθωτέα . . . καθιερωτέα: the *choice* (of music, etc.) has been dealt with at 800 b 4 ff., and especially at 802 a 5–b 3; their *correction* at 802 b ff.; their *consecration* at 799 a 4 ff.

**b 6 f.** ἐν γράμμασι μὲν ὄντα, ἀνεν δὲ μέτρων: i.e. the subjects taught by the γραμματιστῆς; μέτρα stands for the *musical* part of education; cp. *Symp.* 205 c τὸ περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν καὶ τὰ μέτρα. Translators are wrong, I think, in making these words mean merely "written matter which is in prose."—χρή σοι is Schneider's

admirable correction of the MS. χρήσοι; the earlier editions saw something was wrong, and wrote χρήσει; Stallb., Zürr., Wagn., and Herm. stubbornly retain the inept fut. opt. The σοι is the same "ethical" dat. which we have in αὐτῷ at b 2 and in σοι at d 8.

c 1. καίτοι κτλ.: this sentence is a limitation of the οὐκ εἰρήκαμεν. He had treated *one* subject of education at least which does not come under the head of *music*: i.e. the preparation for a *soldier's* work, described at 794 c ff.

c 2. From τὰ δέ to ἀπεργάζονται in d 7 is a string of subjects summed up in the ταῦτα of d 8.

c 3. τὰ γράμματα is here "reading and writing."

c 4. ἔφαμεν: he refers particularly to his notable encomium of Mathematics at 747 b 1 ff., where he mentions its usefulness πρὸς τε οἰκονομίαν καὶ πρὸς πολιτείαν.—I would follow Burnet in rejecting the comma which all other editors place after δεῖν, and make the gen. ὧν depend on ὅσα—ὅσα χρῆναι being the reported-speech form of ὅσα χρή; we may translate, "of which studies I said that we ought to have not only all that everybody needed for soldiering and house management and public administration, but also such of the information about the courses of the heavenly bodies as is useful for these same purposes. I mean all the knowledge about the stars and sun and moon, all the arrangements that have to be made in connexion with them by every state."

d 1 ff. τίνων . . . ἀπεργάζονται: Stallb. was the first to see that this is a parenthesis. Wagner believes the parenthesis to be spurious.—L has in δὴ preserved for us the right reading as against the δέ of A and O.

d 3. εἰς ἕκαστον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, "into each recurring year"; the τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν of O<sup>2</sup> was clearly a scribe's correction.

d 4 f. τὰ προσήκοντ' . . . ἄγεσθαι, "receiving each their due recognition because they fit in to nature's round."

d 5 ff. ζῶσαν . . . καὶ ἐργηγορυῖαν . . . μᾶλλον ἐμφρονας: Ritter well compares the language at 747 b, 808 b, and 819 c. Mathematics wakes up the sluggish mind; the necessity for the due observance of the calendar keeps the public mind alert in the same way.

d 8. Ficinus, and all edd. down to Ast, read οὕτω with no MS. authority; Cod. Ric. 67 read οὕπω.

e 3. τί: Schneider was the first to see that this is a question and τόδε the answer.

e 4. πότερον κτλ.: a repetition of the ποῖα καὶ τίνα τρόπον of b 7.

**e 7.** Bekker's emendation of the MS. *μὲν τοίνυν* to *μέντοι νῦν* has been largely adopted; cp. however Arist. *Pol.* i. 1256 b 37 where *μὲν τοίνυν* occurs as a variety for *μὲν οὖν*.—*εἰς μὲν γράμματα*: the asyndeton is explanatory.—For *εἰς* "with regard to" cp. 774 b 4 and 775 a 7 *εἰς χρήματα*.—The whole sentence is a study in conversational compression.

**810 a 2.** *πατρί μηδ' αὐτῷ*: we owe the *μηδ'* for the MS. *μήτ'* to Bekker. (Schneider keeps *μήτ'* and supplies *ἐξέστω ποιέισθαι* with *πατρί*.)—Ritter (p. 408) well compares with this phrase the *πάντ' ἄνδρα καὶ παῖδα* at 804 d. Both doubtless were proverbial expressions for "everybody"; but the special reference here is to the possibility of the *father's* wishing to interfere with the school-master; cp. above, 804 d 3.

**a 3.** *φιλομαθοῦντι*: *nobody* according to Plato, however much he likes music, is to be a musical virtuoso, unless, we may suppose, he means to teach music. Cp. above 669 e 5 ff.—The epexegetic *μείζω μήτε ἐλάττω* (*διατριβήν*) is superfluous and irregular after the previous *μήτε πλείω μήτε ἐλάττω* (*ἔτη*), but possible in a conversational style.—F.H.D. believes *μείζω μηδὲ ἐλάττω* to be a "gloss"; also quite possible.

**a 4.** *παράνομον*: a proleptically used epithet of *διατριβήν*. Ficinus's "*contempta lege*" looks as if he might have read *παρὰ νόμον*—which occurs below at 941 a 7.

**a 5.** *παιδεῖών* is probably "bestowed on school-children," not, as L. & S., "paid by children." What these marks of approbation are he evidently means to tell us later, though he does not do so.

**a 7.** The sentence gains greatly in point if, with Ritter, we write *αὐτός* for the MS. *αὐτό*. "What the children have got to learn . . . you yourself have got to learn first." Cp. above (809 a 6) the statement that the *παιδείας ἐπιμελητής* has himself to be "instructed." There is no point in the emphatic *αὐτό* here.

**b 1.** Ed. Lov. adopts the early correction *μανθάνειν* for *μανθάνε*. *τό* does not go with *δυνατὸν εἶναι* (as Stallb.), nor with *διαπονεῖν*, but with *μέχρι*, as in the phrases *τὸ ἐπ' ἐμοί, τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ* (Hdt. iii. 10), *τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα, τὸ ἐπὶ τούτῳ* (cp. Heind. on *Gorg.* 512 e). So, acc. to Ast (*Lex.* s.v. *μετά*), at *Tim.* 42 d *τὸ μετὰ τὸν σπόρον* is merely "after the sowing," not "*what came after the sowing*" (as Archer-Hind).—*τοῦ*, then, goes not with *γράφαι* and *ἀναγνῶναι*, but with *δυνατὸν εἶναι*.

**b 2.** *διαπονεῖν*, "practise" (cp. on 795 c 1).—Exceptional proficiency in speed or elegance would apply to *writing* more than to *reading*.

**b 3 f.** *τισιν, οἷς μή*: a variety for *ὅσοις μή*.—*οἷς μή φύσις ἐπέσπευσεν ἐν τοῖς τεταγμένοις ἔτεσιν*, “whose natural powers do not, within the set period, develop specially fast.” Probably *ἐπέσπευσεν* is intransitive and a gnomic aorist.

**b 4–812 b 2.** The next two pages deal with the *choice of literature* to be used in the instruction of the young. We are told two things under this head: (1) that *some* of the literature available for such a purpose is *harmful*; (2) that teachers could not do better than take Plato's *Laws*, or some book like it, for a reading-book.

**b 4.** *πρὸς δὲ δὴ κτλ.*: this sentence has been very variously translated. I would suggest: “Now with respect to instruction in literature which has no musical accompaniment—literature provided by composers either in verse, or without rhythmical partitions, which are treatises merely uttered as spoken words, destitute of metre or tune—some of the numerous authors of this kind have provided us with literature which is harmful.” With *ἃ* we have to supply *ἐστί*; *ποιητῶν* depends on *γράμμασι*; *ῥυθμῶν* is a gen. of definition, and so = *ῥυθμικῶν* (Bywater on *Ar. Poet.* 1447 a 29 condemns *ῥυθμῶν τμημάτων*, which seems a harmless variant for *μέτρων*, as a blundering copy of a gloss *ῥυθμῶν τητώμενα*, the original text being *τοῖς δ' ἄνευ*—Steph. says there was a reading *ἄνευ τούτων*); *κατὰ λόγον* is used in about the same sense as *καταλογάδην* below at 811 e 3; *εἰρημένα* is “*spoken*,” not “*called*”; the main sentence then is *σφαλερὰ γράμματ' ἐστὶν παρά τινων καταλελειμένα*.

**c 7.** *ὀρθῶς ὑπέλαβες*: i.e. “you are right in supposing me to be ‘really’ at a loss.”

**d 5.** *τί δέ*; “you surprise me” (“hoity toity!”). Stallb. writes it *τί δαί* on the authority, he says, of O and a correction in A.—L gives us an easy reading in *ὀλίγα*, and most edd. have adopted it. But the *ὀλίγου* of A and O gives great probability to Hermann's conjecture that the original reading was *ὀλίγον* (adv.). He refers to Stallb.'s note on *Phaedo* 79 d, where several instances are cited from Plato of adv. and adj. both accompanying the same verb.

**d 8.** *τῆς αὐτῆς ὁδοῦ*: Stallb. takes this gen. to be governed by *ἀνιέντα* in e 4. But *τὴν νῦν τετμημένην ὁδόν* must be the same ὁδός, and this means that there has been a complete break in the construction. That the sentence begins over again on a different pattern at *μεθ' ὧν* is clear. Burnet marks off from *ἴσως* to *χείροσί γε* as a parenthesis. One question that has to be settled



is what τῆς αὐτῆς means. Is it, as apparently Stallb., Schneider, and Burnet take it, "*the same way as that which we have travelled before*," or, as I think Wagner takes it, "*the way which is at once hateful to some and pleasing to others*"? I believe that the latter is the true explanation, and that we ought not to mark the parenthesis as Burnet does, but, with Wagner, to separate off, by colons or parenthesis marks, only from εἰ δὲ to χείροσί γε.—L has preserved the almost necessary δ' after ἴσως; it was omitted by A and O, though mentioned in the margin of O.—We may translate: "Very true. In fact you tell me, as I understand, finding that the same road which is abominable in some eyes is favoured by perhaps as many—and if not by as many, at all events by men no worse than they—you bid me, I say, associate myself with the latter, and go venturesomely and bravely along the path we have now laid down as the result of our present discussions—to proceed, and not to flinch."

**e 6.** The τε is, as often, slightly displaced; strictly speaking it should come after ἐπὼν. There is no need, with Ast, to substitute γε for it.

**e 9.** All the edd. up to Steph. have δεινοί for O's δεῖν οἱ. Ficinus also read δεινοί, and so wrote the first hand of A, and the corrector of O. Ast restored the right reading by conjecture.—οἱ πολλάκις μυρίοι: in this repetition (see d 3) there surely lurks a hint of contempt for "the many-headed multitude."

**e 11.** πολυηκόους τ' ἐν ταῖς ἀναγνώσεσιν ποιοῦντας καὶ πολυμαθεῖς, "making them cultivated and widely learned by means of their readings." For ἐν used where we should say "by" or "with" cp. above on 660 a 4 and 805 c 6, and Ast, *Lex.* s.v.

**811 a 1.** I think ἐκμανθάνοντας is said of the pupils, not the teachers "(to the extent of) learning through whole poets by heart."—οἱ δέ: as if we had had οἱ μὲν ποιοῦσι instead of ποιοῦντας; some teachers make their pupils learn *all* a poet's works; others make them learn selected extracts only.

**a 4.** What Plato thought about the dangers attending πολυπειρία καὶ πολυμαθία may be seen below at 819 a 5 and *Phaedr.* 275 a 7 πολυήκοοι γάρ σοι γεγόμενοι ἀνευ διδαχῆς, πολυγνώμονες εἶναι δόξουσιν, ἀγνώμονες ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὄντες, καὶ χαλεποὶ συνείναι, δοξόσοφοι γεγονότες ἀντὶ σοφῶν. Cp. also *Athen.* xiii. 610 b, and Anaxarchus in *Clem. Strom.* i. 5. 35 πολυμαθὴν κάρτα μὲν ὠφελείη κάρτα δὲ βλάβηται τὸν ἔχοντα.

**b 2.** τούτων: i.e. τῶν ποιητῶν.

**b 4.** κίνδυνον . . . εἶναι φέρουσαν, "is fraught with danger"

—a curious instance of preference of the participial periphrasis to the simple infin.

**b 8.** For the article qualifying an interrogative sentence cp. *Rep.* 352 d οὐ γὰρ περὶ τοῦ ἐπιτυχόντος ὁ λόγος, ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ ὄντινα τρόπον χρὴ ζῆν. Steph. quite unnecessarily proposes to put a ; after τοῦ.

**c 7.** δεῦρο δὴ ALO, though the η in A is the result of an alteration. I think (*pace* Stallb.) that we must follow Porson on *Eur. Or.* 1679 and adopt the Lexicographers' reading δεῦρ' αἰεί : δεῦρο is *local* and almost always has αἰεί with it when used of *time*. (Possibly at *Tim.* 21 d οὐ διήρκεσε δεῦρο means "is not to be found surviving in the Athens of to-day.")

**c 8 f.** οὐκ ἄνευ τινὸς ἐπιπνοίας θεῶν : probably τινός goes with ἐπιπνοίας, not with θεῶν ; cp. *Rep.* 499 b ἕκ τινος θείας ἐπιπνοίας, and above 738 c 3.

**c 9.** ἀποβλέψας . . . ἔδοξαν . . . μοι : cp. 686 d 8 ἀποβλέψας γὰρ . . . ἔδοξέ μοι.—δ' οὖν, "why!"—ποιήσει τινὶ προσομοίως : the similarity consists (1) in the fact that a poet's production and in the present treatise are *inspired* ; cp. *Phaedr.* 265 b Μουσῶν δ' αὖ ποιητικὴν (ἐπίπνοϊαν), and above 664 d 4, where the old men who tell stories do so διὰ θείας φήμης, and (2) inasmuch as in it is attempted a (more or less close) *μίμησις* of the "ideal" polity—cp. below 817 b 3 πᾶσα . . . ἡμῖν ἡ πολιτεία συνέστηκε μίμησις τοῦ καλλίστου καὶ ἀρίστου βίου ; (3) it is technically a *μίμησις* itself. At *Arist. Poet.* 1447 b 11 οἱ Σωκρατικοὶ λόγοι are mentioned as a kind of *μίμησις* ; cp. *Athenaeus* xi. 505 c who quotes a similar definition from *Arist. Περὶ ποιητῶν*.

**d 1.** οἶον ἀθρόους, "making a whole, as it were."—"Compact," as Mr. Omer says, "in three separate and individual wollums."—μάλα ἡσθῆναι : cp. Thackeray's "my favourite poet" (*Snobs*, ch. xxxiv.)

**d 3.** χύδην οὕτως εἰρημένους has the same meaning as κατὰ λόγον εἰρημένα μόνον at 810 b 6, and the γεγραμμένα καταλογάδῃν of e 2 below.

**d 4.** μετριώτατοι : μέτριος here is "satisfactory," or "sufficient" ; cp. *Tim.* 18 b μισθὸν . . . ὅσος σῶφροσι μέτριος.—For τὰ μάλιστα as a variant for μάλιστα cp. above 794 d 1.

**d 5.** νομοφύλακί τε καὶ παιδευτῇ : not two persons (as Stallb. and Jowett), but one—i.e. the παιδείας ἐπιμελητὴς πάσης of 765 d 4 and 808 e 8. He was spoken of at b 6 as τῷ νομοφύλακι ; at 812 e 10 he is called ὁ παιδευτής, and at 835 a 3 παιδευτὴς τῶν νέων.

**d 7.** ἢ ταῦτά τε διδάσκειν παρακελεύεσθαι τοῖσι διδασκάλοις τοὺς παῖδας, "(I cannot, that is, do better than tell him) to advise the teachers to teach the boys this book." Formally these words are an explanation of what is meant by τούτου, but really they are not; for τούτου is merely "*this example*," whereas the recommendation is of *a course of action connected with the example*.—This τε and that in the following line connect παρακελεύεσθαι and μὴ μεθίεναι. The Minister of Education is (1) to direct the teachers to use the *Laws* as a reading-book, and (2) to do his very best to search for, and provide other literature of the same kind and tendency.

**e 4.** ἀδελφά που τούτων τῶν λόγων: the simplest explanation of these words is that they qualify λεγόμενα, and mean "a dialogue *just like* our present discussion"—the resemblance being in the point that they were *only heard, and not written down*.—περιτυγχάνη is used absolutely as at *Symp.* 221 a.—The νόμων for λόγων of O's second hand—which the earlier edd. down to Steph. adopted—can hardly be a genuine tradition. It is a very natural suggestion for a commentator to make who realized that Νόμοι was the title of the λόγοι in question.

**812 a 1 ff.** διδάσκειν τε καὶ παιδεύειν: cp. below, b 7 διδασκαλίας . . . καὶ παιδεύσεως: not a mere repetition of the same idea.—οὗτός μοι μῦθος ἐνταῦθα . . . τελευτάτω . . . εἰρημένος: one could fancy that Plato had in mind Θ 524 μῦθος δ' ὃς μὲν νῦν ὑγίης, εἰρημένος ἔστω. For μῦθος as compared with λόγος see above on 645 b 1, and Ritter p. 13.

**a 4.** ὑπόθεσις and ὑποτεθῆναι are here used rather in the sense of "*task*" and "*to be undertaken*," or "*laid down*," than in the usual meanings of "*assumption*" and "*to be assumed*"; so that Cleinias's words mean: "As far as our original *intention* goes, we seem to have kept within the bounds of the subjects we *set* ourselves to discuss." (So Ficinus and Schneider, and, apparently, Jowett—otherwise Wagner and L. & S.)

**a 8.** ὁ πολλάκις εἰρήκαμεν: e.g. at 718 b 2 ff, and 768 d 5.

**b 3.** προσρητέος preserves the lively tone of 809 b 7, where the Minister of Education was, in fancy, addressed.

**b 5.** ἡμᾶς δοκῶ . . . ἀναμνησθέντας . . . νείμαι: cp. Thuc. ii. 3. 2 καὶ ἐνόμισαν ἐπιθέμενοι ῥαδίως κρατῆσαι. So after ἐλπίζω and ἐλπίς ἐστίν (Burnet on *Phaedo* 67 b 8), and εἰκός ἐστίν (Classen on Thuc. i. 81. 6) we regularly find an aor. infin. of a future event. At *Prot.* 316 c 1 all the MSS. read τοῦτο δὲ οἶεται οἱ μάλιστα γενέσθαι, εἰ σοὶ συγγένοιτο, though there

Burnet follows Steph. and Hirschig in inserting *ἄν* with *γενέσθαι*. In our present passage, as in Thuc. ii. 3. 2, the participle helps to fix the time of the action described by the infin. If *δοκῶ νείμαι* meant, as Schneider has it, "ut videtur, assignavimus," then *ἀναμνησθέντας* must be "when we called to mind," not, as he puts it, "si memores sumus." Cp. above on 692 b 4 and Goodwin, *M. and T.* § 127.

**b 9.** *ἐφαμεν*: i.e. at 670 b 2.—*ἐξηκοντούτας* (A and O wrongly write *-τους*): at 665 b, where the *Διονύσου πρεσβυτῶν χορός* is first introduced to us, its members are spoken of as—not "between 30 and 60," but "over 30 and over 50 and up to 60." There is a suggestion in this that the Dionysiac Choir contained two classes, the functions of the older class being mostly *critical*. This critical division—consisting of men between 50 and 60—is spoken of at 670 b 1 as *τοὺς πεντηκοντούτας*, here, by a very intelligible variety of expression, as *τοὺς ἐξηκοντούτας*. There is no need, with Bergk, to suppose a clerical error.

**c 1.** The *συντάσεις* of L, which attracted the corrector of O, is most likely not a mere clerical error, but the suggestion of a scribe who knew that *σύντασις* was a musical term, but was not clear as to its meaning. *σύστασις* here means "*constitution*," almost "*nature*."—*ἵνα κτλ.*: at 670 b we were told that these old men *must* have exceptionally quick musical perception, that they may be able to judge of the *ὀρθότης τῶν μελῶν*. Generally in the musical discussions of the 2nd Bk. *ὀρθότης* is used of a formal musical correctness or propriety. This correctness implies a higher faculty than that of merely "knowing your notes," but a lower one than that which is needed for determining the *moral* effect of the different styles of music. But already in Bk. II. there is one passage which introduces the highest of these three considerations in connexion with the functions and capabilities of these older "singers" (670 d 6) *ἵνα ἄδοντες αὐτοί τε ἡδονὰς τὸ παραχρήμα ἀσινεῖς ἡδωνται καὶ τοῖς νεωτέροις ἡγεμόνες ἡθῶν χρηστῶν ἀσπασμοῦ προσήκοντος γίνωνται*. Here the use of *προσήκοντος* links the *moral* notion with that of mere formal *ὀρθότης*. In our present passage apparently the moral function of this critical class is alone considered. If so the *εὖ καὶ κακῶς* of c 2 are to be interpreted, like the *εὖ* of 669 b 1, as of *moral*, not musical significance—the *εὖ μεμνημένη μίμησις* being identified below with *τὰ τῆς ἀγαθῆς ψυχῆς ὁμοιώματα*, and the *κακῶς* with the opposite.

**c 2.** *τῶν μελῶν* is a gen. of "*definition*," equivalent to *musical* or *vocal*.—In *μίμησιν* L, the 2nd and 3rd hands of A, and the



margin of O have preserved the correct reading as against the κίνησιν of A and O. The early printed edd. read κίνησιν. Ficinus apparently read μίμησιν ("ut in cantibus affectus animi imitantibus, probi animi imitationes ab imitationibus improbi discernere possint").—ἐὺ and κακῶς are thus used in a *moral* sense.—ἐν τοῖς παθήμασιν ὅταν ψυχὴ γίγνηται: another, and a loosely constructed qualification of μίμησιν: it is to be of a sort which stirs *emotions* (i.e. "ἐλέου καὶ φόβου")—lit. "when a soul is stirred by the emotions it (ἡ μίμησις) can produce."

c 5. ὑμνῇ καὶ ἐπάδῃ: cp. 666 c 5, where also a member of this Dionysiac Choir is the subject: ἀρ' οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλοι προθυμότερον . . . ᾄδειν τε καὶ . . . ἐπάδειν;

c 7. διὰ τῶν μιμήσεων: probably this goes with ἐπεσθαι—"to join their company in pursuing virtue by means of the said μιμήσεις."

d 1. τούτων χάριν: i.e. "with a view to the attainment of virtue."

d 2. σαφηνείας ἕνεκα τῶν χορδῶν, "in order to take advantage of the distinctness which the strings give." In other words, the lyre is to be used to *emphasize* the notes of the song. Therefore, as he goes on to explain, the music must follow the voice in unison, not taking a separate part (ἑτεροφωνίαν), nor with two or more shorter musical notes to one vocal one (ποικιλίαν). The following words (ἄλλα μὲν κτλ.) explain the particular ways in which this ποικιλία might be produced. The *tune*, as composed by the poet, is supposed to have comparatively few notes, to be in slowish time, and low down in the register; whereas the complicated *variation*, which he is condemning, has many notes, is in quick time, and high up in the register.

d 6. πυκνότητα: cp. πυκνώματα at *Rep.* 531 a, with Adam's note. The proceeding here described is possibly the insertion between two notes of the song (which differed by one or more whole tones) of notes differing by half a tone, or even less.

e 1. [καὶ ἀντίφωνον]: these words are due to the third hand in A, and the second in O. Aristotle (*Probl.* 921 a 7 ff.) tells us that τὸ ἀντίφωνον is the technical term for συμφωνία διὰ πασῶν (between pairs of notes an octave apart). This is less technically expressed by Plato here as ὀξύτητα βαρύτητι σύμφωνον. The bracketed words are clearly the insertions of a musician, who did not see that they spoiled the sentence. If they are retained, σύμφωνον and ἀντίφωνον are confined to ὀξύτητα, whereas σύμφωνον alone will go with πυκνότητα and τάχος as well.

(Ficinus translates the words, though he misapprehends ἀντίφωνον as Hesychius does, who gives ἐναντίοφωνα as an explanation of ἀντίφωνα; Ficinus's translation is "*dissonum*."—παρεχομένους and προσαρμόττοντας agree formally with τόν τε κιθαριστήν καὶ τὸν παιδευόμενον, though applying really only to the former. As applied to music ῥυθμός denotes the rhythm of the piece. This, he says, must not be complicated and elaborate.

e 4. τὸ τῆς μουσικῆς χρήσιμον ἐκλήψεσθαι διὰ τάχους, "to reap the benefit of a musical education without loss of time."

e 5. τὰ γὰρ ἐναντία . . . παρέχει: (as we should express it), "inconsistency (in what is learnt) begets distaste in the learner, because it complicates the subject." δυσμάθεια is not a quality of the *subject*, but a state of mind of the *pupil*, as is shown by the following injunction to encourage docility above all things in the young, in view of the "many important things" which they *must* learn. Cf. the curiously contradictory doctrine of 816 d 9 and *Rep.* 524 d 3.—The Lexx. recognize no form but *δυσμαθία*, though they give *εὐμάθεια* as the regular form and *εὐμαθία* as a poetic variant. The MS. evidence is conflicting. A.M.A. would prefer to translate ἐναντία by "diverse musical parts"—vocal and instrumental respectively.

e 9. ἅμα τῷ χρόνῳ is equivalent to "with the help of experience."

e 10. ὁ παιδευτής: i.e. the Minister of Education.—μέλη and ῥήματα are contrasted with the *instrumental* music; μέλη stands here for ῥυθμός and ἁρμονία.

813 a 1. ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν: i.e. 798 d 7–802 d 6, especially 790 a and b.—δῆ, "you remember."

a 3. (ἡδονήν) εὐτυχῇ: the indulgence in pleasure would be "blessed" to them, because it would make them better men and women. This same notion recurs in ὠφελεῖν here, and in the μετὰ τύχης εὐμενοῦς at a 6.

a 5. Schneider was the first to see that we ought to put a full stop after τοίνυν.

a 6. ὁ περὶ τὴν μῦσιν ἄρχων αἰρεθείς: probably the official described at 764 e 3–6.

a 7. Here we pass to the subject of ὀρχηστική, which, as we were told at 794 c, is begun at the age of six.

a 8. ἀποδῶμεν, "make a contribution"; the extraordinary absence of an object is partially compensated for by the parallel sentence which follows: there ἀπέδομεν has an object. In the same way the extraordinary "bald" genitive γυμναστικῆς in the

next sentence gets a little covering from the accompaniment of the preceding gen. μουσικῆς. A final revision would certainly have mended this rough sentence. H. Steph.'s καί before καθάπερ does not help. The asyndeton is quite in place as an explanatory one. (I would propose to mend the text by placing a comma after εἰρημένοισι, rejecting ποιῶμεν and transferring ἀποδῶμεν to the end of the sentence.)

b 1. μουσικῆς τὸ διδασκαλικόν: Plato makes it clear that, in the present book, he is concerned principally with the *pedagogic* aspect of his subjects.

b 7. ἂν εἶεν: all interpreters but Cornarius take this to mean "there will be" or "we shall have," making οὐκ ἀνεπιτηδειότερον qualify διαπονεῖν adverbially. Cornarius, however, makes οὐκ ἀνεπιτηδειότερον the predicate to ἂν εἶεν—"will be a suitable arrangement"; πρὸς τὸ διαπονεῖν (see above on 795 c 1) would then mean "for their practices." The ἔστω in the answer gives support to the singular predicate. Perhaps, however, it is safer to translate "must have dancing teachers so that their exercises may be serviceable to them."

c 2. οὐ πολλὴν ἔξει σχολήν, "will have his hands full."

d 1. τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ μέγεθος: cp. above, 765 e 2.—λογισμῶ συνών: we might say "living in the conviction that . . ."; cp. 791 b 5 δέμασιν συνοῦσα ἐκ νέων, and *Phaedo* 84 a 7 ἐπομένη τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ αἰεὶ ἐν τούτῳ οὔσα. (Apelt, *Progr.* 1905, would emend συνών to συνοῶν.)

d 4. ἐπὶ καινῇ πόλει: to be taken with λέγομεν, "when there is a newly founded city in the case." (Some interpreters take it with σεβόμενοι.)

d 5. εἴρηται: e.g. at 794 c–796 d.

d 8. τοῖς σώμασι διαπότηματα, "bodily exercises"; διαπότημα is here used as the noun to διαπονεῖν in the sense noticed at 795 c 1 and above at b 7.—The following genitives depend on διαπότηματα. In order to avoid a monotonous string of genitives, he varies the last from καὶ πάσης ἵππικῆς (διαπότηματα) to καὶ ὅσα εἰς ἵππικὴν μαθήματα συντείνει, in which phrase the word μαθήματα confirms the educational connotation of διαπότηματα.

e 2. στρατοπεδείσεων: if this is correct, we must supply with it πασῶν from the previous ἀπάσης, thus linking the arrangement of camps, with the arrangement of armies on the march. I believe, though, that Plato wrote στρατοπεδείσεως, which would go naturally with ἀπάσης.

e 3. πάντων γὰρ . . . θηρίων ἐστί: in this long and loosely

constructed sentence Plato repeats the injunction given at 804 c 8--806 c. It looks as if he had returned to the subject of bodily training (1) because he wished to insist that it must be continued for both sexes *after they leave school*, and (2) because he had thought of a further argument by which to recommend it in the case of women.

e 5. *τούτων*: probably masculine, though in e 7 we get back to the neuter of e 4.

e 8. *γυναῖκας δὲ . . . ἡμένας*, "and when they have grown up (they must) have mastered (the art of) . . ."

814 a 2. *εἰ μηδενὸς ἔνεκα, ἀλλ' . . . ἱκανοὺς εἶναι*: lit. "if you cannot find a reason for doing it, still for the sake of their being able, etc." We must suppose that *ἔνεκα τοῦ* has to be supplied in thought with *ἱκανοὺς εἶναι*. (Schneider, reading *φυλάξοντας*, would replace the *τοὺς* before it by *τοῦ*; H. Richards would insert *τοῦ* before *τούς*.)—*πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει* looks very much like a marginal explanation of *πανδημεί* which has got into the text by mistake.

a 4. For the *φυλάξαντας* of A and O, L has *φυλάξοντας*, and all editors have followed L in this. But this does not remove all difficulties. Either (1), with Ast, we must suppose that *τοὺς φυλάξοντας* is "generatim positum," and really means "the women"; or (2) with others, that "the young who are left to guard, and the rest of the city" (Jowett, ed. 2) are somehow to be made capable by the women's training. It seems to me better than either of these assumptions to accept the *φυλάξαντας* of A and O, and transfer the comma from after *στρατεύεσθαι* to after *πόλιν* in a 4. The meaning would then be: "that if the special city-guard ever had to take the field outside, the women might at least be sufficient for this purpose (i.e. for guarding the city and the children)." We must further suppose, either (1) that the MS. *ἱκανούς*, like *μακαρίον* at 803 c 3, is here used exceptionally as an adj. of two terminations; or (2) that we ought to read *ικανάς*. I see that W. R. Paton also proposes the latter way out of the difficulty. (F.H.D. thinks it means *that the city-guard would be able to take the field with the rest, trusting the city's defence to the women.*)

a 5. *ὦν*: for this H. Steph. would, quite unnecessarily, substitute a cacophonous *ὄν*.—*ἀπώμοτον* is used exactly as at *Soph. Ant.* 388—"ὃ ἂν τις ἀπώμοσει μὴ ἂν γενέσθαι," *Etym. Mag.*

a 6. The erroneous variant *βιαία* was probably due to a misread *iota adscriptum*; *βίαιος* is always an adj. of two terminations in Plato. (In A *βία* is written *ῥῶν*.)



a 7. παρασχεῖν depends, by a zeugma, upon εἰ δεήσειε: "or if—all of which is quite conceivable—it happened that there had to be a fight for the city's safety."

b 2. ὥς: for ὥστε.—Aristotle's (*Pol.* 1264 b 4) contemptuous rejection of Plato's similar argument from the analogy of αἱ θηλείαι τῶν φυλάκων κυνῶν (*Rep.* 451 d) amounts to this: "you might as well set *men* to work at οἰκονομία." As Adam's note on *Rep.* 451 d suggests, in any state of Plato's οἰκονομία is not a subject that anyone need work at much.

b 5. δόξαν . . . ἐστί, "fasten on mankind the reputation of being the most cowardly creature in the world." καταχεῖν is almost "bespatter"; cp. above 800 d 2. A's κατασχεῖν is manifestly a thoughtless blunder.

c 1. τοῦ κακοῦ χωρίς, "to say nothing of the mischief of it."

c 2. μέχρι γε τοσούτου: i.e. to the extent indicated above at a 1.

c 6. Stallb. cps. *Rep.* 603 b for τοίνυν in the sense of *iam vero*, *porro*. (At *Gorg.* 459 a—cited for this use by L. & S.—we should probably read *τοι νυνδῆ*.)

c 7. οὐδ' ἐστὶ ῥάδιον κτλ., "it is not easy (to do so) unless you demonstrate it in action while you explain it in words." Probably Plato was conscious that from the first introduction of the subject of γυμναστική, at the end of Bk. II. (673 b ff.), the treatment of the subject had been fragmentary, tautological, and unsystematic, and this is a sort of excuse for it; he cannot, he says, properly explain what he means, until he gets his hearers into a gymnasium, but the one thing he wants to impress upon them about πάλῃ is what he has already said at 796 a ff., i.e. that not "profitless mastery," but "military efficiency" must be the trainer's object.

c 8. τοῦτο . . . κρινοῦμεν, "we will pronounce upon this"; τοῦτο is apparently the question foreshadowed above at 796 a 8 ff. in the words προστακτέον μαθηταῖς τε ἅμα καὶ τοῖς διδάξουσιν, ὅταν ἐνταῦθα ὦμεν τῶν νόμων. In other words he shelves the question of detail.

d 2. τῶν ἄλλων is governed by πέρι.

d 5. οὐκ ἐκείνην ταύτης ἕνεκα μανθάνειν: there is doubtless some rhetorical exaggeration in the supposition that anybody would do military drill merely to win wrestling contests; but it adds point and explicitness to the converse recommendation only to develop the body so far as military drill requires.

d 7. νῦν δὲ τῆς μὲν περὶ παλαιστραν δυνάμεως τὸ μέχρι δεῦρ' ἡμῖν εἰρήσθω: i.e. "so much for the nature and efficiency of

wrestling!" τῆς δυνάμεως depends on τὸ μέχρι δεῦρο. For δύναμις in the sense of *virtue, efficiency* cp. *Gorg.* 456 a πάλαί ἐρωτῶ τίς ποτε ἡ δύναμις ἐστὶ τῆς ῥητορικῆς. (Wagner takes τῆς π. παλ. δυν. to be "die Geschicklichkeit im Ringen," apparently supplying a περί before τῆς; Ast thinks a περί has been lost.)

e 3. With τῶν καλλιόνων we are meant to supply κίνησιν from the context.—ἐπὶ τὸ σεμνόν and ἐπὶ τὸ φαῦλον mean respectively "on the grand side," and "on the ridiculous side." The one representation tries to create admiration, the other ridicule. Cp. *Politicus* 293 e (πολιτείας) οὐ γνησίας . . . ἀλλὰ μεμιμημένας ταύτην, ἃς μὲν ὡς εὐνόμους λέγομεν ἐπὶ τὰ καλλίω, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἐπὶ τὰ αἰσχίονα; so *Symp.* 215 a 5 ἐπὶ τὰ γελοιότερα of a caricature of Socrates, and *Phil.* 40 c 5, where sham pleasure and pain are said to be caricatures of real pleasure and pain—μεμιμημένοι μέντοι τὰς ἀληθεύς ἐπὶ τὰ γελοιότερα.

e 6 ff. τοῦ δὴ σπουδαίου, . . . εἰρηνικὴν . . ., τὴν πολεμικὴν δὴ . . . : in all three sentences we have cases of explanatory asyndeton. Ast was the first to punctuate more fully after ἐμμέτροις. Though right there, he is wrong in inserting ἦν before εἰρηνικὴν and changing the δὴ after πολεμικὴν to δέ.—All through these clauses the chiasmus is conspicuous. Wherever a pair of things is mentioned twice, their order is reversed on the second occasion.—Very likely ALO are right in reading ἐμπλεκέντων instead of the ἐμπλακέντων of L<sup>2</sup> and the vulgate. Schneider is the only editor who follows the MSS.; cp. Curtius, *Gk. Verb.* p. 493 (Engl. trans.).

e 9. There is nothing to be gained by Stallb.'s ἐμμέτρον for ἐμμέτροις; cp. 649 e ἡδονὴν ἔμμετρον.—κατὰ φύσιν with ἂν λέγοι—"appropriately," like κατὰ τρόπον.

815 a 1. ἄλλην οὖσαν τῆς εἰρηνικῆς, "which is quite unlike the peaceful kind"; cp. *Athen.* xiv. 630 d καὶ ἔστιν ὁμοία ἡ μὲν πυρρίχη τῇ σατυρικῇ· ἀμφοτέραι γὰρ διὰ τάχους. πολεμικὴ δὲ δοκεῖ εἶναι ἡ πυρρίχη. ἔνοπλοι γὰρ αὐτὴν παῖδες ὀρχοῦνται. Cp. below on d 5.

a 2. ὀρθῶς: we learn from *Athen.* xiv. 629 f that the word πυρρίχη was also used as the name of a γελοία ὄρχησις; hence perhaps Plato's insistence on the "proper" use of the term.

a 3. εὐλάβειαι πληγῶν καὶ βολῶν, lit. "elusions of blows," stands for "movements by which blows are eluded," and so we can easily supply κινήσεις with the τὰς ταύταις (ταῖς κινήσεσι) ἐναντίας in a 5.

a 4. (καὶ ἐκπηδήσουσιν) ἐν ὕψει καὶ σὺν ταπεινώσει, "whether upwards or of a crouching nature."

a 5. τὰς ἐπὶ τὰ δραστικὰ φερομένας αὖ σχήματα, "(motions) which tend on the other hand to postures of action." For φέρεσθαι ἐπὶ used to express a *bent* or *tendency* cp. *Politicus* 310a5 ἀρετῆς μερῶν . . . ἀνομοίων καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐναντία φερομένων.

a 7. ἐπιχειρούσας MSS., and so all editions. The πολεμικὴ ὄρχησις named *πυρρίχη* has two varieties, the *defensive* and the *offensive*. The former variety is described as *μιμουμένην τὰς εὐλαβείας*, and the latter as *μιμουμένην τὰς ταύταις ἐναντίας (κινήσεις)* "*which*," he goes on, "*aim at representing all kinds of blows*." This, as Stallb. says, involves a "*mira quaedam connexarum notionum confusio*." We should avoid this "*confusio*" if we adopted W. R. Paton's ἐπιχειροῦσαν for ἐπιχειρούσας. (Badham also suggests ἐπιχειροῦσαν, but he alters the rest of the passage out of all recognition.) The asyndeton after σχήματα would be of the ordinary explanatory kind. But the τε is against this, and on the whole the "*confusio*" is perhaps preferable. (Schneider and Wagner connect φερομένας and ἐπιχειρούσας, taking ἔν τε . . . ἀκοντίων with φερόμενας, though differing widely in their translations of that part of the sentence.) [F.H.D. would end the sentence at ἀκοντίων and reject καὶ πασῶν . . . μιμείσθαι.]—τό τε ὀρθὸν κτλ.: in this passage I think we ought to put a colon after εὐτονον, and to take what follows as an explanation: "And the correct in dancing is also the physically bracing; (that is to say) when the representation is a representation of good bodies and good minds, it generally helps to straighten out the limbs of the body, and we regard such representations as correct, and regard one which imitates the opposite of these as incorrect." The general idea of the passage, rightly grasped by Ficinus, is analogous to the rule laid down at 655 b: ἀπλῶς ἔστω τὰ μὲν ἀρετῆς ἐχόμενα ψυχῆς ἢ σώματος, εἴτε αὐτῆς εἴτε τινὸς εἰκόνης, σύμπαντα σχήματα τε καὶ μέλη καλὰ, τὰ δὲ κακίας αὖ τοῦναντίον ἅπαν. (ἀποδεχόμενον (ἔστί)—ἀπ. being used as a passive—is equivalent to the ἀποδεχόμεθα which Ast would substitute for it.—Hermann would emend τοῦναντίον to πον ἐναντίον; but, while it would be wrong to translate τὸ τούτοις τοῦναντίον as if it were τὸ τούτοις ἐναντίον, there is a quite correct and much more suitable meaning to be got out of the words of the MSS. τούτοις is not, vaguely, "that sort of thing," but is "*good bodies and minds*," and the words mean "the representation *which copies* the opposite of these," μιμούμενον being easily supplied from the previous ὅταν μίμημα γίγνηται.—Hermann would also change



ἀποδεχόμενον to ἀποδεχόμενος, making it agree with the far-away τις in ἄν τις ὀρθῶς προσαγορεύοι in a 2.)

**b 3 ff.** τὴν δὲ εἰρηνικὴν . . . διατελεῖ: in this difficult, and somewhat clumsy, sentence it is best (1) to take μὴ κατὰ φύσιν as the opposite to ὀρθῶς—cp. 642 a 3 ἢ κατὰ φύσιν διόρθωσις; (2) to take διατελεῖ closely with ἀντιλαμβανόμενος; (3) to make ἀντιλαμβανόμενος govern τῆς καλῆς ὀρχήσεως, and (4) to make the gen. ἐνόντων ἀνδρῶν depend on πρεπόντως—cp. *Menex.* 239 c 7 πρεπόντως τῶν πραξάντων: “When we come to the non-warlike style, the first question we must ask in each case is this: does the dancer succeed or not in persistently adopting graceful bodily gesture and movement in the dance, in a manner fitting a company of good citizens?”

**c 2 ff.** ὅση μὲν . . . ἐπανιέναι: the general sense of this passage is that the dancing usual in orgiastic and ceremonial representations is of a spurious and doubtful kind, and need not be made the subject of state regulation. The words from ὅση to ἀποτελούντων present great difficulties. I would, with Steph., read περικαθαρμοῦς as one word (cp. below at e 3 the ἐπ’ αὐξῆς of A), and I would further suggest the substitution of αἷς for ᾧς in c 3—omitting the comma after ἐπ.—translating: “All the dancing which is of a Bacchic character, and is practised by people who have to do with those dances by which, under the name of the ‘Nymph,’ the ‘Pan,’ the ‘Silenus’ or the ‘Satyr,’ they ‘mimic,’ as the phrase is, people under the influence of wine, and (practised by) people who are performing ceremonies of so-called (τινας) purification or initiation—all this class of dances, I say . . .” The genitives ἐπομένων and ἀποτελούντων I take to be of exactly the same kind as τιμώντων at d 6 and διαπεφηνότων at e 2. The ᾧς φασιν introduces the *technical* term μιμούνται, which means “represent in the form of a μῖμος.” (If ᾧς be retained it must be a “cognate” acc. with μιμούνται, and if the MS. περὶ καθαρμοῦς be preferred, ἀποτελούντων must have τὰς ὀρχήσεις supplied with it.—Badham (whom F.H.D. would follow) would read ᾧς Νύμφας ἐπονομάζοντες, Πάνας κτλ., “and (is the dance of) the pursuers of those (Bacchanalian) women whom they (the dancers) call Nymphs, and (themselves) represent, as they say, drunken Pans, etc.”—Hermann and others think that the αἰ περὶ τὰ τῶν Κορυβάντων ἰάματα τελοῦσαι at 790 d is conclusive in favour of the MS. περὶ καθαρμοῦς here; but the analogy between that very doubtful passage and the present one is by no means so complete as to warrant this conclusion.)—I take οἱ ταύταις



ἐπόμενοι to be the professional *mime-actors* who personated various mythical characters, and also performed ceremonies of mystic purification or initiation. Cp. Xen. *Symp.* 7. 5, where Socrates suggests that the two dancers should, instead of contorting their bodies, adopt attitudes such as were to be seen in “pictures of Graces, Hours, and Nymphs.”

c 6. τοῦτο τῆς ὀρχήσεως τὸ γένος: two things are strange about this phrase: (1) its early repetition at d 2 below, and (2) the position of the article. At c 6 Ficinus translates by “hoc saltationis genus,” at d 2 by “hoc.” This suggests that he may have read τοῦτο without the four following words at d 2, and does not absolutely exclude the possibility that, as Badham held, τῆς ὀρχήσεως is a later addition at c 6.

c 8. μῆν, as Ast says, takes the place of the δέ to the μέν of c 2; he cps. 663 e 4, 709 b 8, 721 e 5, 723 a 3, 862 a 4, and 903 c 7.

d 2. οὐκ ἔστι πολιτικόν, “is not fit for a civilized community”; cp. above 697 c 2 οὐθ’ ὅσιον οὔτε πολιτικὸν ἂν δρώη πρᾶγμα, and below 854 c 7 ἀνόσια ἔργα καὶ πολιτοφθόρα.—ἐνταῦθα δὲ κείμενον ἔασαντας κείσθαι, “and having thus settled its position, to leave it alone.”

d 3. ἅμα expresses the idea that both these kinds of dance are equally valuable to the state (ἡμέτερον being the opposite of οὐ πολιτικόν).

d 5. The second δέ proceeds as if, instead of ἀπολέμον, we had had οὐ μὲν πολεμικῆς; the contrast is the same as that expressed by ἄλλην οἶσαν τῆς εἰρηνικῆς at a 1. (The early editors replaced the δέ after τό by δῆ, Badham by μὲν οἶν.)

d 6. The τιμών of L is a natural correction, but the τιμώντων of A and O is more in conformity with the other similar genitives in the passage.—ἐν μὲν . . . γιγνόμενον, “will all form a single class, distinguished by a consciousness of well-being.”

e 1. I think the strange αὐτοῦ of the MSS. must be a mistake for αἶ. If not it must stand for τούτου τοῦ γένους, and depend on τὸ μέν.—It is better to take τινῶν with πόνων, and διαπεφευγότων as parallel to τιμώντων, than to make τινῶν διαπεφ. a gen. abs.

e 2 f. τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ἀγαθῶν σωτηρίας οὔσης καὶ ἐπαύξης: the gen. abs. stands loosely for “the kind of dancing indulged in by people when existing blessings are preserved or augmented.”

e 3. ἐπ’ αὔξης A; cp. above on c 5.

e 4. Whether we read κεκτημένον with A and O, or κекτημένων with L, ἐκείνων goes with προτέρας, and probably stands for ἡ τὰς ἐκείνων ἡδονάς. κекτημένων would fall into line with

τιμώντων and διαπεφευγόντων. κερκτημένον seems rather a tame parallel to ἔχον in e 2. I prefer L's reading.

e 7. For γεγυμνασμένος πρὸς ἀνδρείαν cp. above 626 b 5, and *Politicus* 266 c τῷ πρὸς τὸν εὐχερῇ βίον ἄριστα γεγυμνασμένῳ.—In this enumeration of the contrasted mental characteristics, which are outwardly expressed in dancing, we have the usual chiasmic arrangement. κοσμιώτερος contrasts with ἀγύμναστος πρὸς τὸ σωφρονεῖν, and γεγυμνασμένος πρὸς ἀνδρείαν with δειλός; the phrasing is further varied by the attachment of the notion of *training* first to ἀνδρεία, and next to σωφροσύνη.

816 a 1. αὖ is "here again"; this is the *second* deduction as to mental condition to be drawn from the observation of the degrees of energy in dancers.

a 3 ff. ὅλως δὲ . . . σύμπασαν, "every man, when he is making any kind of utterance, be it in song or in speech, is quite unable to keep his body motionless. From this source springs the representation of what is being said by gesture and attitude which has produced the dancer's art in all its varieties." The dance, i.e., is the artistic development of the instinctive movements which accompany any expression of feeling. (In the case of the *mimes* these movements are the only expression.)

a 4. οὐ πᾶνν δυνατός: I think the πᾶνν here qualifies οὐ and not δυνατός. So in effect Wagner, who translates οὐ πᾶνν δυνατός . . . πᾶς by "durchaus keiner . . . ist im Stande." (Prof. H.J. will not allow that οὐ is ever so qualified by a following πᾶνν, and translates: "it is true of everyone that he is not quite capable of keeping his body quiet.")

b 4. αὐτῶν is not, as Stallb. says, "ex abundanti illatum" (like the αὐτόν at 625 a 3), but is emphatic; cp. above on 700 c 6. To ensure graceful dancing it is not enough that the dancers' *circumstances* should be exhilarating; they must *themselves* have self-control and a sense of decency.—All printed texts adopt A's δέ, but the τε of LO and Cod. Voss. seems more natural. The two points are *equally* necessary, though it is particularly the μετρίότης of character which is responsible for the *grace* of the ἐμμέλεια.—ὡς ὀρθῶς . . . ἐπωνόμασε, "(we must commend it when we consider) how correctly and like a true musician he gave the name, whoever he was, and how philosophically he assigned to the whole class the name ἐμμέλεια, or *conciinnity*." ὡς is not "*perquam*" as Ast says; it is the same ὡς as that in b 2, which is either = ὅτι οὕτως after ἐπαινεῖν, or simply "how" after διανοοῦμενον—probably the latter. The ὡς must be repeated

"in sense" with κατὰ λόγον in b 5. (In Ficinus's and Ast's view of the sentence ἔν is not the subject of a suppressed ἐστί, or the object of δεῖ ἐπαινεῖν, but an acc. of inner obj. with ὠνόμασεν.)

b 5. For the connexion of the three ideas of "concinuity," "musical taste," and "philosophic insight" cp. *Soph.* 259 e 1 ἄλλως τε οὐκ ἔμμελές καὶ δὴ καὶ παντάπασιν ἀμούσου τινὸς καὶ ἀφιλοσόφου. Cp. also *Tim. Locr.* 101b ἃ δὲ τεταγμένα ποτὶ λόγως μωσικῶς ἔμμελῆς, ἃ δὲ ἄτακτός τε καὶ ἄλογος ἐκμελῆς τε καὶ ἀνάρμοστος.

b 6. ἔμμελείας: Hesych. s.v. says καὶ Πλάτων ἐπαινεῖ τὴν ὄρχησιν. So far Hesychius's reference might be to our passage, but our knowledge of Plato does not enable us to follow him when he goes on: καὶ φησιν . . . ἣ ἀπὸ τοῦ μέλους ὠνομάσθη ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς τὰ μέλη γίνεσθαι.

b 8. ἐκατέρῳ τὸ πρόπον τε καὶ ἀρμόττον ἐπιθεῖς ὄνομα: we are left to conjecture whence Plato derived πυρρίχη; perhaps from πυρρός "fiery-red," or perhaps from πῦρ.

c 1-d 2. All this is a repetition of what has been said above about ψδαί and ὀρχήσεις at 799 a and 802. This special chapter about dancing seems to have been an afterthought of the author's, introduced here, perhaps, for the sake of the views on the philosophy of dancing expressed at 816 a. — With ἐξηγεῖσθαι τύποις cp. τύπῳ τινὶ διορισάμενον at 802 e 1.

c 4. ἐπὶ πάσας ἐορτὰς τῶν θυσίων ἐκάστη τὸ πρόσφορον: θυσία is here used as an alternative for ἐορτή; so at 799 a 9 καὶ χορείασι ποίαισιν γεραίρειν τὴν τότε θυσίαν.

c 5. οὕτω καθιερώσαντα αὐτὰ πάντα ἐν τάξει: τάξις is the authorized list, "when he has thus given the authority of religion to the complete list." (Badham ingeniously suggests ἂν τάξη for ἐν τάξει.)

d 1. ὁμοίους εἰς δύναμιν ὄντας: cp. above, 741 a 7 ff. τὴν ὁμοιότητα καὶ ἰσότητα καὶ τὸ ταῦτόν καὶ ὁμολογούμενον τιμῶντες κατὰ φύσιν μὴ ἀνιέτε.

d 3 f. τὰ μὲν . . . διαπεπέρανται, "as to the part played by comely bodies and virtuous minds in such choric performances as have been prescribed, no more remains to be said." (Ast makes the οἷας clause the main subject of διαπεπέρανται; but he translates as if he had δεῖ instead of εἴρηται δεῖν.)

d 4. The οἷα of A and O is probably a *lapsus calami*.

d 5 ff. καὶ τῶν . . . κεκωμωδημένα, "and (the part played by) those who devote themselves to the production of ridiculous effects,

secured by speech, song, and dance, and the mimic powers which all these possess.”—τούτων πάντων is a *subjective* gen. (Apparently A originally wrote κατὰ τὰ(s) τούτου τῶν πάντων.—Schneider and Wagner take κεκωμωδημένα with μιμήματα.)

d 9. With πάντων τῶν ἐναντίων we must supply ἀνευ from the preceding words.

e 2. All MSS. and all editions previous to Burnet's give οὐκ ἂν δυνατόν. No one attempts to translate or to justify the ἂν; the margins of O and L record an alternative reading οὐκ ἀδύνατον; this, though a quite untenable reading, weakens the position of the ἂν still further. Burnet's suggestion that what Plato wrote was οὐκ αὖ δυνατόν is a very likely one, and the echoing repetition of αὖ which this involves by no means impossible.

e 3 ff. ἀλλὰ αὐτῶν ἕνεκα τούτων . . . ὅσα γελοῖα, μηδὲν δέον, “(so far from practising them,) the very reason for getting to know what they are like is just to prevent our inadvertently doing something ridiculous when we need not.” This sounds dreadfully solemn, but perhaps he would after all leave us something to laugh at; for the μηδὲν δέον suggests that there *are* occasions when even the philosopher cannot avoid being ridiculous.

e 5 f. δούλοις δὲ . . . προστάττειν: this infin. goes back, I think, to the ποιεῖν οὐ δυνατόν in e 2, some word denoting obligation being supplied in thought with it and the following infinitives.

e 8. μήτε γυναικα μήτε ἄνδρα: i.e. “no *man* any more than any woman.” It is implied in these words that no *woman* would go to see a *comedy*; cp. on 658 d 3.

e 9. καινὸν δὲ αἰεὶ τι περὶ αὐτὰ φαίνεσθαι τῶν μιμημάτων: this has been interpreted in two different ways; it has been taken to mean (1) that there ought always to be *felt* to be something unfamiliar and strange about all comic representation—“semper res nova esse quaelibet harum imitationum videatur” Schneider, and so Wagner; (2) that such unedifying representations should be constantly *changed*, for fear that familiarity might give them too strong a hold on the public mind. The latter view is that of Stallb. and Jowett, and is emphasized by Ritter (p. 190)—cp. above on 797 d 9. On the whole it fits the words better than the former.—περὶ αὐτά, like the περὶ γέλωτα in e 10, and the περὶ τραγωδίαν in 817 a 2, stands for a descriptive gen., and goes closely with μιμημάτων.—Plato had a personal reason for disliking the comic stage; cp. *Apol.* 18 d 1.

817 a 1. τῷ νόμῳ: this refers to the definite injunctions (1) that only slaves were to act in comedy, and (2) that no one comedy



was to be acted often; λόγῳ refers to the *reasons* given for them in the lawgiver's "preface."

a 3. For the superfluous αὐτῶν cp. on 625 a 3.

a 5. φέρωμέν τε καὶ ἄγωμεν: an instance of Plato's fondness for familiar *phrases*, even where they are not used in the ordinary sense; so too *Phaedr.* 279 c 2 and *Plut. De frat. am.* 486 e.

b 2. "All the world's a stage." Plato, however, is not here thinking so much of the *actors* on the "stage" of real life, as of the lawgivers as moulders of the community, and so as "creators" of a "true story"; they have "a kingdom for a stage."—κατὰ δύναμιν goes, as usual, with the superlatives,—which are repeated with βίον in b 4.

b 3. πᾶσα οὖν MSS. and all texts. Prof. I. Bywater (*J. of Phil.* xxxi. p. 204) says "one would expect rather πᾶσα γοῦν—which would make the second clause a modest confirmation of the truth of the first statement." Translators have all taken this view of the relation of the clauses, but neither Ficinus's *nempe*, Schneider's *nimirum*, Wagner's *nämlich*, nor Jowett's *for* can be got out of οὖν. (In A a is so often written α—see above on 814 a 6—and even α, that an α for αγ might easily pass for a simple a. It is curious that at *Phaedr.* 262 b 4 all the early texts down to and including Steph.'s had γίγνεται οὖν οὕτως, where all MSS. have γ. γοῦν οὕτως.

b 6. τῶν αὐτῶν: i.e. "we are both creators of τραγῳδία."

b 7. ἀντίτεχνοί τε καὶ ἀνταγωνισταὶ τοῦ καλλίστου δράματος: the two nouns are generally taken to be synonymous ("rivals and competitors"), and the gen. to denote merely the subject in which they were rivals (cp. *Eur. Tro.* 1006 ἔρωτος ἀνταγωνιστήν, *Arist. Pol.* 1338 b 37 ἀνταγωνιστὰς τῆς παιδείας); but ought we not rather to translate "rival composers, and rival performers (and) of the noblest of dramas"? At *Phaedrus* 269 d Plato uses ἀγωνιστής for "performer," at *Ep.* iii. 321 a 3 for "performer in the theatre"; so *Arist. Probl.* 918 b 27 ὁ μὲν γὰρ ὑποκριτὴς ἀγωνιστὴς καὶ μιμητής, ὁ δὲ χορὸς ἡττον μιμείται. It is not the *same* drama which both are acting; τοῦ καλλίστου δράματος applies only to the "work" of the lawgivers.

b 8. ἀποτελεῖν: used, like our "render," of *performances*, and so appropriately used of a δράμα; cp. above on 668 b 7. Here therefore it is more than "bring about," "compose"; it is "give a representation of," "produce." A "true code of laws" is the χορηγός of the Platonic δράμα.

c 4. ἐπιτρέψειν ἑμῖν: an unnecessary conversational repetition

of *ἐάσειν*, rendered still more irregular by the following *λέγοντας* which goes back to *ὑμᾶς* in c 2. Badham rejects the words as spurious.

c 5. *γυναῖκας*: cp. above on 658 d 3.

c 6. *ἐπιτηδευμάτων*: probably "*pursuits*"; Fic. translates by "*rerum*"; most interpreters take it to mean "*institutions*," for which sense cp. 780 c 2 τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα τὸ τῶν συσσιτίων.—It is strange that both A and O should omit the τό before πολύ—manifestly a scribe's error—and that only O<sup>2</sup> should make the correction.

d 1. *ἡμεῖς τε καὶ ἅπανα ἡ πόλις*, *ἡτισοῦν ὑμῖν ἐπιτρέποι*: all previous editors except Burnet write *ἡτις οὖν* as two words. I conclude from Burnet that A at all events writes it as one. There is no need, with Winckelmann, to write *ἡτις ἄν*: *ἡτισοῦν ἐπιτρέποι* might well stand, in conversational style, for "if there *were* a city so foolish as to . . ." (Badham would emend *ἅπανα πόλις, εἰ ἡτισοῦν*.) The opt. is the same assimilated opt. as at a 47 ὡς ἀπόλοιτο καὶ ἄλλος, ὃ τις τοιαῦτά γε ῥέξοι.

d 3. *λέγειν εἰς τὸ μέσον* depends on *ἐπιτήδεια*.

d 4 ff. *ἐπιδείξαντες . . . δώσομεν ὑμῖν*: "a bold anacoluthon" (Stallb.). All other interpreters make *ἐπιδείξαντες* agree regularly with the subj. of *δώσομεν*. *ἐπιδείξαντες* describes much better the action of the poets than that of the city's representatives, though *παρὰ τὰς ἡμετέρας* makes slightly the other way, as the foreign poets would not be in the position to submit *both* productions to the judicial committee.

d 6. *τὰ αὐτά γε ἢ καὶ βελτίω*: in other words, "if your ideals are the same as, or better than, ours."

e 2. *χωρὶς μὲν . . . δεσποτῶν*: this addition is surprising. It seems to imply that the necessity for making separate regulations for masters and servants had been already dwelt on at some length. The only recent passage to which it can refer is that at 816 e 5, where comedy-acting is assigned to *δούλοις καὶ ξένοις ἐμμίθοις*. The separation of the two classes is still in the author's mind at the beginning of the next section, as is shown by the words *τοῖς ἐλευθέροις* at e 5.

e 6. *λογισμοὶ μὲν καὶ τὰ περὶ ἀριθμοὺς ἐν μᾶθημα*: cp. *Rep.* 525 a 6 *λογιστικὴ τε καὶ ἀριθμητικὴ περὶ ἀριθμὸν πᾶσα*. For the distinction between *λογιστικὴ* and *ἀριθμητικὴ* see Adam on *Rep.* 525 a, and Thompson on *Gorg.* 451 c. The subject is an obscure one; anyhow Plato makes the two one science here.

e 7. *βάθος*, as Ritter says (p. 221 f.), is here used in the sense

of *solidity*, not merely *height*, or *depth* (which is merely *lineal*, like width). *πλάτος* in the same way is *surface*, not merely *breadth*. The dictionaries recognize the latter meaning, but not the former.

ε 8. πρὸς ἄλληλα ὡς πέφυκεν πορεύεσθαι: these words explain what is meant by *περίοδος*.

818 a 1. ὡς ἀκριβείας ἐχόμενα, "in all their minute details"; cp. above 810 b ἀπηκριβῶσθαι.

α 3. προϊόντες ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει φράσομεν: cp. above 812 e δείξει δὲ αὐτὰ προϊὼν ὁ λόγος ἅμα τῷ χρόνῳ. (Badham argues that when a man is *at the end* he cannot be *going on*, and therefore rejects προϊόντες. This argument would condemn ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει as well; for when a man has come *to the end of saying*, he will not be *saying* anything.) Ritter (p. 215) says we are here referred to the description, which begins at 961 a, of the formation of the νυκτερινὸς ξύλλογος, which is to be the νοῦς of the state. See specially 964 e 2 ff. τῶν δὲ φυλάκων τοὺς μὲν νέους οἷον ἐν ἄκρᾳ κορυφῇ, ἀπειλεγμένους τοὺς εὐφρεστάτους, ὀξύτητας ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ψυχῇ ἔχοντας . . . τοὺς δὲ νῶ ἀπηκασμένους . . . τοὺς γέροντας. —οὕτω γὰρ πρέπον ἂν εἴη: Burnet's parenthesis-marks before οὗς and τῷ πλ. seem to make these words apply to the reservation of the selection; so Wagner. Most interpreters make them apply to the statement that such a selection must be made; but Burnet's comma after τῷ πλήθει δέ in the next line, by separating τῷ πλήθει from ἀναγκαῖα, throws it back on πρέπον, and suggests that Burnet too takes πρέπον to apply to the selection of the fit few.

α 4. Burnet's comma after δέ does not necessarily imply that ἀναγκαῖα has the *absolute* meaning corresponding to that of τὸ ἀναγκαῖον at α 7. I think ἀναγκαῖα here means "necessary (for people) to learn," cp. 643 c 3 τῶν μαθημάτων ὅσα ἀναγκαῖα προμεμαθηκέναι, and that with τῷ πλήθει we have to supply πρέπον ἂν εἴη. "What is proper for the multitude to study is just as much of these studies as is needful,—about which it is, I think, most truly said that it is a disgrace for ordinary people not to know them, though everybody would find it difficult, or even impossible, to study them in all their detail." πάντα is acc. sing. masc.; all translators but Jowett make it acc. neut. plur. From ὅσα (nom.) we have to supply an acc. ᾧ to go with ἐπίστυσθαι μὲν and ζητεῖν δέ. (Ritter takes τῷ πλήθει with ἀναγκαῖα, and puts a comma after λέγεται, translating καὶ πῶς ὁρ. λέγ. "und gewissermassen in besonders bedeutsamen Sinn (nämlich in absolutem) als nothwendig bezeichnet wird." Hermann makes πῶς; an interrogative introducing (a dependent) λέγεται.)



—I am much drawn to Ritter's interpretation, but am unable to decide.)

**a 7.** τὸ δὲ ἀναγκαῖον αὐτῶν οὐχ οἶόν τε ἀποβάλλειν: as Ritter says (p. 215) ἀναγκαῖον has here the *absolute* meaning. The truths of mathematics are in a sense *necessary* truths. The connexion of the sentence with what precedes seems to be this: "Whatever we leave out, there is one thing we cannot get rid of, and that is the binding nature of mathematical truth; in a sense (which is hard to understand) it is binding even on the Deity."

**b 1 f.** At *Prot.* 345 d Plato quotes Simonides's words literally: ἀνάγκη δ' οὐδὲ θεοὶ μάχονται. The expression ὁ τὸν θεὸν πρῶτον παροικιασάμενος seems to imply that Simonides himself was quoting what was already a proverbial saying.

**b 3.** ὅσαι θεαί γε κτλ.: a grammatically irregular but quite intelligible explanation of εἰς ταῦτα. In translating we should put in "he meant, namely."—Ritter (p. 213) points out that the *θεία ἀνάγκη* spoken of at 780 e is of a quite different kind from that here discussed. There the compulsion was exercised by gods on men: here it is felt by the gods themselves.—Porson on *Med.* 863 pronounces *duplex γε* to be *valde invenustum*, Jebb on *Oed. Col.* 977 says "there is no objection to a doubled γε where each of two words in the same sentence is to be emphasized" (*Hdt.* i. 187). Cp. Stallb. on *Philebus* 62 e 6, where T has γε for the usually received τι. The γε after τῶν here is due to Heindorf; it was previously suggested by Cod. Voss. Stobaeus omits the word, and so would Steph. The MSS. have τῶν τε.—ἐπεὶ is *whereas*; cp. above on 794 d 7, and 669 b 6.

**b 4.** τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων (ἀναγκῶν): for this gen. with λόγος cp. *Politicus* 285 d τὸν τῆς ὑφαντικῆς λόγον. He means that it is the height of folly to say that there is no fighting against such *human* necessities as the proverb generally has in view.

**b 7.** αἱ μὴ τοιαῦται stands for αἱ μὴ ἀνθρώπιναι.—ἀνάγκαι τῶν μαθημάτων: the limiting gen. is important. The question is not: "what kind of necessity *in general* is binding upon the Divine nature?" but "what *intellectual*, or *scientific* necessity is so binding?"

**b 9 ff.** The answer is hard for us to understand, though apparently Cleinias did not find it so. The *Ath.* seems to say that if a superhuman being is to stand in any effectively beneficial relation to *men* there are certain intellectual necessities which he must not only *μαθεῖν* to some extent, but *πράξει*. It is especially hard to see what *πράξει* means here with ἀνάγκας as its object.



Ritter (p. 213) translates *πράξαι* by *schaffen*: Plato means, he thinks, that God *is the author of a necessity binding upon himself*; and he further explains this by saying that “*mathematical necessity*—in other words the unchangeable fixed relations between the elements of mathematics—is a piece of the divine essence itself. I think Ritter is right in his translation of *πράξαι*, but, in modification of his view, would suggest that while the *μηδὲ αὖ μαθὼν τὸ παράπαν*, “if he be utterly unconscious of,” belongs to the *δαίμων* or *ἥρω*s, *πράξας* is said of the supreme Deity, and denotes the creation *in us men* of the faculty of realizing mathematical necessity. Cp. *Epin.* 978 c 4 *παρὰ δ’ ἡμῖν τοῦτ’ αὐτὸ πρῶτον ἐνώκισεν ὁ θεὸς ὥστε ἱκανοὺς εἶναι δεικνύμενον συννοεῖν*. Possibly also the words *οἷος δυνατὸς ἀνθρώπων ἐπ. σ. σπ. ποιέσθαι* apply only to the *δαίμων* or *ἥρω*s. Mathematics, then, and Astronomy are with Plato a kind of consecrated ground on which the divine stoops to man, and man (c 3 f.) rises to the divine. It should be noticed that the whole statement is introduced by *δοκῶ μὲν*. The speaker knows he is venturing on mysterious ground. (The question raised here is analogous to the early Christian speculations as to the inability of the Deity to do anything wrong, or leave undone anything right.)—(Previous translations of *πράξαι* here are *experiri* Fic., *vita et moribus exprimere* Serranus, *agere* Schn., *ausüben* Wagn., *have use of* Jowett.)—F.H.D. believes *πράξας* to be corrupt. Cp. Burnet, *Gk. Philosophy*, chap. xvi.

c 3. The subj. of *ἀν δεήσειεν* is not *ἄνθρωπος*, but the “being,” the indeterminate *τις* of b 9, with which *δυνάμενος* in c 5 agrees. For *ἄνθρωπος θεῖος γενέσθαι* cp. *Rep.* 500 c 9 *θείῳ δὴ καὶ κοσμίῳ ὁ γε φιλόσοφος ὁμιλῶν κόσμιός τε καὶ θεῖος εἰς τὸ δυνατόν ἀνθρώπων γίγνεται*.

c 4 ff. It looks at first as if, of the three above-mentioned sciences of Arithmetic, Geometry, and Astronomy, he here specifies the first and last, omitting the second; but an examination of *Epinomis* 978 c 6 ff. suggests that he is here still talking only of Arithmetic. There the Ath. says God *teaches us to count* by forcing us to notice (1) the changes of day and night, and (2) the number of days it takes for the moon to go through her changes.

c 6. *νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν διαριθμεῖσθαι*, “to mark off night and day as separate units.”

d 1 ff. As Ritter says, we must lay stress on *πάντα* and *εἶσεσθαι*: “All these subjects must be studied by one who hopes to attain to any real knowledge of the highest kind.” But the following words show that *πάντα* does not mean *the whole of each subject*.

d 3. There is no need to follow Stallb. in reading *μωρία καὶ* for *καὶ μωρία*: the *καὶ* is the same emphasizing *καὶ* which we had in *καὶ ἐναντία* at 817 c 7.

d 4 ff. *ποῖα δὲ . . . μανθάνειν*, "what particular parts of these subjects should be studied, and to what extent, and at what times; which parts should be studied together, and what may be studied independently of the others, and all the ways of combining these three subjects, these are things which a man must find out clearly before he lets these studies lead him on to those which follow."—Ritter points to a parallel to *ποῖα ἕκαστα* in the *οἷα δὲ ἕκαστα αὐτῶν εἶναι δεῖ* at 835 a 7, though he wants to read *ἕκαστον* here.—(*ἕκαστον* is unnecessary: the course of study here contemplated has only in view the higher intelligences who would make it an introduction to the highest study of all; cp. d 2 *τῷ μέλλοντι κτλ.* ♯ such an imaginary person is what *λαβόντα* in d 6 agrees with.)

d 6. *κρᾶσιν*: the acc. is "proleptic" (Stallb.), in view of the following *λαβόντα*.

d 8: *κατέιληφεν*, "has settled it."

e 1. If *πράξας* at b 9 was rightly interpreted, this is a re-affirmation of the fact that God was *obliged* to endue man with the mathematical faculty.

e 5. *προταξάμενον τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ*: the *προ-* is the significant part of this clause: it is too *early*, the Ath. says, to map out in detail the course of mathematical study outlined at d 4–6.

e 7 f. *τὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀπειρίας ἔθος*, "our country's habitual disregard of such subjects." For *περὶ c. gen.* after *ἀπειρίας*—to which Badham objects—cp. 632 d 5 *τῷ περὶ νόμων ἐμπείρῳ*. *ἔθος ἀπειρίας* stands for *εἰωθυῖαν ἀπειρίαν*. "Hic usus nominum abstractorum in his libris longe frequentissimus" Stallb. (Bdh. would reject *ἀπειρίας*—even though the word occurs at a 4 in the Ath.'s answer—on the ground that "you cannot form a *habit* of *not* doing anything.")—*τῆς ἡμετέρας* is probably "our native land." Both Cl. and Meg. were Dorians, and mathematics was not studied much either in Sparta or in Crete.

e 9. *ἀποκαμπτόμενος* (pass.), which seems to have been what A first wrote, is quite as good a reading as *ἀποκρυπτόμενος*, to which it was corrected. The former is "and don't be deterred alone on that account," the latter "and don't keep anything back on that account." The simple passive *κάμπτεσθαι* is several times used by Plato in this sense.

819 a 1. *φοβοῦμαι μὲν κτλ.*, "True," says the Ath., "I am afraid that your ignorance of mathematics may make explanation

difficult; but you are not in the worst case: those who have studied mathematics in the wrong way are in a worse."

**a 3 ff.** οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ κτλ., "in no case is complete ignorance formidable or serious, or the worst of evils: no: intimate and extensive knowledge got from bad teachers does far more harm than ignorance."—The word ἀγωγή was specially used, we are told, in Sparta, of the Spartan system of education; Plut. *Ages.* 1 ἦχθη τὴν λεγομένην ἀγωγὴν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι. (Jowett's "too much cleverness . . . accompanied with ill bringing up" gives ἀγωγή a moral meaning; but κακῶς ἡμμένους shows that it is here used of intellectual training.—Badham rewrites the sentence in his *Convivium* thus: οὐδαμῇ γὰρ δεινότατον οὐδ' ἡ σφοδρὰ ἀπειρία οὔτε μέγιστον τῶν πάντων κακόν, and in his *Philebus* thus: οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ δεινὸν οὐδ' ἡ σφοδρὰ ἀπειρία τῶν πάντων οὐδὲ μέγιστον κακόν.)

**a 8 f.** τοσάδε . . . ὅσα, "at least as much . . . as."

**b 2 ff.** πρῶτον μὲν κτλ., "In arithmetic, to begin with, there have been invented, for the merest children, lessons for them to learn with amusement and pleasure, whether it is the distribution of a lot of apples, or garlands, so that the same totals are adjusted both to larger and to smaller groups" (i.e. the same totals can be made up in various ways), "or whether it is (the arrangement) of boxers or wrestlers both as 'byes,' and pairs, assigning to each their turn, and arranging the events in order, and according to the nature of such contests." The first part of this passage is quoted and explained at *Athen.* xv. 670 f (§ 10).

**b 3.** Wagner plausibly suggests that μηχανήματα, and not μαθήματα, was what Plato wrote. Is it possible that it was σχήματα, and that the μα- is due to a faulty repetition of the previous -μα? Cp. *Rep.* 536 d τὸ σχῆμα τῆς διδαχῆς.

**b 8.** παίζοντες: this and the following participles agree with the teachers (understood).—Sometimes they "mix" the various kinds of bowls indiscriminately; at other times they "divide up" the whole lot (putting each kind in a separate group).

**c 1.** Possibly ὅλας is "in complete sets."—There is much in the details of these children's games that is left to the reader's imagination. Ritter suggests that the apples were, when necessary, divided into various fractional parts.—As to the bowls, or saucers, we are not told whether they were all of the same size—in which case e.g. one gold bowl would be worth ten silver ones (cp. Boeckh, *Pub. Ec. of Ath.* Eng. trans. pp. 21 and 27)—or of sizes in inverse proportion to their values.—Possibly in the κεραυνῶντες game the



*value* which each child was to receive was to be the same, the question being in how many different ways the different metals in each lot could be arranged; while in the *διαδιδόντες* game each child only received one sort, and the question was how many?—(Ritter thinks that *ἀρμολύτων ἀριθμῶν τῶν αὐτῶν* means “so that each child may receive an equal number.”—He also suggests that the genitives *ἐφεδρείας* and *συλλήξεως* may depend not—as I have taken them—on *διανομαί* but on *ἐν μέρει* used as a prepositional phrase; or that *ἐν μέρει* may refer to totals which could only be managed by allowing a certain number of “byes” or “odd men,” in which case the “byes” might *alternate* with the pairs, and the *ἐφεξῆς* to the regular succession of contests where no byes were needed. He thinks our text may be defective here. Badham provides us with a new one, as follows: *μετὰ παιδιᾶς τε καὶ ἡδονῆς μανθάνει μήλων τέ τινων διανομαῖς καὶ στεφάνων πλείοσιν ἅμα καὶ ἐλάττοσιν ἀρμολύτων ἀριθμόν, τῶν τ’ αὖ πυκτῶν καὶ παλαιστῶν ἐφεδρείας τε καὶ συλλήξεις ἐν μέρει καὶ ἐφεξῆς, καὶ ὥς πεφύκασι γίγνεσθαι.)*

c 2. *ὅπερ εἶπον* marks a repetition of the *μετὰ παιδιᾶς τε καὶ ἡδονῆς* at b 3.—*εἰς παιδιὰν ἐναρμολύτοντας τὰς τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀριθμῶν χρήσεις*, “accommodating the applications of the ‘four rules’ to a game”; i.e. “making a game out of the four rules.” I have taken *ἀναγκαίων ἀριθμῶν* to mean “indispensable arithmetic.” (Or does it mean “the fixed properties of numbers”?)

c 4. The variant *στρατοπεδείας* given in L and O for *στρατείας* adds definiteness to the enumeration. Still, it is rather *geometry* than simple *calculation* which is needed for *στρατοπεδεία*, whereas calculation is necessary in all campaigns, even on the part of private soldiers.

c 5. *εἰς οἰκονομίας*: cp. 747b1 *πρὸς τε γὰρ οἰκονομίαν κτλ.*

c 7. *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα* marks a later and higher stage in the curriculum: the more elaborate study of “pure numbers” will throw light, he says, on stereometry. (Cp. above 747 a 1 ff., and *Rep.* 528 a ff.)

d 2. *ἄγνοιαν* Ast, *ἄνοιαν* MSS. See above on 688 e 7; the narrower and more definite word suits this passage better.

d 3. *ταύτης ἀπαλλάττονσιν*: this bold anacoluthon leaves the acc. *ἄγνοιαν* “hanging.” (This is better than to suppose *ταύτης* to be *τῆς πάντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσεως* (so Schneider), or, with Stallb., to emend to *ταύτην*.)

d 6. *ἀκούσας ὁπότε*: most likely Plato means that it was quite late in his life—not merely at a late stage of his mathematical



studies—when this ἄγνοια was pointed out to him. Ritter—whose discussion of this passage (pp. 221–228) is most helpful—says it is not *necessary* to suppose that Plato was abroad when so enlightened; but I think the ἡμῶν of d 6, the ἀπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων of e 1, and the πάντες Ἕλληνες of 820 a 9 make against R.'s suggestion that Plato's informant was a "Greek from foreign parts—perhaps Theodorus of Cyrene." The recent mention of Egyptian mathematics suggests that Egypt was the source of the revelation, and, if so, it was likely to have happened in Egypt. On the other hand the discovery is of a kind which we associate rather with the Greek genius than with that of the Egyptians.

d 7. All editions have adopted O's ἡνῶν, which is supported by Photius ἡνῶν· σκαίων καὶ ἀμαθῶν· καὶ ἡνία· σκαιότης καὶ ἀμαθία· οὕτως Καλλίας. A probably had ὑεκῶν corrected to ὑείων, L has ὑνῶν.—Pigs are taken by Plato at *Rep.* 535 e and 372 d as types of contented ignorance. At *Polit.* 266 c he calls them γένος εὐχερέστατον τῶν ὄντων.

e 2. καὶ adds the same emphasis to the question that a prefixed "pray" would add in English.

e 6 and 8. Ritter is right, I think, in holding that πλάτος and βάθος here do not mean the linear measurement of width and depth respectively, but that πλάτος stands for a *surface* (something in two dimensions), and βάθος for a *solid* (something in three dimensions). βάθος, he says, must be so interpreted at *Rep.* 528 d e τὴν βάθους αὐξήσεως μέθοδον, and φορὰν οὖσαν βάθους.

e 8. τούτων probably stands for μετὰ ταῦτα and is the same kind of gen. as is found after comparatives and δεύτερος and ὕστερος.

e 13. The parenthetical οἶμαι has here the meaning "I mean," or "namely," which it bears at *Rep.* 372 d ἅπερ νομίζεται, ἔφη· ἐπὶ τε κλινῶν κατακείσθαι, οἶμαι, τοὺς μέλλοντας μὴ ταλαιπωρεῖσθαι, and at *Rep.* 564 a ἐξ, οἶμαι, τῆς ἀκροτάτης ἐλευθερίας δουλεία πλείστη. It is better, perhaps, to put an interrogation mark after φύσει.

820 a 3. ἀλλά is illogical; not "*but if*" but "*and if*" is what we want here in English.—The typical instance of incommensurable *lines* is that of the diagonal and side of a square; of *surfaces* that of the square and the circle.—L alone has the right reading ἡρέμα; O and A have ρημα which O<sup>2</sup> altered correctly, and A<sup>2</sup> to ῥητὰ and a to ῥήματα. The latter is a good instance of the senseless correction which looks at the isolated word only.

a 8. Probably the stray [ὥστε πῶς] is to be explained by

supposing the scribe's eye to have wandered to the end of ἀμῶς γέ πως in a 10, which also comes after πρὸς ἄλληλα.

a 9. μετρεῖσθαι πρὸς ἄλληλα may here be rendered "be expressed in terms of one another"; e.g. it might be thought that the proportion between the solid contents of two cubes corresponded to a certain proportion between the surfaces that bound them, or the lines which bound the surfaces.

b 2. εἰ δ' ἔστιν . . . δυνατά, "but if there are quantities which cannot in any conceivable way (be so measured)."

b 5. ἔφαμεν (if correct) must refer to 818 a 5; but (1) the following statement (connected by μέν and δέ) was *not* made at 818 a; and (2) it is unnatural to suppose that the βέλτιστοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων should have heard the conversation between the Ath. and his two hearers. It is therefore more likely that Plato wrote φάμεν here.

b 6. "Post αἰσχρόν ἐστι interdum simplex μῆ, frequentius multo μῆ οὐ cum infinitivo copulatum reperies." Heindorf on Prot. 352 d.

b 7. οὐδὲν πᾶν καλόν, "there is not a particle of merit" (in knowing such things). I think πᾶν qualifies οὐδέν, not καλόν.

c 2. τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων: "hoc pro glossa habeo voci ἐκείνων adscripta" Ast (possibly).

c 4. πρὸς ἄλληλα goes with the preceding adjectives, not, as Jowett, with ᾗτινι φύσει γέγονεν. The subject here introduced is the *nature* or, as we might say, the *theory of incommensurability in general*, as contrasted with *commensurability*. If a man, he says, cannot tell which is which, he is a poor creature; and if men want to pit their intellects against each other, it is much better to do it in problems of this kind than, e.g., at draughts.

c 6. With προβάλλοντα . . . φιλονικεῖν we must supply something like δεῖ from the previous ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι.

c 8. πρεσβυτῶν seems to stand for τῆς τῶν πρεσβυτῶν. (Fic. makes πρεσβυτῶν depend on διατριβήν, and so Schneider and Wagner (and F.H.D.); but the suggestion is (I think) that, though draughts may be left to the old, young and vigorous intellects should find exercise in more "serious" problems.—τούτων I take to be the τοὺς ἐλευθέρους of 819 b 1, and the τοὺς νέους of 820 d 3, translating ἐν ταῖς τούτων ἀξίαισι σχολαῖς "on themes such as are meet for our pupils." (So Fic., I think; Ast takes τούτων to be *this study*, i.e. *mathematics*, Schneider, F.H.D., A.M.A., and, I think, Wagner take τούτων to be πρεσβυτῶν.)—σχολαί stands, for variety's sake, in the sense of the previous διατριβή.

d 2. Badham would reject τὰ μαθήματα.—οὐ πάμπολυ: this is the reading of all MSS. In the margin of the Florentine MS. o Stallb. found a variant καὶ for οὐ, and Steph. conjectures from Ficinus's translation that he too read καὶ πάμπολυ. Ast would merely reject the οὐ. The confirmatory γοῦν is in favour of the MS. οὐ, as is also the fact that at Gorg. 450 d πεπτευτική is associated with ἀριθμητική, λογιστική, and γεωμετρική. Cleinias recognizes the affinity with some surprise.

d 4 f. The chiasmic arrangement is noticeable; the fact that the subjects are learnt μετὰ παιδιᾶς ἅμα confutes the suggestion that they are χαλεπά, and the words which follow negative the βλαβερὰ.

d 8. The φανῆται of A and O appears in all the early texts, and even in those of Ast and Schneider. Bekker was probably right in altering it to φαίνεται. The only alternative seems to be φανῆ. The φαινόμενα in d 9 is in favour of φαίνεται. The accent of the φανῆται is hard to explain, and so is the thoughtless φανείται of L and O<sup>2</sup>.—οὕτω ἔχοντα is, in effect, ὠφελιμὰ τε καὶ ῥάδια.

e 2 f. οὐκοῦν . . . νόμων: this passage was correctly given by the MSS. and the early printed edd. to the Ath. Fic., however, gave the words to Cleinias—doubtless on account of the ὦ ξένε, which is usual in Cleinias's mouth, but not in the Athenian's—and Steph., Ast, Stallb., Zürr., Wagn., and Herm. follow him. As Badham says, κείσθω μέντοι must belong to the same speaker as κείσθω ταῦτα. B. thinks that an original ὦ Κλεινία was altered to ὦ ξένε after the mistake was made of leaving out the sign of the fresh person before οὐκοῦν. If not, the ξένε was an eccentricity or perhaps an inadvertence on the part of the author.—ἵνα μὴ διάκενα ἡμῖν ᾗ τὰ τῶν νόμων, "that there may be no gap in our legislation." These words, and the preceding νῦν, and the hint of a possible future abrogation, all indicate doubt in the author's mind as to how far he ought to go into detail in his treatise—how far, in fact, it is to be νόμοι, and how far a πολιτεία.

e 4. λύσιμα seems to be used (like κείσθω) punningly in a double sense—redeemable, or detachable; the former sense would naturally be applied to "deposited pledges." The suspicion arises that ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης πολιτείας is a spurious addition, made by someone who did not understand the metaphor.

e 7. θέσιν: Cleinias glances at the Ath.'s metaphor in his reply; "Lay them down, or deposit them," he says, "by all means."

e 9. The choice of the word λεχθεῖσα is probably due to the λέγεις in Cleinias's last words; it does not mean more than "when recommended."

e 11. καὶ μὴν κτλ., "when I come to astronomy, I find a thing that fills me with wonder and the deepest indignation."

821 a 2. φαρμέν: Cicero (*De nat. d. i.* 12) seems incomprehensibly to regard this as Plato's real opinion, whereas it is quite clear that it is a "popular notion" which he is combating with all his might.

a 7. τὸ λεγόμενον, "what I am saying," i.e. here "what I am trying, or going to say"—so above 800 a 1 τοῦ νῦν λεγομένου . . . ; what that is we are not told till b 5 ff. (O. Apelt p. 14 refers τὸ λεγόμενον to the Ath.'s previous words.)—πρεσβύταις: any startling novelty seems more in place as coming from a young man than from an old one.

a 8. The MSS. and most edd. read πρέπειν τόδε· ἐπειδάν. Schneider was clearly right in altering this to πρέπειν· τὸ δὲ ἐπειδάν. (Hermann actually prints Ast's πρέπειν τόδε· ἐπεὶ δ' αὖν.)

c 3. ἰόντας εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν δρόμον: ἵεναι εἰς is not "to proceed along," but "to take" a particular course. We may compare *Tim.* 38 d εἰς [τὸν] τάχει μὲν ἰσόδρομον ἡλίῳ κύκλον ἰόντας, and, perhaps, *Phaedr.* 228 b εἰς περίπατον ἦει ("he took to walking").

c 5. The early edd. have δρῶντας ταῦθ' ἃ αἰεὶ πάντες συνεπιστάμεθα, and this is retained by Stallb., Schneider, Zür., Wagner, and Burnet. Ast proposed ταῦτα αἰεὶ as an emendation (ταῦτ' αἰεὶ Badham later), and Herm. accepts it. The latter reading is supported by Ficinus's "solem autem ac lunam errare omnes cognovimus," and still more by the fact that it proves to have been A's original reading. The sense suffers gravely if the former reading be adopted, for we have then to take δρῶντας as governed by ἐν τῷ βίῳ πολλάκις ἑώρακα καὶ αὐτός. Cleinias may well speak of his observation of the planets as occasional, but he would never so speak of his observations of the sun and moon. The δὲ . . . που evidently introduce the verb συνεπιστάμεθα. (Orelli would read ταῦτα αἰεὶ; Wagner translates ταῦτα αἰεὶ though printing ταῦθ' ἃ αἰεὶ in his text; Burnet defends the vulgate as a humorous protest against such shocking conduct on the part of a respectable luminary. We have no information as to the readings of O and L.)

c 6. ταῦτ' ἔστι . . . νῦν ἃ δὴ φημι, "that is the very reason why I now say"; cp. *Prot.* 310 e 2 ἀλλ' αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ νῦν ἦκω παρὰ σέ, *Symp.* 174 a 8, *Laches* 179 c 6, and above, 700 d 1 and 686 c 4.



c 7 ff. *περὶ θεῶν* depends, in a way, on *περὶ πάντων τούτων* in the next line—"to learn (so much of) all those facts about the gods in the sky."

d 5. *ὀρθόν*, "true," as in the colloquial "that's right."

d 8. *ἔχοντά ἐσθ'* stands for *ἔχει*: the preference for such periphrastic forms is a mark of Plato's later style.

e 3. The *ἀκήκοα* of A<sup>2</sup> must have stood in some MS. which read *τούτων ὦν* or *ὦν* alone, but even so it does not give so good a text as A's original reading; O's *ἀκήκοας* is a mere blunder which strengthens the *ἀκηκοώς*.—*οὔτε νέος οὔτε πάλαι ἀκηκοώς*: the two points he wishes to bring out are (1) that he did not learn this new doctrine when he was young—and consequently docile and receptive; and (2) that it was not long ago, and consequently he had not had a long time in which to think it over and take it in. (Steph. and Ast would emend *νέος* to *νέον*, and Winckelmann to *νεωστή*; Fic. has "*nec nuper nec iam olim*."—For the collocation of adj. and adv. in *νέος* and *πάλαι* Stallb. cps. *Phaedr.* 234 e, *Phaedo* 79 d, *Prot.* 352 d.)

e 4. The omission of the *ν* of *ἄν* (before *νῦν*) in O and Cod. Voss. is a further mistake.

e 7. The *καί* shows that Cleinias was getting a little incredulous, if not impatient.

822 a 1. *θαυμαστὸν λέγεις*: this refers to the Ath.'s words at 820 e 11 and 821 a 8.

a 4. *πειρατέον* κτλ.: modern readers are naturally surprised and disappointed when they find that Plato gives only a negative account of the new astronomical doctrine. We naturally ask (1) why did he not say more? and (2) what indications can we find here or elsewhere of the positive nature of the doctrine he speaks of? As to the former question, Ritter—whose discussion of the subject, pp. 228-250 should certainly be studied—thinks that it did not fall within the author's plan to do more than *indicate the nature* of the various subjects of education. For instance, at 820 c he indicated the subject of commensurable and incommensurable quantities, but he did not express or explain any theory about them, the book being not a *philosophical*, but a *political* work. The astronomers Schiapparelli and Wolf (see Ritter p. 249) believe that Plato either had by himself arrived, or had arrived by the help of others, at the belief—which was certainly expressed by Aristarchus of Samos less than a century later—that not only did the earth revolve on its own axis once in twenty-four hours, but that it revolved annually round the sun. They believe further

that what sealed Plato's lips was the fear that the Athenian public would persecute him for such a heresy. (Cp. Burnet, *Gk. Phil.* p. 347 f.)

The discovery that the earth revolved daily on its own axis would account for much of the change here described in Plato's views, but we are bound to notice that, unless the *καὶ ἡλίου* in 822 a 5 is a spurious addition, he still held that the sun went round the earth. (For a further discussion of the subject see Ritter and the authorities mentioned by him, and also Sir T. Heath's recently published *Aristarchus of Samos, the ancient Copernicus*, which takes a much lower view than Wolf and Schiaparelli of the extent of Plato's astronomical insight.—There are two important Plutarch passages which throw some light on this subject: (1) *Quaestiones Platonicae* 8 (Wyttēnb. 1006 c) Θεόφραστος δὲ καὶ προσήκουσαν ἀποδόντι τῇ γῇ τὴν μέσσην χώραν τοῦ παντός; and (2) *Vita Numae* ch. 11 ταῦτά δὲ καὶ Πλάτωνά φασι πρεσβύτην γενόμενον διανενοῖσθαι περὶ τῆς γῆς ὡς ἐν ἑτέρᾳ χώρᾳ καθεστῶσης, τὴν δὲ μέσσην καὶ κυριωτάτην ἑτέρῃ τινὶ κρείττονι προσήκουσαν.)

a 7. αὐτῶν depends on ἕκαστον.

a 8 ff. τὸ δὲ τάχιστον . . . αὖ δοξάζεται . . . ἐναντίως, "and again the swiftest of them is erroneously regarded as being the slowest, and the slowest as being the quickest." The αὖ marks this as the *second* instance of deceptive appearances, the first having been expressed by the φαίνεται in the preceding line.

b 2–c 5. To Ast is due the correct reconstruction of this passage. He conjectured δοξάζομεν for δόξομεν, inserted ὁ before ἐκεῖ in c 2, and, with the MSS. and the two earliest printed editions—as against Fic., Bas. 1 and 2, and Steph., who make Cl. begin at γελοῖον μὲν—reassigned the whole speech down to ὑμνούντων to the Ath. The two former conjectures are found to be confirmed by the Cod. Riccardianus. Hermann and Burnet adopt the two latter alterations, Stallb. adopts the first of the two only. Stallb. and Burnet, with Orelli, put the ὁ before γελοῖον τε. (Fic. remodels the text by discarding ταῦτ' οὖν . . . δόξομεν, and substituting for it "peccareque ita opinantes patet. Nam . . ." He also gives from γελοῖον μὲν το ταῦτ' ἐστίν all to Cl., though he puts a fresh Cl. before ἀληθέστατα.)

b 2. The second εἰ introduces a subordinate condition which soon becomes the principal one; perhaps it would be well to mark this, as Stallb. does, with a (—) before εἰ μὲν.

c 4. For οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ . . . γε Ast cps. Eusebius's reading at 902 d ΚΑ. οὐδαμῶς. ἈΘ. οὐ μὴν οὐδέ γε κυβερνήταις, and 906 e οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ στρατηγοῖς γε.

c 5. For the use of ὑμνεῖν cp. above on 653 d 6.

We may translate: "Now if this is really so while we do not think it so—supposing it had been about horses, or long-distance runners racing at Olympia, that we had formed such opinions, and supposing we had saluted the quickest as the slowest runner, and the slowest as the quickest, and had composed odes, and sung the praises of the beaten man as if he had been the winner, I imagine we should not have bestowed our praises correctly, or pleased the runners, mere men as they were; but when we now make the same mistake about gods, do you not see that, what then and there would have been absurdly incorrect, is now, here, and on such a subject no laughing matter? No! It is positively sacrilegious that we should go on proclaiming lies about the gods."

c 9. καὶ ταῦτα ἡμῖν οὕτω συγκείσθω; with these words the Ath. leaves the subject of Astronomy, *assuming* that his hearers are content with his assurance that he *could* prove the new doctrine when the time came for so doing.

d 2 ff. This belated addition of θήρα to the παιδείας μαθήματα is doubtless due to Greek tradition. Field-sports formed the chief item in the curriculum at the ἀφθιτον ἄντρον Χείρωνος (Pind. *Isthm.* viii. 89), which was the Academy of the old Greek heroes. The Lacedaemonians in particular were conscious of the usefulness of hunting as a training for war (Xen. *De rep. Lac.* 4. 7).—The language of this section has a touch of the mock-heroic. (Cp. *Sophist* 222 b f.)

d 2. All editors have followed Steph. in his tacit alteration of the τε of the MSS. and early edd. to γε.

d 3. ὡσαύτως διανοηθῆναι χρή, "the same view should be taken." What this view is is explained in the following re-assertion of the already so often urged necessity for the formation of a right-minded public opinion.

d 5. L has here preserved the correct reading in νομοθέτῃ; the νομοθετεῖν of A, and the νομοθέτην of O are independent mistakes, of which the former preserves the ι, and the latter the η, of the true reading.—Ast and Stallb. hold that ἐπὶ μείζον εἶναι (for which Steph. would read ἐπὶ μείζον ἰέναι) could mean "ad maius quid(dam) spectare"; but the passages which Stallb. cites do not bear this out. ἐπεὶ, the reading of A, slightly discredits ἐπὶ, but does not help us; ἔτι, which I take to have been the

original reading, was, I find, first conjectured by Mitscherlich, Zweibrücken edn. of 1787, vol. xi. p. 352.—All editors have adopted Aldus's τοῦ for the MS. τοὺς.

d 6. ἔτερον δέ τι . . . νόμων, "and (it seems) that there is another thing he has got to do besides making laws—something in the region that lies between admonition and legislation."

e 1. ἡμῶν ἐμπέπτωκεν τοῖς λόγοις: for the position of the pron. cp. 631 a 2, 688 a 4.

e 2. Hermann acutely discerned that in the MS. γὰρ ῥητά is perpetuated the mistake of a scribe who wrote *ap once*, when he ought to have written it *twice*. Just so above at 820 d 5 the scribe of A wrote *αμανθανομενα* where he ought to have written *αμαμανθανομενα*.

e 3. For *τιθεμένους εἶναι* in place of *τίθεσθαι* cp. above on 821 d 8.—For the attraction of the gender to that of the pred. cp. *Rep.* 354 c εἴτε (τὸ δίκαιον) ἀρετὴ τις οὔσα τυγχάνει.

e 3 and 4. γέμειν, a certain correction for the γε μὴν of the MSS., first occurs in the margin of L and O. It was conjectured independently by Cornarius.—There should be no comma after αὐτά in e 3. γέμειν is connected by τε to εἶναι, and is thus dependent on φαμεν; λέγοντες is inside the *obliqua oratio*, and is in the nom. because it refers to the subject of the principal verb φαμεν: "For we say that the things ought not to remain unsaid, and, at the same time (τε), that to imagine, when we say them, that they are being laid down as laws, is the height of folly"; i.e. "there is a right and a wrong about these things which go beyond the letter of the law: a man may be *blamed* for things which he cannot be punished for." (Burnet puts a comma after αὐτά, taking λέγοντες to agree with the subject of a repeated φαμεν.)

e 6. The αὐτόν is superfluous. Is it possibly a mistake for αὐ?

e 8. With ὡς ἄρα we are meant to supply, in thought, οὐτός ἐστιν ὁ ἀγαθός.

823 a 1. ἄκρατον is predicative—"(*passes his life*) *without a break*," i.e. "*throughout*."

a 3. Here again L has in δεῖ preserved the true reading. The first three printed editions have δῆ for δεῖ μῆ. Acc. to Burnet A and O have δῆ μῆ.

a 4. νόμοις ἐμπεπλεγμένα: some such metaphor as "hand in hand with the laws" would express this. For the purposes of the law court it would doubtless be necessary that, in the code, the "higher morality" should be easily detachable from the positive enactment. The distinction between the two which is indicated



in the following words is this: the infringement of the former was to be only punishable by public disapproval, while that of the latter met with a tangible legal penalty. The really good man, Plato says, would dread one as much as the other.

**a 5.** With *μηδὲν ἦττον* cp. the stronger *μᾶλλον τιμᾶν* of d 1.

**a 6.** *κατελιγμμένα*, "enforced"; cp. above, 818 d 8 *οὕτω γὰρ ἀνάγκη . . . κατέλιφεν*.—τὸ παρὸν ἡμῖν τὰ νῦν is the subject of *hunting*.

**a 7.** It is very likely that Burnet has hit on the true reading by his insertion of *εἰ* before *οἶον*; this reading is somewhat supported by his discovery that *δηλοῖμεν*, and not the previously accepted *δηλοῖ μέν*, is the reading of A.

**b 5.** *ἄξιαν*, the MS. reading, is a possible one; the accusatives in this clause would be under the government of a *περί* carried on from that before τὰ *περὶ θηρέματα*. But the *ἄξιον* of O<sup>2</sup> gives a more natural construction. The change to *ἄξιαν* might have been due to a thoughtless assimilation with *τὴν . . . θήραν*. (Steph. and Ast would read *τὴν γε* for *τὴν τε*.)

**b 6.** *ἡ μὲν ἔπαινον, ἡ δὲ ψόγον ἔχει*, "sometimes deserves praise, sometimes blame." This is generally taken to apply, not to *θήρα* in general, but to the pursuit of fellow-men "in the way of kindness." The whole passage is so carelessly put together that it is difficult to be sure.

**b 7.** *ληστῶν* and *στρατοπέδων* are probably both meant to be subjective genitives. If so, the dat. *στρατοπέδοις* is hard to fit in. Fic. ignores it; Ast would reject it; Stallb. would insert *ἐν* before it. I suggest that the best way out of these difficulties is to strike out the *καί* between *κλωπεῖαι* and *ληστῶν*. Ficinus recognizes no *καί* here; his translation is "rapinae quoque latronum castrorumque venatus sunt."

**c 2.** *δηλοῦν ταῦθ'*: probably this does not refer only to the expression of praise or blame, but also to the drawing of distinctions between the different kinds of *θήρα* (for which see *Sophist* 219 ff.). In doing this, the Ath. says, he need not *legislate* about every detail. He must, however, select for praise the morally valuable discipline, and reprobate what is harmful.

**c 4.** *τὸν μὲν, τὸν νομοθέτην*: for this repetition, made for clearness' sake, cp. above on 631 c 6. (All the early edd. omitted the second *τόν*.)

**c 5.** *πρός*, "with an eye to."

**c 7 ff.** *τῶν . . . ἀπειληθέντων . . . καὶ νομοθετηθέντων*: these genitives are governed by *μᾶλλον* in the next line. The law-

giver's *praise* deserves more careful observance than his *threats*.—"Threats associated with penalties" stands loosely for "threats of punishment."

d 3. ἐμμετρος corresponds here to our "judicious."

e 1. μήτε ἐγρηγορόσιν μήτε εὐδουσιν: Wagner is surely right in seeing in these words a reference to the Greek proverb εὐδοντι κύρτος αἰρεῖ. This makes for his and Schneider's view that these datives depend on διαπονουμένοις, and denote the people for whom the weels manage to secure their prey: "and not with weels which secure a lazily acquired prey, whether those for whom it is acquired are awake or asleep." The first μήτε does double duty. The passage is not only stilted in style, but awkward in construction. (For other interpretations see Stallb. and L. & S.) Plutarch, *De sollertia animalium* ch. 9, p. 965 f., explains the grounds of Plato's selection and rejection of different kinds of θήρα. There is no educational profit, and no credit in hunting, he says, unless your prey is bold and crafty and swift.

e 4. ὠμοὺς καὶ ἀνόμους: Plato evidently knew what sort of men pirates were.

e 5. καί is *or*, as in 824 a 10 below.—In both this and the preceding cautions Plato is glancing at Spartan man-hunts, and the encouragement of clever thieving.—The ὑμῖν, which was expressed with ἐπελθών in e 3, is here left unexpressed. Stallb. is wrong in thinking that εἰς τὸν ἔσχατον νοῦν is meant to take its place. So at Isocr. *Panath.* 238 α τοῖς εἰκῇ καὶ φορτικῶς καὶ χύδην ὃ τι ἂν ἐπέλθῃ λέγουσιν, the person into whose mind the thought comes is left unexpressed—as we might say "don't let it occur to you, even in your dreams." (Ast, Stallb., and Winckelmann would emend the passage one way or another.)

e 6. πτηνῶν θήρας αἰμύλος ἔρως, "a seductive fancy for bird-catching." This phrase attracted attention in antiquity. Stallb. cps. Eustath. on *Od.* a 56, Bekker *Anecd.* i. 363, and other authorities who quote it.—οὐ σφόδρα ἐλευθέριος: Plutarch l.c. calls fishing ἀγεννές and ἀνελεύθερον. (Cp. Browning, *The Ring and the Book* x. 724–726.)

824 a 2–a 6. ὧν ἡ μὲν τῶν εὐδόντων αὖ κατὰ μέρη . . . οὐδ' ἡ τῶν διαπαύματα πόνων ἔχουσα . . . ῥώμην: there are, as the μὲν indicates, two divisions of undesirable night-hunting of land quadrupeds, corresponding to the θήρευσις and ἄγρα of a 1. The first kind is that in which men post themselves to wait for an animal when it passes in the night—probably when coming to drink.—In this kind it is not necessary for all the hunters to be

awake at once; they *take their turns* to watch. The second kind of capture is satisfactorily described by the MS. reading if we adopt Adam's suggestion (in manuscript) that we ought to place a comma after τῶν in a 4. Ast shifts τῶν to before ἄρκυσι. Winckelmann would insert ἐγρηγορότων, and Stallb. ὄντων after τῶν, Burnet replaces οὐδ' ἢ τῶν by οὐδ' ἦττον—thus treating νυκτερεία as *one* kind of hunting—that with nets and traps.—Xen. *Mem.* iv. 7. 4 speaks of νυκτοθῆραι as a class of men who could teach ἀστρολογία—as far, at least, as to knowledge of the phases of the moon, and the seasons of the year. This points to the selection by night-hunters of either a moonlight, or a dark, night. The *watchers* would want the former; the *trappers* the latter.

a 6–9. The points in which the satisfactory kind of θήρα is contrasted with the unsatisfactory are (1) the men do it *themselves* αὐτόχειρες—or at all events they are always hard at work, and have to run personal risks; and (2) their only “machinery” is the help of horses and dogs.

a 9. The ὅσοις goes back to the πᾶσιν in a 6.

a 11. For a similar displacement of περί cp. above, 711 e 8 and 697 c 6.

a 12. The margins of L and O have preserved for us the true reading ἱερούς for the MS. ἱερεῖς. The qualifying ὄντως shows that ἱερούς is not used in quite an ordinary sense.

a 14. Grou's ἄρκυσιν for the MS. κυσίν is manifestly correct.

a 16. καὶ ἱεροῖς ἀγρίοις MSS.; O gives as an alternative reading καὶ ἱερατικοῖς. I would suggest that the latter was the original reading, and that the MS. ἀγρίοις is due to a misreading of the last three syllables of ἱερατικοῖς.

a 17. We must suppose ἐννυγοθηρευτήν to be governed by a repeated μὴ κωλνέτω from a 16.

a 20. ὅπῳ ἀναθολώσει (cp. Arist. *Hist. anim.* 592 a 6), “a making muddy by means of vegetable juices.” In Aristotle's description the mud is stirred up from the bottom.

## BOOK VIII

828 a 2. μετὰ τῶν ἐκ Δελφῶν μαντειῶν, “as the Delphic pronouncements shall direct”; “per delphica oracula” (Fic.). The choice of deities and the nature of the sacrifices were to be settled for them from Delphi.—For the plur. μαντειῶν cp. below, 914 a 4.—

For μετά used—unlike that below at b 4—in a quasi-instrumental sense cp. above, 807 b 2.—αἵτινες θυσίαι . . . γίγνιντ' ἄν: all the early editions have γίγνοιτ' for the MS. γίγνιντ'; to put all straight Steph. proposed to read ἄστινας θυσίας; but he did not know that the MSS. had γίγνιντ'—which is slightly supported by the πόσαι in the same line.—For the adverbial predicate with γίγνεσθαι cp. below, 968 c 1, and (with εἶναι) above, 660 d 6, and Plut. Mor. 127 b ὡς οἱ παρὰ Πλάτῳ δειπνήσαντες καὶ εἰσαύριον ἡδέως γίνονται. (Stallb. supposes a complicated anacoluthon.)

a 3. For ἄμεινον καὶ λῶφον Stallb. cps. *Phileb.* 11 b, and Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* ii. 1093 (“a regular oracular formula”). Cp. also ζ 182 κρείσσον καὶ ἄρειον.

a 5. ἐνιά γ' αὐτῶν: this parenthetical restriction seems curious. Is it not possible that ἐνιά γε is the spurious addition of a commentator who did not understand the αὐτῶν, and that the αὐτῶν goes closely with ἡμέτερον, “we must legislate *ourselves*”?

b 1. In this reckoning of the length of the solar year Plato is ahead of his time. See Ritter p. 250.

b 3. καὶ αὐτῶν: coming after πόλεως this stands quite naturally for καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν αὐτῶν. (Wagner, as elsewhere, would read ἀστῶν for it.)

b 4. ἐξηγηταί: cp. above, 759 c 7.

b 6. αὐτοῦ τούτου . . . τοῦ παραλειπομένου: this committee, i.e., has first to find out what gaps there are in the lawgiver's regulations, and then to supply the missing ordinances.

c 2. Schneider, Herm., and Burnet rightly place a comma after ἱερά.

c 4. The datives τοῖς θεοῖς αὐτοῖς and ταῖς ὥραις go with τὸ πρέπον.—L and O's variant μοίραις is probably a commentator's conjecture, and should be written with a M.

c 5. ὅσαις χωρὶς ἀνδρῶν προσήκει: “Int. εἶναι, ellipsi rariore” Stallb.

c 6. καὶ ὅσαις μή: these words seem to imply that there were some women's festivals to which men were admitted, either as partakers or as spectators.—τὸ τῶν χθονίων (θεῶν): this periphrasis for “the infernal deities and all the ceremonies connected with them” is the object—in the writer's mind the main object—of ἀποδιδόντας in d 1 as well as of οὐ συμμεικτέον and χωριστέον, though, syntactically, ὅσους . . . ἐπομένων is equally their object. The τούτοις in c 7 is the θεοὶ οὐράνιοι. (W. R. Paton proposes to read τί for τό in c 7.)

c 8. ἐν τῇ τοῦ Πλούτωνος μηνί . . . κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἀποδι-



δόντας, "and we must put them" (i.e. them and their festivals) "by ordinance in Pluto's month." Scirophorion (June) seems to have been called Pluto's month because it marked the turn of the year, when the fresh spring has lost its vigour.

d 2. οὐ δυσχεραντέον πολεμικοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸν τοιοῦτον θεόν, "there should be no abhorrence felt by good soldiers towards so great a god."

d 3. ἄριστον : cp. Coleridge, Complaint :

And three firm friends, more sure than day and night—  
Himself, his Maker, and the angel Death.

d 4. οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ κρεῖττον : lit. "there is no respect in which (this κοινωνία) is a better thing." We must suppose that it is the interests of the ψυχή, as being the first mentioned, which are here in question. We must not, i.e., press the words to mean that the *body* is no worse off for being bereft of the ψυχή.—The whole of the *Phaedo* is a commentary on this text.

d 5. σπουδῇ λέγων, "in all earnestness."—πρὸς τοῦτοις δὲ κτλ. : here he passes from these particular holidays to the consideration of *leisure* in general, and the best way to employ it. "Moreover, if the authorities are to arrange these festivals satisfactorily, they must get it into their minds that our city is exceptionally favoured, etc."

d 8. περὶ χρόνου σχολῆς καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐξουσίας, "for leisure time and for ample supply of all that is necessary." Cp. above, 806 d 7 ff., where the same question is asked about the εἰς ἄνθρωπος which is here raised about the πόλις—τίς ὁ τρόπος τοῦ βίου;

829 a 2. μήθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀδικεῖν : the scribe of A omitted these words—he doubtless looked back from his writing to μήτε instead of to μήθ' ; a correcting hand—possibly that of the original writer—put them in the margin ; L and O have the words, but they have introduced ἄλλους after ἀδικεῖν ; O's margin, like A's, has μήθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀδικεῖν—without ἄλλους—and a third variant, i.e. μήτε ἀδικεῖν ἄλλους. O's third variant occurs also in Stob. (Mein. iv. 13). Schneider, Stallb., and Burnet are right, I think, in regarding ἄλλους as an interloper : ἑαυτοὺς is the *object* of ἀδικεῖν, but it is not, I think, equivalent to ἀλλήλους (as Stallb.) ; we are here dealing with *individuals*, with whom, at a 6, states are compared. For happiness it is indispensable that we should "neither sin against ourselves, nor be sinned against by others." The alternative presented here is not the same as that

presented at *Gorg.* 509 d between doing wrong to others, and being wronged oneself; though there too we meet the curious phrase δύναμις τοῦ μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι.

a 3. οὐ πᾶν χαλεπὸν: πᾶν qualifies χαλεπὸν, I think, not οὐ. The same antithesis between οὐ πᾶν χαλεπὸν and παγχάλεπον occurs at *Philebus* 16 c 1.

a 5. καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτὸ τελέως σχεῖν ἄλλως ἢ τελέως γεγόμενον ἀγαθόν: so at *Gorg.* 522 d 2 it is said that "the best of all possible kinds of self-help is to have never said or done any wrong either to men or gods." He does not promise us that this behaviour will always secure immunity; it is the *only* chance.

a 6. ταῦτὸν δὴ τοῦτο: I think it is best to take these words adverbially, to put a comma after ἀγαθῇ, and to treat βίος εἰρηνικός and β. πολεμικός as the predicates to ὑπάρχειν. Cp. *Symp.* 178 e ταῦτὸν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τὸν ἐρώμενον ὀρώμεν ὅτι διαφερόντως τοὺς ἐραστὰς αἰσχύνεται, ὅταν κτλ., *Prot.* 310 e, *Demosth. Mid.* p. 526 ταῦτὸ τοῦτο, ἰδίᾳ διαλυσάμενος . . . οὐδ' εἰσῆγαγε τὸν Πολύζηλον.

a 8. τούτων δὲ ταύτῃ σχεδὸν ἐχόντων κτλ.: i.e. "it being our object to avoid war entirely, if we can, soldiers must get their training in sham-fights and the like." This will provide further employment for leisure time.

c 1. μιμούμενοι τὰς πολ. ὅτι μάλ. ἐναργῶς μάχας, "which shall furnish as lifelike a representation as possible of real warfare."

c 3. ποιεῖν here and ποιητής in c 6 are of course technically used of poetical composition, and δημιουργοί in d 2 keeps up the idea of craftsmanship.

c 8. Such participial periphrases as κεκτημένοι εἰσίν and δρᾶσαντες (εἰσίν) are characteristic of Plato's later style.

d 1. Valckenaer (on *Theocritus* vol. i. p. 43), referring to 808 c 4, conjectured ἀγαστοί for ἀγαθοί.

d 3. εἰάν καὶ μὴ μουσικὰ πεφύκῃ: above at 802 c 4 we were told that to the demands of system and regulation even the delight in poetry must, if necessary, be sacrificed. So here he deliberately treats the poetical excellency of a composition as of small account in comparison with the character and life of the poet. Below at e 3 the μετρίως δρᾶν shows that *all* poetical excellence need not be sacrificed. (Schneider—of all men!—recklessly omits the μί.)

d 5. ἀποδιδόντων: the words παρὰ . . . τοῖς νομοφύλαξι are equivalent to τῶν νομοφυλάκων, so he allows himself to vary the dat. by a gen. So at *Rep.* 518 a διτταὶ γίνονται ἐπιταράξεις ὁμμασιν, ἔκ τε φωτὸς εἰς σκότος μεθισταμένων a gen. takes the

place of a dat. (Badham would read ὅδοι δ' for τοῦτο; but the τοῦτο would be missed.)—γέρας: "praedicatum, perinde ac si scriptum legatur ὡς γέρας," Stallb.

d 7. ἀδόκιμον: i.e. not having the official stamp; used above at 742 a of coin. The words μὴ κρινάντων τῶν νομοφυλάκων, if genuine, are explanatory of ἀδόκιμον; but they look suspiciously like a commentator's explanation.

e 1. ἱερὰ κριθέντα: i.e. καθιερωθέντα; cp. above, 802 a ff.

e 2. Burnet is probably right in preferring the ὄντων of the MSS. to the ὄντα of L<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>2</sup>.

e 4 f. Not only are women to take an equal share in the training and the sham-fights, but they are to have just as good a chance as the men of being allowed to celebrate martial deeds in song. In the former point Plato goes rather farther here than he did at 794 c d. There some limitation accompanied the recommendation that girls should be trained in martial exercises; it was ἐὰν δέ πῃ συγχωρῶσιν, μέχρι γε μαθήσεως καὶ τὰ θήλεα.

e 6. ἀναφέρειν: Stallb. refers to Wyttenbach on Plut. Mor. 126 f οὕτως ἀνοιστέον ἐν ταῖς ἀρρωστίαις πρὸς αὐτούς, where he translates ἀναφέρειν by *secum reputare*; this intransitive use of ἀναφέρειν fits our passage well, and we may translate: "The lawgiver ought to consider, and argue with himself as follows." (Fic., Schneider, and Wagner make ἀναφέρειν mean "put it to oneself repeatedly." Jowett makes ἀναφέρειν govern τὸν νομοθέτην—"represent the lawgiver as putting it to himself.")

830 a 4. τι τῶν τοιούτων ἕτερον ἀγωνισμάτων: for the separation of the pronoun and noun cp. 820 c 2 and d 2.

a 5. ἀπηντῶμεν: the speaker has tacitly put himself in the combatant's place, though he does not do this explicitly till the next line.

b 1. διεπονούμεθα: cp. on 795 c 1.

b 2. εἰς τότε, "on that future occasion," "when the time came." (Not, as L. & S., "until then.") Cp. 845 d 2. So Greek sometimes uses ἐκέισε or ἐκέιθεν for ἐκεῖ.

b 3. ἀντὶ ἱμάντων σφαίρας ἂν περιεδούμεθα: Plutarch (*Quomodo quis s. i. v. p. sentiat*, ch. 9 init. p. 80 b) describes pugnacious talkers as τοὺς λόγους ὥσπερ ἱμάντας ἢ σφαίρας ἐπιδούμενοι. This suggests that, though the σφαῖρα was doubtless less formidable than the ἱμάς, the σφαιρομαχεῖν of e 3 was really a "punishing" kind of contest.

\*c 1 f. ἀπορήσαντές ποτε . . . οὐκ ἐτολμήσαμεν ἂν: the change from the impf. to the aor. perhaps marks the supposition as even

more inconceivable than the previous ones, or perhaps it is merely made for variety's sake.

c 3. αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς σκιαμαχεῖν ὄντως, "to have literally nothing but our own shadow to fight against." The ὄντως implies that this word for *sparring* or *practice-fighting*—St. Paul's *ἀέρα δέρειν*, Vergil's *verberat ictibus auras*—was often used metaphorically of a contest against unreal opponents; here it is used in the literal sense of "fighting with a shadow"—i.e., as the πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς shows, with their *own*. (Had St. Paul this passage in mind when he wrote 1 Cor. ix. 26 f.? He, too, says he fights "*with himself*," but *not* with a shadow; it is his own body that he punishes.)—τί ποτε ἄλλο . . . γεγόνει; "what else could you say the course of gesticulation is?" i.e. what else but a fighting with a shadow? Ast aptly quotes Pausan. vi. 10 σκιαμαχοῦντος δὲ ὁ ἀνδριᾶς παρέχεται σχῆμα, ὅτι ὁ Γλαῦκος ἦν ἐπιτηδεύτατος τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν χειρονομῆσαι πεφυκώς.

c 7. χεῖρόν τι παρασκευασάμενον, "after a less careful preparation."

c 9. διαμαχοῦμενον, which is supported by Vat. 1029 and O<sup>2</sup>, and by Ficinus's translation "*pugnaturā*," was conjectured by Steph. for the διαμαχόμενον of ALO and the previous editions.

d 2. ταῦτα δῆ: adverbial (cp. 686 a 7, 751 d 3, 804 d 6, 873 a 3). "And so, is the lawgiver to neglect his duty, because he is afraid that people will laugh at us for fighting against each other, and not to ordain (προστάττων), etc.?"

d 4. μάλιστα μὲν, "if possible"; cp. above, 758 d 1.

d 5. εἰς ταῦτα συντείνων: he must make this preparation for war the one aim and object of all the minor gymnastics, whether combined (χορούς) or individual.

d 6. τὰς δὲ οἷόν τινας μείζους τε καὶ ἐλάττους γυμνασίας: οἷόν τινας, "a sort of," as a qualification of the adj. μείζους as applied to γυμνασίας, is quite in the style of the *Laws*. But when attention is specially being directed to some γυμνασίαι which are contrasted with the γυμνάσια which are σμικρά (and χωρὶς τῶν ὅπλων), it is disconcerting to find them described as "both the greater and the smaller." Ficinus ignores τε καὶ ἐλάττους, and Ast, perhaps rightly, proposes to omit the words. Stallb. leaves these words, but proposes to read ἐνοπλίους for οἷόν τινας. I would suggest, as an alternative solution, a combination of these two emendations, which would give us τὰς δὲ οἷόν τινας μείζους τε καὶ ἐνοπλίους γυμνασίας. The ἐλάττους may have been due to the following ἔλαττον which caught the scribe's eye at the wrong time.



d 8. In προστάξει he slightly changes the construction in mid course.

e 2. ἐνέδρας: acc. plur. as Stallb., not gen. sing. as Ast; it is governed by ἐπί: "eagerly vying with each other in the occupation of (the best) positions and the setting of ambushes."

e 3. ὄντως σφαιρομαχεῖν τε καὶ βολαῖς ὡς ἐγγύτατα τῶν ἀληθῶν: the words τε καὶ βολαῖς are added as if σφαίραις μάχεσθαι had gone before: "to do real fighting both with σφαίραι (cp. above b 4) and with missile strokes as like as may be to real ones;" ἐγγύτατα is used here in the sense of an adj., like ἐγγύς at Rep. 395 a 3 τὰ δοκοῦντα ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων εἶναι δύο μιμήματα.—The following words explain how they are to make their βολαί as near as possible to real ones. (Schneider prefers the ἀληθῶς of L and O to A's ἀληθῶν, translating "jaculationibus, eorum qui vere pugnant quam simillimis." ἀληθῶς gets some support, I think, from ἀληθινόν at 831 a 2, for it looks as if Plato preferred the latter adjective in the meaning *genuine*, of things.—Out of σφαιρομαχεῖν Ficinus gets "pila se exerceant undique se vertentes," i.e. they are not only to use the "balls," but to behave like balls in turning about.)

831 a 1. In διανέμων he returns to the subject of προστάξει, i.e. ὁ νομοθέτης.

a 5 ff. ἀνθρώπων μὲν τελευτησάντων . . . φόβον δὲ οἶον τελευτήσαντος: if a few men are "put out of the way," it will not matter much, but if fear of danger is "put out of the way," so to speak, the city will suffer much more seriously. The οἶον saves the sentence from an un-Platonic rhetorical ring.

b 5. χορεία καὶ ἀγωνία: the former word refers to the lesser γυμνάσια, the latter to the "greater"; cf. d 4 and 6 respectively.

c 4. τὴν μὲν ὑπ' ἔρωτος . . . ποιῶντος: a very elliptical and conversational mode of expression; it is "short" for "one cause I would say is the fact that the love of money, etc."—πάντα χρόνον ἄσχολον ποιῶντος τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι πλὴν κτλ., "makes every hour incapable of harbouring a care for anything except one's own possessions."

c 6 ff. ἐξ ὧν κτλ., "the soul of every citizen is absorbed in these, and cannot give a thought to anything besides the day's winnings. Whatever study or practice contributes to that object everybody sets himself with alacrity to learn and to practise; all other pursuits they scorn."—ἰδίᾳ πᾶς is "pro se quisque" (Schneider).

d 5. ὑπομένειν, "*subire*" (Schn.) = "consent to employ."

d 7. πάντως here is "absolutely"; below at e 2 it is "without fail," as above at 665 c 5.—μηδὲν δυσχεραίνοντα, "without a moment's hesitation"; μηδέν is adverbial.

d 8. καθάπερ θηρίῳ, "as if the recipient were a mere animal"; the dat. looks forward to παρασχέιν.—The genitives τοῦ φαγεῖν and (τοῦ) πιεῖν and ἀφροδισίων depend not on δύναμιν but on πλησμονήν: "if he can only provide himself, as if he were a mere beast, (with) an unfailing and complete glut of all kinds of eating and drinking and venery."—Steph.'s alteration of θηρίῳ to θήριον, of which Ast approves, spoils the passage. Animals have neither the desire nor the opportunity of unlimited physical indulgence; the Ath.'s point is that the rich man's money is solely employed in gratifying appetites which every animal shares with man, "starving the soul" meanwhile (832 a 5).

e 4. διακωλύουσα αἰτία τοῦ μήτε ἄλλο καλὸν μήτε τ. π. τ. π. ἑῶσα ἀσκέιν: ἑῶσα shatters the construction, but is useful in leading up to ἀλλ' ἀπεργαζομένη. It is inconceivable that a subsequent hand should have put in ἑῶσα—as Herm. thinks—when it was not there originally. Ast thought the τοῦ was spurious; but it is better, with Winckelmann and Stallb., to suppose a conversational anacoluthon.

e 7. πάντως ("mere") qualifies διακόνους; so above, 791 c 5 παντελῶς παίδων, and 639 b 11 σφόδρα γυναικῶν.

832 a 1. πολεμικούς is here used in a bad sense: "pugnacious, quarrelsome—? jingoes." Cp. Plut. *Hygieia praecepta* ch. 9 ὁ Δημάδης πολεμικούς ἀκαίρως τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὄντας ἔλεγε μηδέποτε χειροτονεῖν εἰρήνην ἄνευ μελάνων ἱματίων.

a 3. πῶς λέγεις; i.e. "wherein lies their ill-fortune?"

a 5. οἷς γε ἀνάγκη διὰ βίου πεινώσιν τὴν ψυχὴν ἀεὶ τὴν αὐτῶν διεξελθεῖν: Ast, Stallb., and Wagner understand the "lifelong hunger of the soul" to mean no more than the *insatiable craving for wealth* described above (831 c and d). Cleinias, in his answer (a 10), shows that he too was satisfied with this explanation. But surely there is a further significance in these words. Plato says that the men of his time are entirely absorbed in the pursuit of wealth. *Wealth can only satisfy the animal desires* (831 d 8 ff.). The soul then all this time must be starved.—διὰ βίου—with ἀεὶ—probably goes with πεινώσιν, and διεξελθεῖν is used absolutely, as at 805 b 5, and *Rep.* 484 a, in the sense of "to run their course" (though διὰ βίου διεξελθεῖν is not, as Ast thought, an impossible construction).—The τὴν αὐτῶν fixes the

responsibility for the neglect of their own higher interests on the seekers after wealth themselves.

**a 10.** The missing article, which was preserved in L, was conjecturally supplied by Ast.

**b 4.** μῶν οὐ . . . δοκῶ; "I expect you think that."

**b 5 f.** "No," Cleinias answers, "but what I must call (οἶον) your hatred of the money-grubber has apparently led you into an unnecessarily lengthy tirade."—τῷ παραπεπτωκότι λόγῳ is dat. with δέοντος—"than is called for by the subject of the moment."

**b 8.** ἀκούειτ' ἄν, "you are ready to hear."

**b 10.** τὰς οὐ πολιτείας, "sham communities"; cp. 715 b 5 στασιώτας ἀλλ' οὐ πολίτας τούτους φαμέν, and *Rep.* 422 e πόλεις παμπολλαὶ ἀλλ' οὐ πόλεις, *Polit.* 303 c ὡς οὐκ ὄντας πολιτικούς ἀλλὰ στασιωτικούς.

**c 1.** πολλάκις: e.g. 712 e 9 ff., 714 a b, 756 e 9 ff.

**c 3.** στασιωτεῖαι, "not communities but disunities."

**c 5.** καλόν κτλ. are masc.

**c 6.** οὔτε τὸ παράπαν πολεμικόν, "and least of all (will he allow him to be) a good fighter"; τὸ παράπαν qualifies the preceding negative.

**c 7.** ταῦτ' οὖν τὰ δύο . . . ὄντως διαφέρει, "now these two things are pretty well pre-eminent among the causes of all (evils); anyhow of *these* (evils) they are undoubtedly the pre-eminent causes." The fact that ταῦτα τὰ δύο are *evils* makes it easier to understand πάντων and τούτων of evils also. The sentence is rather carelessly framed; possibly διαφέρει is a commentator's addition.

**c 9.** I follow Badham in reading νομοθετοῦμεν, ᾶ for the MS. νομοθετούμενοι, with no comma after λέγομεν; the middle νομοθετούμενοι is suspicious.

**d 2.** ἐλεύθεροι: i.e. οἱ πολῖται, "de qua synesi v. ad 828 b" (Stallb.).

**d 3 f.** ἐκ (τούτων τῶν νόμων), "as the result of." Cp. *Rep.* 465 b ἐκ τῶν νόμων εἰρήνην πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ ἄνδρες ἄξουσιν;—ὥστ' εἰκότως ἅμα καὶ κατὰ λόγον κτλ., "so that it is reasonably to be expected that a constitution like ours would be the only one of those at present existing to find a place for what is at once the warrior's training and—as above described—the warrior's sport [duly set forth in detail in our discussion]." Ficinus for *both* διαπερανθῆσαν and ἀποτελεσθῆσαν ὀρθῶς τῷ λόγῳ gives "de quibus recte disseruimus." Both certainly mean much the same

thing, and I strongly suspect that the latter is a marginal interpretation of the former which has found its way into the text. Ritter rightly insists on the close connexion of παιδείαν τε ἄμα καὶ παιδιάν (as at 656 c 2). They refer to the *same thing*—the ἡ τοιαύτη χορεία τε καὶ ἀγωνία of 831 b 5—which is at once *training* and (holiday) *amusement*—πολέμον τ' ἐν χρείᾳ καὶ ἑορτῶν ἔνεκα (796 c 3). (Schneider, Wagn., and Jowett sever this connexion by taking the former with διαπερανθείσαν, and the latter with ἀποτελεσθείσαν.)

d 9. μνησθῆναί ποτε . . . ὥς, “to state, once for all, that . . .”

e 3. ἃ ὃ ἔστιν, “which these are,” i.e. “which among exercises are useful to the soldier.”

e 5. καὶ τάχος ὅλως, “and activity in general”; ὅλως goes only with τάχος.

e 9. ὀξύτης, “keenness, vehemence,” is a little more general than τάχος.—ἀπό, “due to”; cp. *Symp.* 215 c τῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος δυνάμει.

833 a 1. φυγεῖν μὲν καὶ ἐλείν: out of the preceding πολεμικώτατον we may supply a general word for “good for,” “useful for” with these infinitives.—ἡ ἐν ταῖς συμπλοκαῖς μάχη καὶ σύστασις, “a hand-to-hand stand-up fight”; μάχη καὶ σύστασις is a hendiadys—“a *set* fight” (not “a *keen* fight”). (Where σύστασις seems to mean “*excitement*” we ought probably to read σύντασις—which Badham would read here.)

a 2. ἰσχύος καὶ ῥώμης: cp. *Symp.* 190 b 5 ἦν οὖν τὴν ἰσχὺν δεινὰ καὶ τὴν ῥώμην.

a 4. οὐ μὴν χωρὶς γε ὅπλων οὐδετέρα τὴν μεγίστην ἔχει χρεῖαν, “but neither of the two faculties is seen to the full advantage unless its owner is armed.”

a 8. παρακαλεῖ: fut.

a 10. ὁ τὸ στάδιον ἀμιλλησόμενος: so also ἀγωνίζεσθαι and ἀσκέειν are used with the acc. of the distance to be run.

b 1. It is open to us to guess what the length of the ἐφίππιος (δρόμος) was. That of the δόλιχος cannot be fixed with certainty, but if we put that at (roughly) 1200 yards, 800 yards seems a likely length for the ἐφίππιος. Possibly it was the double δίαυλος, and got its name from its being much used for chariot-races.

b 2. πέμπτος: the fifth race seems to be that between the ὀπλίτης and the τοξότης, in which the former was handicapped by his full armour, and the latter by the (4½ miles) extra distance he had to traverse, and the rough nature of the ground. The πρῶτον



seems to stand for *πρῶτον μέν*, and to go along with the following *τὸν δὲ ἄλλον*, and to mean "in the first case"—not that the *ὀπλίτης* had a slight start.

b 3. *πρὸς ἱερὸν Ἀρεῶς τι καὶ πάλιν*: the *τι* shows that Plato is not thinking of any particular temple, but chose to assume that there would be a temple of Ares about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles out of the town. This would make the distance "there and back" roughly 7 miles. The other temple in the hills would be about  $5\frac{3}{4}$  miles from the city. (We owe the elucidation of this passage to Burnet, and more particularly to the comma which he has inserted after *πάλιν*; he also inserted commas after *βαρύτερον*, *ἐπονομάζοντες*, and *ἄλλον*, and expunged those after *μῆκος* and *τι*. All former interpreters—except Müller, Jowett, and (perhaps) Ritter—held that there were two heavy-armed races—one "heavier" than the other—and one archer's race. That Burnet's interpretation of *πρὸς ἱερὸν Ἀρεῶς τι καὶ πάλιν* is correct is proved by the *μενοῦμεν τούτους ἕως ἂν ἔλθωσι* in c 1; "we will await their return." It is not clear whether there were to be separate prizes for the *ὀπλίται* and the *τοξόται*, or one between them. If the former had been the case we should probably have had *τὸν δὲ ἕκτον* instead of *τὸν δὲ ἄλλον* in b 5.)

b 4. *ὀπλίτην ἐπονομάζοντες*: the term *ὀπλίτης* was generally applied to the race between men in full armour; here it probably denotes the competitor.

b 5. *πάσαν* is adverbial, "equipped at all points as an archer should be."

b 7. *τήν*: sc. *ὁδόν*.

c 2. *ἔλθωσι*, "come back"; so below at 866 c 5 and 7.—*τῷ νικῶντι ἐκάστων*, "to the victor among each class of runners"; i.e. "to all the respective victors."

c 4. *τριτὰ δὴ ταῦτα ἀθλήματα διανοηθῶμεν*, "let us devise contests in these three classes."

c 5. *τοῖς*: sc. *ἀθλήμασι*.

c 6. *τὰ δύο*: sc. *μέρη*.

c 7. *τὰ τούτων ἡμίσεα*, "the halves of these (courses)"; i.e. in the case of each race the youngest class of competitors are to run half the full course; so that it is *δρόμων* or *μηκῶν*, and not *μερῶν* (as Fic. and Schneider) that has to be supplied with *τούτων*.—*τοξόταις τε καὶ ὀπλίταις ἀμιλλωμένοις*, "whether they contend as archers or as hoplites."

c 8. *γυμναῖς*: probably this means the same as *ψιλῶ* at a 9, and the contrasted *πρεπούση στολῇ* at d 4 means the accoutre-

ments proper to either ὀπλίτης or τοξότης. It is immaterial whether the girl competitors were to have any clothing on or not. They are, however, only to run on the race-course, not across country. This limitation is some confirmation of the above-given explanation of *πρεπούση στολή*. No accoutrements are necessary for the little girls' races in the race-course, but they are needed for all the other races.

d 3. *μὲν οὖσαις* MSS. and the first five edd. Boeckh (p. 180), when dealing with the faulty MS. *μὲν οὔσαν* of 692 b 7, calls attention to the fact that MSS. of Euseb. *Prep. Ev.* xiii. 707 B have, in quoting this passage, either *μενούσης* or *μενούσαις*. The latter reading is the better attested in Eus., but Boeckh preferred the former, and all subsequent editors except Burnet have followed him. They take *μενούσης κοινωνίας* to be a direction that *a taking part* (in these contests) is to *go on* for such and such a time. Burnet rightly refuses to renounce the well-attested *μενούσαις*. *γάμων* and *κοινωνίας* are manifestly to be taken together, as are *γάμων* and *κοινωνία* at 721 a 4. "But for girls who are over thirteen and are still unmarried, the contests are to go on to any age between eighteen and twenty; but this class must be fully equipped with the proper accoutrement when they compete in these races."

d 7. *ἀντὶ μὲν πάλης καὶ τῶν τοιούτων, τὰ νῦν ὅσα βαρέα*, "in the place of wrestling-matches, and the like—all the present-day contests, that is, which require great effort."

e 3. Here (as at 832 b 10) the corrector of O (followed by the first five edd., though Steph. doubted) makes a very unintelligent correction, by inserting *μὴ* before *ποιήσαντα*; *ἃ ποιήσαντα* means "what things a combatant is to inflict on his antagonist," and *ἃ μὴ παθόντα* "what things he is *not* to let his antagonist inflict on him," in order to be victorious in the contest. (So below at e 8 *ὅτι μὴ παθὼν ἢ δράσας*.)

e 4. *εἰς ὅποσα*: Schneider and Ritter are doubtless right in interpreting this to refer to the number of "hits" or "points" necessary for victory.—*διενομοθετήσαντο*: gnomic aorist.

e 6. *ταῦτόν δῃ*: adverbial, "just so."

e 7. *χρὴ τούτους συννομοθετεῖν κελεύειν*, "we must tell these (experts) to help us to settle."

e 8. It is better to remove the comma from after *μάχας*; *τίς . . . ὅτι μὴ παθὼν ἢ δράσας* is two questions rolled into one; "who, by avoiding or doing what?"

834 a 2. *τάξις* is "a set of rules and stipulations," the "code"

of the contest, spoken of as τὰ περὶ ταῦτα νόμιμα at a 6.—καὶ περὶ τῶν θηλειῶν . . . τῶν μέχρι γάμου: i.e. the elder girls—those of whom we were told above at d 4 that they were to bear arms (not *all* girls up to a marriageable age).

a 3. πελταστική, as is indicated by the epithet ὄλη, is here used in a more general sense than that which it had at 813 e 1; it is used to denote all activities of such infantry soldiers as are not ὀπλίται.—ἀντιστήσαντας is subordinate to διαθεμένους.

a 4. τῇ τοῦ παγκρατίου μάχῃ: not “the pancration” (Jowett), for this included πάλη, which has already found an equivalent (d 7), but *the fighting part* of the pancration—i.e. *boxing*.—All MSS. have τόξοις καὶ πέλταις καὶ ἀκοντίοις καὶ λίθων ἐκ χειρὸς τε καὶ σφενδόνας ἀμιλλωμένων. Fortunately the meaning is clear, though it is doubtful if we shall ever recover Plato’s exact words. Aldus concluded that βολῇ had fallen out in all MSS. after λίθων. Ficinus seems to have come to the same conclusion, for he translates “certeturque arcu, pelta, lanceis, lapidumque manu et fundae projectione.” This further suggests that he may have read σφενδόνης for σφενδόνας—a very likely emendation. Burnet alone has adopted Schneider’s simpler conjecture that λίθων is a mistake for λίθῳ; λίθῳ ἐκ χειρὸς makes a sort of compound phrase which could be set against σφενδόνας (though I prefer σφενδόνης). τόξοις ἀμιλλ. stands for *archers*, πέλταις καὶ ἀκοντίοις for *peltasts proper*, the rest of the words for *slingers*. (Badham would read παλτοῖς for πέλταις, “because peltasts do not throw their targets at the enemy.”)

a 6. τῷ κάλλιστα ἀποδιδόντι τὰ περὶ ταῦτα νόμιμα, “to the man who best satisfies the requirements of the contest.”

b 2 ff. ἵππων . . . αὐτῶν, “in Crete there is not much use for horses, and there are not many horses to use; it follows that not much attention is paid there either to horse-rearing or to horse-racing.”

b 4. For ἐν following σπουδὰς γίνεσθαι cp. *Rep.* 599 b ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ἂν σπουδάσειεν—varied, in the next clause, by ἐπί, as here by περί.

b 6. For ἡμῖν Fic. seems to have read ὑμῖν.—οὔτε τις φιλοτιμία πρὸς ταῦτα οὐδενὶ γίγνεται ἂν λόγον ἔχουσα, “and there will be no appreciable enthusiasm about them” (H.J.).

b 7 ff. Prof. Henry Jackson has kindly sent me a translation of this passage which, I think, sheds light on it for the first time. He calls attention to the μέν in b 7 and the δέ in c 1 as introducing two limbs of the sentence begun by ὥστε—(1) οὐκ

ἐπιχώριον ἔσται, and (2) ἀποδιδοῖμεν ἄν: he would put no stops between ὥστε and κεκτῆσθαι, and only a comma after κεκτῆσθαι; he translates: "and therefore, though it will not be the fashion [of the country] to foster competition of this sort, and so to be foolish and to have a reputation for folly, we shall notwithstanding, etc." (Ritter (followed by Burnet), by putting commas before and after οὐκ ἐπιχώριον, shows that he accepts Schneider's view of the passage, i.e. that it is literally "so that *it will be that* men instituting" (as if it were τοὺς τιθέντας) "competition in this (kind of race), it being an outlandish thing, would neither have nor seem to have their wits about them." But is ὥστε ἔσται ἔχειν a possible construction as an alternative for ὥστε ἔχειν?—Aristotle would read ὁ οὐκ ἐπιχώριον ἔστι, Stallb. οὐ γὰρ ἐπιχώριον ἔσται, Wagner regards the words οὐκ ἐπιχώριον ἔσται as spurious.)—The phrase ἀγωνιστὰς τιθέναι is an extraordinary one: ἀγῶνας τιθέναι, ἀθλα τιθέναι are common, but the fact that they are common makes ἀγωνιστὰς τιθέναι the more remarkable. I would suggest that ἀγωνιστάς is a mistake for ἀγωνίας; see d 1. (F.H.D. would cut out the word τιθέντας.)

c 1. As in the case of the human runners, the horses are to be arranged in three classes.

c 4. ἔστω κατὰ νόμον ἄμιλλα = νομοθετῶμεν ἄμιλλαν.—τούτων αὐτῶν is the competitors, i.e. the horsemen.

c 6. ἀπάντων τῶν τε δρόμων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν καταβαινόντων: i.e. this committee of cavalry officers is to decide (1) as to the lengths of the courses, and (2) as to which of the competitors is the victor.

c 7. οὐτ' ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς: he forgets, for the moment, the case of the little girls.—ἐνταῦθα is ἐν τῷ ἵππικῳ ἀγῶνι.

d 2. καὶ τούτων: i.e. for light as well as for heavy cavalry.

d 3. If παιδιᾶς χάριν is the right reading, it is a mere repetition of the suggestion, of τὴν ἵππικὴν παιδιάν (c 3), that these are all sports, and παιδιᾶς χάριν would be = "sportive." But the confusion in MSS. between παιδιά and παιδεία is so common that it is almost open to the reader to choose the word of the two which best suits the passage. Ritter is strongly of opinion that we ought to read παιδείας here. If this kind of soldier is wanted *he ought to be trained*. At c 3 the first five printed edd. have παιδείαν.

d 4. The variant ἀξία of A and L is mysterious. Perhaps there was a late idiom in which the noun ἀξία was so used—like the French idiom "*ce n'est pas la peine*." οὐκ ἀξία, "it isn't worth



while." Ast and most other interpreters take τῆς κοινωνίας along with περὶ τούτων, as if we had περὶ τῆς τούτων κοινωνίας. Stallb. takes the gen. closely with ἐπιτάξουσιν, as if it meant "orders to participate."

d 6. εἰς ἔθος ἰόντων: i.e. in cases where, owing to previous training, athletic and quasi-military exercise has become an ingrained habit.—παῖδας ἢ παρθένους, "either as little girls or elder maidens." (Some edd. prefer to put the comma after δυσχεραίνω instead of after κοινωνεῖν.)

d 8. ἀγωνία describes the aspect of gymnastics dealt with in the present book, i.e. the public gymnastic contests as incidents in the religious festivals; μάθησις describes the educational side of gymnastics, as dealt with in Bk. VII. 813-816, and briefly noticed above at 830 d 4-6.

e 1. Almost all editors accept Winckelmann's <ἐν> before διδασκάλων. Ast printed ὑπὸ διδασκάλων at Steph.'s suggestion. Schneider alone of modern editors retains the MS. διδασκάλων ἐκπονούμεθα.—ἐκπονεῖσθαι takes the place of the more usual διαπονεῖσθαι (e.g. 846 d 8), and has perhaps more the notion of the *successful completion* of the training.

e 2. καὶ δὴ καὶ μουσικῆς: "Music" too comes into consideration in this book as an adjunct to festivals.

e 3. καὶ τῶν τούτοις ἐπομένων: probably these words refer to the reciters of πανηγυρικοὶ λόγοι.

e 5. τοῖς μετὰ θεῶν: i.e. δαίμοσι καὶ ἥρωσι. Cp. 738 d 2 and 848 d 2.

e 6. τότε probably looks back to ταχθέντων (Ast and Stallb.).

e 7 f. εἴτε . . . διανεμηθῶσιν: those who take εἴτε . . . εἴτε as *sive* . . . *sive* are bound to follow Ast and insert ἂν after ὅπως; but Stallb. rightly points out that it is possible to take εἴτε . . . εἴτε to be used in the sense of *πότερον* . . . ἢ, and that διανεμηθῶσιν may be a *deliberative* subjunctive—"ob sie sollen angesetzt werden." We have been told that all the contests will be arranged to take place at particular intervals; the following words mention one or two such intervals:—"it will be settled, that is, whether they are to be arranged to take place every two years" (as we should say) "or every four years, or in whatever way or manner the gods may suggest as to their order."

835 a 1. For ἐννοιαν διδόναι in the sense of "give a notion of," "put an idea into someone's head," cp. *Tim.* 47 a μῆνές τε καὶ ἐνιαυτῶν περίοδοι μεμηχάνηται μὲν ἀριθμόν, χρόνον δ' ἐννοιαν . . . ἔδοσαν. (Some festivals of Dionysus, e.g., were celebrated when

the intercalary month was inserted every two years at the winter solstice, and the mythologists provided various reasons why the god liked to have it so.)

**a 2.** τότε καί, "on these occasions too."—The dates of these greater festivals having been settled on religious considerations (ἐννοίαν διδόντων τῶν θεῶν—cp. also 828 a 2), the authorities for the time being are to legislate (γενομένων νομοθετῶν αὐτῶν a 5) as to the order and rules of the several musical contests.—κατὰ μέρος, "each in its turn."

**a 5.** τοῦ goes with the dependent interrogative sentence πότε . . . ποιήσονται. Cp. above, 811 b 8.

**b 1.** πολλάκις: e.g. at 798–802 in Bk. VII.—τῷ πρώτῳ νομοθέτῃ: i.e. the Athenian himself, the δεῦτεροι being the committee; cp. a 3 f.

**c 1–8.** "But there *is* a matter which is of great importance: about which it is so difficult to produce conviction that it would really task a god to do so, supposing it to have been possible that actual ordinances should come from heaven. As it is, our help must lie in a bold man—one who will make a virtue of plain speaking and declare his belief as to what is the true interest of the state and its citizens. In the face of a corrupt world he will make such ordinances as the whole constitution needs and demands: he must oppose desire at its strongest, and, with never a man to take his part, rely in his extremity on reason as his only guide." From here down to 842 a the Ath. deals with a thorny subject. The impressive words of the little preface just translated mark at once its difficulty and its importance.

**c 2.** αὐτάς, "actual," "explicit." The Athenian implies that, although we cannot have the actual words of the laws spoken by a divine voice, it is none the less from God that we must get them. As Ritter says (p. 256) the λόγος, which is to be the bold prophet's only guide, is of the nature of a *revelation*, and gives us assurance of divine approval, λόγος ὥσπερ παρὰ θεοῦ λεχθείς (861 b 6).

**c 5.** ἐν ψυχαῖς διεφθαρμέναις: ἐν denotes the tribunal before which the cause is to be judged; cp. *Gorg.* 464 d εἰ δέοι ἐν παισὶ διαγωνίζεσθαι ὀφιοποιόν τε καὶ ἰατρόν.

**c 6.** ἐπόμενον is "becoming to," "in harmony with."

**d 1.** τίν' αὖ νῦν . . . λόγον λέγομεν; "what subject have we got to now?"

**d 3.** ἀλλὰ δὴ πειράσομαι ἐγώ, "come! I don't mind trying."

**d 4.** L (with O<sup>2</sup>) seems to have here preserved the best reading

in *ἔτι*. Schneider alone gives the *τι* of A and O; all the early edd. down to Ast give us *ἔτι τι*.—ὥς γὰρ εἰς παιδείαν ἦλθον τῷ λόγῳ, εἶδον νέους τε κτλ.: as we might say, "our discussion about training brought before my eyes a vision of young people, etc." Cp. *Rep.* 536 c λέγων γὰρ ἄμα ἔβλεψα, and above, 804 b 7 πρὸς γὰρ τὸν θεὸν ἀπιδὼν καὶ παθὼν . . . ὅπερ εἴρηκα νῦν. The form of expression reminds us of Bunyan's repeated "And I saw in my dream."

d 6. δέ (with a comma after ἀλλήλοις), the reading of L, gives, I think, a better and more normal construction than the δή of A and O (with a colon after ἀλλ.).—φοβηθῆναι συννοήσαντα, "to reflect with apprehension"; better without the comma which Burnet has inserted between them.—τί τις χρήσεται τῇ τοιαύτῃ πόλει . . . ; "how is one to manage with a city so constituted that, etc.?" This question is repeated in a more explicit and intelligible form at e 2, where the special difficulty is explained.

e 1. Here again L (with O<sup>2</sup>) has preserved in ὕβριν the right reading; naturally no editions have perpetuated the senseless ὑμῖν of A and O.

e 2. μέλουνσιν διὰ βίον, "are the business of their life."

e 3. πολλά, which Winckelmann conjectured, is probably the correct reading, but it has no MS. authority; for (*pace* Burnet), A, like O, reads πολλαί. The mistake probably arose from the misreading of an *ω* that looked like *α*. (Stallb. conjectured πολλάκις. Most early editors adopted Aldus's καὶ πολλάς.)

e 4 f. ὁ λόγος . . . νόμος ἐπιχειρῶν γίγνεσθαι : ἐπιχειρῶν adds a touch of personality to the λόγος. The words are a simple expression of the spirit of the whole treatise. It is to the binding power of Right Reason, when acknowledged by the human conscience in the form of a Law, to which Plato appeals in the present difficulty. Cp. Wordsworth (*Ode to Duty*):

The confidence of reason give,

And in the light of truth thy Bondman let me live.

e 6. οὐ θαυμαστὸν εἰ κρατοῖ : a peculiar optative. Probably οὐ θ. εἰ κρατεῖ (which Ast would write here) is "the fact that they have the power is not remarkable"; while οὐ θ. εἰ κρατοῖ is "the idea that they have the mastery ought not to surprise us"; so that it is a variety of ἵσως οὐκ ἂν θαυμαστὸν εἴη εἰ κρατοῖ. In a somewhat similar construction at *Meno* 91 d τέρας λέγεις εἰ . . . is followed by an opt. with ἄν; at *Rep.* 428 d the MSS. have

βουλεύεται . . . ὄντινα τρόπον . . . ἄριστα ὁμιλοῖ, where editors generally follow Ast in reading ὄντιν' ἄν.—In the *Rep.* passage, as here, the best MS. authorities favour -οῖ rather than -οίη.

836 a 2. *πάσα ἡ παιδεία μετρίους πρὸς τὰ τοιαύτ' εἴληφεν νόμους*, "every step of their training is provided with good laws for securing such results"—i.e. laws favouring temperance.

a 4. *ἡ τῶν ἀρχόντων ὄψις*: we have heard at 809 a 3 of the "sharp" sight of the Minister of Education.—*διηναγκασμένη*, as at 670 b 10, means "drilled, trained."

a 5. *τηρεῖν δ' αἰεί, τοὺς νέους τ' αὐτοὺς*: Aldus, and all editors before Burnet, read *τηρεῖν δ' αἰεὶ τοὺς νέους. ταῦτ' οὖν κτλ.* By inserting a comma after *αἰεί* Burnet has shown that the MS. reading is quite intelligible. *διευλαβοῦτ' ἄν* in b 2 is the counterpart of *τηρεῖν*; *ὄψις* therefore goes better than *ταῦτ'* as the subj. of *μ. ἔχει*. The primary object of *τηρεῖν* is the laws about education. The *παιδείας ἐπιμελήτης* must "see that the laws are not infringed, and that the youth of the state is not corrupted."

a 6. *ὅσα γε ἀνθρώπινα*: at *Ep.* vii. 350 e 2 (to which Stallb. refers) *ὅσα γε δὴ τάνθρώπινα* means "in all human probability." It was doubtless a more or less well-known phrase. Here it means "as far as human devices can." We have been told above at 835 c 1 that the task contemplated would need *divine* help. (Ficinus evidently took the same view of the passage as Ast—who would read *ὅσαι γ' ἀνθρώπιναι*—for he translates "*ceteris quidem humanis cupiditatibus modum adhibent.*"—Serranus has "*quatenus patitur humana infirmitas.*")—*μέτρον ἔχει*, "provide a limit (a curb)."—*τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἐρώτων παίδων τε ἀρρένων καὶ θηλειῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν γυναικῶν*: Ficinus in translating *ἐρώτων* inserts the words "*contra naturam*," rendering the last four genitives by "*virorum pro feminis et mulierum pro viris abusum.*" Ast takes the same line (except that he seems to take the last four genitives to be subjective), and so do Stallbaum, Jowett and Ritter. Stallb. says this view "is confirmed beyond a doubt by what immediately follows." In other words these interpreters hold that the passage refers exclusively to "unnatural loves of either sex" (Jowett). On the other hand, Zeller (*Stud. Plat.* p. 94), Wagner (and, possibly, Schneider) hold that Plato is here speaking only of passions between the opposite sexes. I have been much helped here by F.H.D. in coming to the conclusion that the latter view is correct.

The rest of this p. 836 (and possibly p. 837 as well) does deal with unnatural lust. But the subject of the whole passage



(835 d—842 a) is the regulation of sexual passion in general. The Cretan vice of paederasty is an *extreme* instance of unregulated "sexual" passion. This horror must be got rid of before proceeding (as he does at 839 a 1) to regulate the natural sexual relation.

The *τέ* after *παίδων* is significant. It goes with the *καί* before *γυναικῶν*. The suggestion is that it is not only the love of *νέοι* and *νέαι*, with the mention of which this discussion began at 835 d 5, which must be taken into account. Grown men and women are subject to the sway of this passion, and it is to these that the *ὅθεν δὴ* clause (b 1) refers. These passions have had far-reaching, even world-wide results—one thinks of the classical cases of Paris and Achilles, of Phaedra and Medea—possibly, if it is right to reject the Aldine *κακά* and all that it implies, of Alcestis, and of the chivalrous love of Achilles for the Euripidean Iphigenia at Aulis. Surely such far-reaching results could not be traced to paederasty.

**b 1.** *μυρία γέγονεν*, "untold happenings have befallen." Aldus, with no MS. authority, inserted *κακά* after the word *πόλεσιν*, and all editors but Burnet have followed him. Even without the *κακά* the Homeric passage, which it seems meant to recall, might suggest that *μυρία ἄλγεα* was meant; but there is no need to think that Plato meant that passionate love between adults causes nothing but evil, though the *κινδύνον* in b 3 shows that evil might result.

**b 2 f.** *τί τεμὼν φάρμακον τούτοις ἐκάστοις*; he uses the same poetical metaphor below at 919 b 3, where it is followed by a genitive of the malady.

**b 4.** All edd. have followed the corrector of O in replacing the *διαφυγείν* of all MSS. by *διαφυγῆν* (and so Fic.).—*καὶ γὰρ οὖν κτλ.*, "the fact is that, whereas in other respects the Cretan nation and Sparta are kind enough to lend us material aid when we are framing laws which the world thinks eccentric . . ."

**b 7.** *ἀλλοίους τῶν πολλῶν τρόπων*: as Stallb. points out, the article in such cases does double duty; so at *Gorg.* 481 d *τοῦ Πυριλάμπους* stands for *τοῦ τοῦ Πυριλάμπους*.

**b 8.** *αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἔσμεν*: Stallb. cps. Cic. *De div.* ii. 12 "sed soli sumus, licet verum exquirere sine invidia."

**c 1.** A and O omitted the *πρό* before *τοῦ*, L preserved it; all the early edd. before Stallb. omit the *τοῦ*. For the subject cp. Athen. xiii. 602 f.—Badham would read *ἀκολουθόν* for *-ὦν*.

**c 2.** *ὁρθῶς εἶχεν*: the "philosophic" impf.; "it was, as you see," i.e. "it always was."

c 4. πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα : i.e. πρὸς μεῖξιν ἀφροδισίων.

c 6. The MSS. have τάχ' ἂν χρῶτο πιθανῶ λόγῳ, καὶ ταῖς ὑμετέραις πόλεσιν οὐδαμῶς συμφωνοῖ; I have small doubt that Badham is right in reading ἀπιθάνῳ, and I propose with some confidence to read συμφώνῳ for συμφωνοῖ. (Stallbaum here, like most editors, is content with the MS. text, but he forces on καί the meaning "*et tamen*." Hermann would read εἰ καί for καί. The γάρ in c 1 promises a more positive statement than that of the MSS.)

c 7. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις : i.e. "besides the argument from nature."

d 1. τοῦτο ἐν τούτοις οὐχ ὁμολογεῖ, "*that result is not presented to us under such circumstances*"; τοῦτο is the antecedent to οἷ, i.e. "such a state of things does not do what we expect *our* laws to do, i.e. *promote virtue*."

d 7. τὸ τῆς σώφρονος ἰδέας γένος, "the features of a temperate disposition."

d 8. I think it would be better to insert a comma after μάλλον δέ,—as well as, with Burnet, after τούναντίον—so as to mark ἅπαν τούτου τούναντίον as a parenthetic adverbial phrase. Otherwise the explanatory asyndeton is an unnecessarily harsh one.

e 2. τὴν τῆς εἰκόνης ὁμοιότητα, "his likeness (in character) to what he imitates"—i.e. "his effeminacy."

e 4. ἔχων γε ἐν τῷ νῷ νόμον ἀληθῆ, "if he does not forget what real law is."

e 5. πῶς οὖν φημὲν ἀληθὲς τοῦτο εἶναι; this is a rhetorical question, equivalent to "I will prove it to you"; lit. "how do we establish the truth of this?"

837 a 1. ἐπιθυμίας : so at *Symp.* 200 a ff. ἐρᾶν is identified with ἐπιθυμείν.

a 2. δύο γὰρ ὄντα αὐτά : in the mind of the writer probably αὐτά stood for φιλίας εἶδη. The three εἶδη are (1) ἡ ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων, (2) ἡ ἀπὸ ἐναντίων, and (3) ἡ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τούτοις μεικτή. It will not help us at all in understanding the argument here if we suppose, as Zeller (p. 105) suggests, that the Athenian had in mind the distinction drawn in Pausanias's speech in the *Symposium* (180 d) between ἔρως πάνδημος and ἔρως οὐράνιος (or, again, of the two horses in the *Phaedrus* myth 246 b). Also, though there are points of similarity between Socrates's speech at *Symp.* 201 d ff., and the present disquisition, the two differ both in range and in object. More than that, the present disquisition amounts to a distinct recantation of many of the views expressed

in the earlier erotic discourses (*Lysis*, *Symposium*, *Phaedrus*), and the inculcation of a far stricter code of sexual morality than that of, e.g., *Rep.* 468 b c and 460 b.

**a 6.** φίλον . . . ὁμοιον ὁμοίῳ (*Od.* xvii. 218): this is one of Plato's proverbial commonplaces, which occurs in its simplest form at *Lysis* 214 b 3 τὸ ὁμοιον τῷ ὁμοίῳ ἀνάγκη αἰεὶ φίλον εἶναι. (Cp. above, 773 b 6, *Gorg.* 510 b 2.) Here we have ἴσον added as a synonym, and the qualifying κατ' ἀρετήν (cp. *Lysis* 214 d), which, as Stallb. says, is to be taken both with ὁμοιον and ἴσον. The likeness and equality must be a likeness or equality in excellence. This is assumed below at c 6.

**a 7.** καὶ τὸ δεόμενον τοῦ πεπλουτηκότος: the change from the dat. to the gen. is significant; the latter construction suggests "fond of," rather than "dear to"—for instance we find φίλος μουσικῆς, but not φίλος μουσικῇ.—The difficulties resulting from the confusion between the active and passive senses of φίλος are discussed at *Lysis* 212 a ff. — "Need casts a longing eye on Wealth."

**a 8.** ἐναντίον ὃν τῷ γένει: so in the would-be scientific speech of Eryximachus in the *Symp.* we hear of the love between opposites—τὸ δὲ ἀνόμοιον ἀνομοίων ἐπιθυμεῖ τε καὶ ἐρᾷ (186 b).—ἐκάτερον: scil. εἶδος ἔρωτος.

**b 2.** δεινὴ καὶ ἀγρία: perhaps "violent and unrestrained." The process of bringing into harmony things originally at variance is apt to be a violent one.

**b 3.** τὸ κοινόν is here "reciprocity," as κοινή in the next line is "mutual." The whole question of *beauty* whether of body or soul is swept aside, and the leading feature of *desire* for something not yet reached is taken as the typical feature of physical love, and no other feature is considered.

**b 4.** μεικτὴ δὲ ἐκ τούτων: he admits that what is called love—he is thinking mainly of the mutual relations of *men*—is not always either of the one kind or of the other. So-called love may be the product of both combined. The physical desire may be awake, as well as the mental satisfaction that is felt in excellence or goodness of some kind which the "friend" possesses. —He goes on to point out that (1) it is not easy to distinguish which is the ruling element in this mixed product; and (2) that the two elements are mutually antagonistic.

**b 8.** This ὁ μὲν and ὁ δέ (c 3) is not the same as the preceding τοῦ μὲν and τοῦ δέ; the words here denote not the two kinds of passion but the two men who respectively feel them.

c 1. καθάπερ ὁπώρας, "as if it were so much ripe fruit"—with a punning reference to ὄρας.

c 2. τιμὴν οὐδεμίαν ἀπονέμων τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡθεί τοῦ ἐρωμένου, "without giving a thought to the complexion of his darling's soul."

c 3. πάρεργον μὲν τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἐπιθυμίαν ἔχων, "brushing aside the bodily desire as immaterial."

c 4. ὁρῶν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐρῶν: i.e. to use St. John's phraseology, ἡ ἐπιθυμία τοῦ σαρκός is replaced by ἡ ἐπιθυμία τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν. The eye may be the instrument or handmaid of the "higher" nature, as well as of the "lower."—Plato was doubtless attracted by the assonance; Fic. "considerat potius quam desiderat."

c 5. Schneider's beautiful emendation of the MS. ἐρῶν τῇ ψυχῇ, δεόντως τοῦ ἐρῶν, τῇ ψυχῇ δὲ ὄντως has come to its rights in Burnet's edition (as in Wagner's), in spite of Stallb., Zürr., and Herm.

c 6. περὶ τὸ σῶμα is the equivalent of an objective gen. The early edd. omitted τὸ σῶμα. Steph. first restored the words, and thus the double ψυχῇ and ψυχῆς find their counterpart.

c 7. The introduction of μεγαλοπρεπές takes from the passage the air of a stock philosophical list of virtues.

d 1 f. The MSS. give us ὁ δὲ μειχθεὶς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τρίτος ἔρως οὗτος ἐστ' ὃν νῦν διεληλύθαμεν ὡς τρίτον: it is hard to see what sense can be made out of this reading. I had been wondering whether we ought to read ἄκριτον for τρίτον in d 2—ἄκριτον being equivalent to the καταμαθεῖν οὐ ῥαδία of b 5—but I am now more inclined to accept a suggestion sent me by Prof. Henry Jackson, that the τρίτος of d 1 is a misreading of a MS. γ'. He cps. *Phil.* 66 b 8 where he holds that οὐδ' became οὐ τέταρτα, and 18 b, where ὅσα became ὅς προῶτος.

d 2. ὄντων δὲ τούτων τοσούτων is another way of saying "now of these three . . ."

d 5. The καί introduces an *explanation* of ἀρετῆς ὄντα; it connects two *aspects* of the same passion: to desire what is excellent "is the same thing as desiring excellence to be as great as possible." Very likely the τε which O<sup>2</sup> inserts after ὄντα is the record of a genuine old reading; but the τῶν νέων of Vat. 1029 and A<sup>2</sup> is a short-sighted correction made either under the impression that ἐπιθυμοῦντα governed it, or that it was co-ordinate with ἀρετῆς.

d 9. περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων: as below at e 5, the αὐτῶν has not a strong emphatic force; "about these same ἔρωτες"—τούτων being masc.



e 4. τὴν τῷ λόγῳ συγχώρησιν, "your assent to my argument"; for the government of a dat. by a noun cp. above, 657 c 4, 668 b 2, 670 a 1, 762 e 5, and 949 e 8.

e 5. μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ εἰς αὐθις: probably μετὰ ταῦτα is spurious.

e 7. ἴτω, "let it rest there."—πάντως, "by all means."

e 9. τέχνην . . . τούτου τοῦ νόμου τῆς θέσεως: these words are paraphrased below at 839 c 1 by τέχνην . . . πρὸς τὸ τοῦτον τεθέντα ἐμμεῖναι τὸν νόμον. θέσεως then means "firm establishment."

838 a 1. ἐν τῷ νῦν παρόντι: I think these words go with ἔχω, and are equivalent to "ready to my hand."—τὴν μὲν ῥαδίαν . . . τὴν δ' MSS.; Stallb., Schneider, and Burnet are the only modern editors who retain this reading in the face of the τῇ μὲν . . . τῇ δέ of 839 c 1 (which Steph. was the first to propose to write here also). Stallb. defends τήν as being another way of saying τῇ. It is true that such a construction is possible when the noun in question denotes a *divisible mass*—e.g. Thuc. vi. 100. 1 ἡ δ' ἄλλη στρατία δίχα, ἡ μὲν μετὰ τοῦ ἐτέρου στρατηγοῦ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν . . . ἐχώρου, ἡ δὲ πρὸς τὸ σταύρωμα, Dem. Πρὸς Φαίνιππον p. 1040 ὁ μὲν πεπραμένος εἴη τοῦ σίτου, ὁ δὲ ἔνδον ἀποκείμενος,—but no one could interpret *Phaedo* 93 b 8 λέγεται ψυχὴ ἡ μὲν . . . εἶναι ἀγαθή, ἡ δὲ . . . εἶναι κακὴ of the different parts or aspects of *one soul*; and it is *difficult* to imagine τέχνην so split up here. If we retain the acc.—which the MSS. make it hard to discard—perhaps we may translate "which is at the same time easy and . . . difficult."

a 5. ὥς εὖ τε καὶ ἀκριβῶς, "how easily and perfectly."

a 6. οὐκ ἄκοντες: i.e. no compulsion, or even persuasion is necessary.

b 1. ἀγραφὸς ὢν: i.e. although it is only one of the ἀγραφα νόμιμα described above at 793 a 10—although, i.e., there is no positive enactment or attendant penalty in the case.

b 2. μήτε φανερώς μήτε λάθρᾳ: i.e. it is not the fear of *detection* that restrains most men from such conduct; the thought of such a crime never enters their head.

b 4. τὸ παράπαν reinforces the preceding οὐδέ.

b 7. σμικρὸν ῥῆμα: i.e. such a little thing as a mere word (not "a word of few letters").

c 3 f. ἀκούειν . . . λεγομένη (so A<sup>2</sup>): there are two difficulties in this passage: (1) the τε after ἀκούειν; and (2) the λεγομένη of A corrected by A<sup>2</sup> to λεγομένην. As to (2) we may, I think, follow Wagner and Hermann in accepting Orelli's λεγόμενα; after two

long words ending in  $\eta$  it is a natural mistake for a scribe to write a third. As to (1) we must suppose that when the sentence was first formed in the writer's mind, he meant to couple "hearing it said by all and sundry" with "often seeing it represented on the comic or tragic stage," but that the second limb grew long and unmanageable, and got out of shape. Instead of a  $\delta\rho\alpha\nu$  τε we get a λεγόμενα governed by a supplied ἀκούειν, and the only hint of  $\delta\rho\alpha\nu$  is contained in the ὀφθέντας in c 6. (Ficinus's translation is "et ioco simul et serio dicta et saepius in tragediis haec eadem audiuntur." Ast would read λεγομένων; Stallb. takes λεγομένη to be "quae vulgo dicitur.")

c 7. ἐτοίμως, "promptly."

c 8. τὸ τῆς φήμης is the "*vox populi*"—public opinion, the world's verdict as expressed in its language. The word φήμη is so often used of an oracular or heaven-sent utterance that it has a hint of *inspiration* about it. Cp. 624 b 2, 664 d 4 and below at d 6.

d 2. ἀναπνεῖν is more particularly "to draw *in* breath" (*Phaedo* 112 b 6), and so in its figurative use denotes not "*utter*," like the English "breathe (a word about it)," but "*form an idea of*," "*dream of*," "*aspire to*"; Stallb. cps. Pind. *Nem.* vii. 6, and Suidas ἀναπνέοντες ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες. (Wagner "den Mund zu öffnen.")—παρὰ τὸν νόμον: an exegetic tautology—conversational for ἄλλως ἢ κατὰ τὸν νόμον.

d 5. ῥάδιον: this refers back to the ῥαδίαν of a 1.

d 6. ὅτι, "namely that . . ."; explanatory asyndeton.—καθιερώσας ταύτην τὴν φήμην, "if he can (only) give to this sentiment a sacred character."

d 8. κατὰ τὰ αὐτά, "likewise," or "indifferently."

e 2 f. ὅπως δὲ . . . παρασχέιν—, "but *how* it is going to be possible to make everybody willing to say so—" The indirect form of the halting question, which the Ath. interrupts, suits the Spartan's modesty better than a direct question. (Herm. says that ὅπως δυνατόν ἔσται would naturally be understood as a command—as equivalent to ὅρα ὅπως κτλ.—and so Ast, and because Fic. translates by a direct question thinks he is entitled to substitute πῶς for ὅπως.)

e 4. καλῶς ὑπέλαβες: the Ath. politely admits that the question is quite apposite. He is going to admit (as he does at 839 b 3 ff.) the greatness of the difficulty, but, before he does so, he wants to enumerate the advantages which would attend the surmounting of the difficulty. This he does from e 5 to 839 b 3.

e 7. μὴ κτείνοντάς τε ἐκ προνοίας τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος,

“whereby they will not only avoid putting an end deliberately to the human race.”

e 8. μηδ' εἰς πέτρας τε κτλ. : i.e. “and not try any fantastic new-fangled ways of producing the succeeding generation.” (The innuendo is that men who go so far against nature as the paederasts would fancy all sorts of enormities.)

839 a 1. οὐ . . . γόνιμον, “where it can never take root and get a natural reproduction.” γόνιμος φύσις is a natural, or real, process of reproduction; cp. 892 c 2 φύσιν βούλονται λέγειν γένεσιν τὴν περὶ τὰ πρῶτα. (Asl would make γόνιμον neut. and = γόνιμον ὄν.)—οὐ μήποτε . . . λήψεται : after a rel. or rel. adverb introducing a quasi-hypothetical sentence, the simple μή (with past, pres., or fut. ind. or with an opt. or a subj. with ἄν) —see e.g. a 2—is the proper negative; therefore Asl's οὐ οὐ μήποτε, which Zürr. adopt, is not “*eleganter*,” as Herm. says, but unlikely, as is also his λήψεται (!) for λήψεται.—ἀπεχομένους δέ : the δέ takes us back to the μέν in e 6 above. The right sentiment in this matter enjoins not only absolute abstention on the one hand from unnatural indulgence but also on the other the strict confinement of the natural indulgence to its natural purpose. This, as we see here from the βούλοιο ἄν σοι, and below in a 7, involves monogamy in such a community as that of the *Laws*—though not in that of the *Republic*.

a 2. ἐν ᾗ μὴ βούλοιο ἄν σοι : to Hermann belongs the credit of first printing βούλοιο for the βούλοιτ' of LO and the vulgate, though he only knew it as the reading of cod. Ricard. and as a correction in O. Now we know through Burnet that βούλοιο is the original reading of A. As H. says, βούλοιο not only suits the language of the sentence better, but it gives the only satisfactory sense. It is further confirmed by its restatement below at 841 d. (Fic. read βούλοιτ', and he shows by his *illo quoque et ab agro illo feminino ubi semen germina nolit producere*.” Badham would read λήψεται, γόνιμον δ' ἀπεχομένους ἀρ. θη. πάσης; but, apart from the violence to the text, we want γόνιμον for the preceding clause.)

a 3 ff. ὁ δὲ νόμος οὗτος . . . ἀγαθὰ ἔχει : the καθάπερ . . . δικαίως clause is an *explanation* of the preceding κρατήσας : “if, that is, as is only right, it wins the day in the case of the other συμμείξεις as it does now in the case of those of parents (with children).” The purpose of the law is very similar in the two cases; hence he speaks as if ὁ νόμος οὗτος were the subject of

κρατεῖ. It would be well then to put parenthesis marks after κρατήσας and δικαίως.

a 6. κατὰ φύσιν . . . κείται, "its ordinances are inspired by nature itself."

a 7. In λύττης L has again preserved for us the right reading as against the αὐτῆς of A and O.

a 8. καὶ πωμάτων καὶ σίτων εἶργεσθαι ποιεῖ τῶν ἀμέτρων: it is easy to see how the restraint which the "law of nature" imposes would make for domestic felicity, but its effect upon excessive eating and drinking is not so evident. We are told at *Phaedr.* 238 a that ὕβρις is πολυώνυμον; that it consists in the pernicious indulgence of some appetite, and that that one among the "kindred" appetites which so over-masters a man gives the resulting ὕβρις its special name of, e.g., γαστριμαργία, or ἔρως. The same train of thought is visible at *Tim.* 73 a, where γαστριμαργία is said to make mankind ἀφιλόσοφον and ἄμουσον and "disobedient to the highest part of our nature." If then gluttony is hostile to σωφροσύνη in general, conversely anything which makes for any kind of σωφροσύνη may be supposed to be hostile to gluttony.

b 2. εἰ τοῦ νόμου τις τούτου δύναιτο ἐγκρατὴς εἶναι, "if one could compass the passing of this law." τις is the lawgiver. Cp. 841 a 2, where the law is said to "elude the lawgiver's grasp," and, for ἐγκρατής, 840 c 5.

b 3. τάχα δ' ἂν: the δέ goes back to the μέν in a 3.

b 4. πολλοῦ σπέρματος μεστός: this audacious phrase seems, from Plutarch's quotation of it in *Eroticus* ch. 5, to have become notorious. Zeller, *Plat. Stud.* p. 76, found in the "indelicacy" of the phrase support for his (then) view that the *Laws* was not Plato's work.

b 6. τιθέντων: for a similar detached gen. cp. *Symp.* 183 b τῇ δ' ἐρῶντι . . . δέδοται ἄνευ ὀνείδους πράττειν, ὡς παγκαλὸν τι πρᾶγμα διαπραττομένον. The genitive here gets some support from the previous τιθεμένου τοῦ νόμου ἀκούων, for the τιθεμένων suggests τιθέντων.

b 7 ff. τέχνην πρὸς τὸ τοῦτον τεθέντα ἐμμεῖναι τὸν νόμον: not, as Schneider, "artem . . . ad huius legis, si lata esset, conservationem"—and so Stallb. and Wagner—but "a way of permanently establishing this as the law of the land"; τεθέντα and ἐμμεῖναι go closely together, and the participle is an important part of the expression. Ficinus's "*ad hanc legem observandam*" recognizes this.



c 2-d 5. The following argument may be represented thus :  
 "The method is of the simplest: you have only got to secure general respect for the law, and it will be implicitly obeyed; as is, for example, the law against incest. The difficulty is that public opinion is apt to stop half way, when the progress of the law in question is thwarted by some passionate feeling on the part of large numbers of the population. For instance, the difficulties attending the establishment of common meals were overcome in Sparta for *men*; but the obstinate hostility of the *women* made its extension to them seem an impossibility: ἀπιστεῖται μὴ δυνατόν εἶναι. So with regard to incest the prohibition holds, but it can not be extended to the other kinds of sexual indulgence, owing to the same ἀπιστία (d 3). However natural and useful such extension can be proved to be, the passionate opposition of the pleasure-loving youth seems to block the way."

c 3. ὥς δυνατόν τέ ἐστὶν καὶ ὅπῃ: cp. *Rep.* 471e ὥς δυνατόν καὶ ἢ δυνατόν.

c 6. οὐδὲ τότε, "even when he had got so far" (as to secure consent to part of his law). If the explanation of the argument given above is correct, τότε here means "when the legislator attempts to extend this law." (Fic. would seem to have read πότε for τότε, and so all the earlier texts, which also had δοκῇ for δοκεῖ.)

c 8. Ast (see also his note on 647 c 3) and Stallb. are probably wrong in regarding the δύνασθαι after δυνατόν εἶναι as a simple case of "*perissologia*"; for the subject of δυνατόν εἶναι is ἐπιτήδευμα, while that of δύνασθαι is πόλιν ὅλην. The clause δύνασθαι . . . τοῦτο is added as (asyndetic) *explanation* of δυνατόν εἶναι. (For the same reason Herm. is wrong in wanting to reject δύνασθαι.)

d 1. ἐλεγχθὲν . . . ἔργῳ καὶ γενόμενον: a species of hendiadys; "although shown by experience to exist."

d 2. τό γε γυναικῶν: adverbial, "as far as women are concerned." (Stallb. takes τὸ γυναικῶν to be the subject of φύσιν ἔχειν, saying that γίγνεσθαι stands for ὥστε αὐτὸ γίγνεσθαι; so too Cornarius.)

d 3. φύσιν ἔχειν, "consentaneum esse." For this (generally impersonal) expression Ast well cps. *Rep.* 473 a φύσιν ἔχει πρᾶξιν λέξεως ἡττον ἀληθείας ἐφάπτεσθαι, and 489 b οὐ γὰρ ἔχει φύσιν κυβερνήτην ναυτῶν δεῖσθαι ἀρχεσθαι ὑφ' αὐτοῦ; cp. too Heind. *Theat.* 157 d on ἔχειν λόγον. Here (δοκεῖ) ἔχειν is not impersonal, but has τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα as its subject: "even in Dorian

communities it does not seem the natural arrangement to be made."—ταύτη δ' resumes the τῇ δ' of c 1.

d 4. ἀμφοτέρω ταῦτα: i.e. (1) the law against paederasty and fornication, and (2) the establishment of συσσίτια for women.

d 5. μείναι κατὰ νόμον, "to get established as laws of the land"; cp. above, ἐμμεῖναι at c 2.

d 8. ἐχόμενον πιθανότητος: Ast, on 818 a 1 ὡς ἀκριβείας ἐχόμενα, collects nine other instances of this circumlocution from the *Laws*.

e 1. ῥᾶον: not "with greater (physical) ease" but "with greater (mental) alacrity." He is careful to point out at b 1 below that the mere physical temptation is greater in the case of the athletic than in that of the ιδιώτης. So in the common phrase ῥαδίως φέρειν, ῥαδίως means not *easily* but *readily*. (I think Ritter's difficulty with the passage (p. 258) is due to his overlooking this.) The moral or mental effect of the ἀσκήσις of the ἀθλητής is in favour of all kinds of σωφροσύνη. (Cp. above on a 8.)

e 2. μετρίως, "temperately"—proleptic, like δικαίως above at a 6.

e 3. ιδιωτικῶς ἔχων: Ast is clearly right in giving this the same meaning here as the word has at Xen. *Mem.* iii. 12. 1, i.e. that of being in an *untrained, neglected* state, as compared with that of the athlete in strict training—ἐν . . . τῇ τῆς ἀσκήσεως ἀκμῇ at a 4 below.—φαύλως: at 766 d 8 φαύλους is used as equivalent to ιδιώτας—of men who have not had a legal training.

e 5. ἀρ' οὖν: the following special case is introduced as a *consequence* of the general proposition just laid down.

e 5-840 a 4. The text and construction are doubtful here. Stallb. and Herm. accept Ast's rejection of the MS. τε before ἄλλους, and Heindorf's (on *Prot.* p. 489 of his ed.) alteration of ὦν in a 1 to ὡς, making the construction "does not tradition tell us about Iccus, how, etc." Burnet takes a different view from that of all other interpreters. He puts a (;) after ἄλλους, holding, I suppose, ἀφροδισίων ἀποσχέσθαι to be understood (with Ἴκκον) from the preceding e 1. (Something like this is the case with the accusatives in a 5.) He changes the impossible τε (after τούς), as Stallb. had suggested, to γε, and preserves the MS. ὦν, making it begin a fresh sentence. He also (unlike Stallb.) puts a comma after φιλονικίαν, thus connecting τέχνην with what follows, as the obj. of κεκτημένους. I follow Burnet, except that I should prefer, with Ast, to reject the τε rather than to change it to γε. The gen. ὦν (sc. τῶν Ὀλυμπίων) is then of the same kind as πάλης

below at b 5, and denotes the contests in which the man is ambitious to gain distinction.

a 2. With τὸ μετὰ τοῦ σωφρονεῖν ἀνδρεῖον ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ κεκτημένος Wagner well compares above, 696 b ff. What pre-occupies the athlete's mind and thoughts to the exclusion of all else is the pride in his art, and the resolve to vanquish his own desires as well as his foe.

a 4. οὐδ' αὖ παιδός, "no, nor boy either"; for οὐδ' αὖ following οὔτε Stallb. cps. *Phil.* 22 e and *Rep.* 426 b.

a 5 f. Κρίσωνα . . . ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος ἔχει, "you know there is the same story about Crison." With these accusatives too ἀφροδισίων ἀποσχέσθαι has to be supplied; ἔχει is probably intransitive ("obtain"), though Pindar, *Pyth.* i. 186 and *Ol.* vii. 18, uses κατέχειν transitively with φάτις or φάμα as subject.

b 1. τὰς ψυχὰς: the implication is that a more extensive mental discipline would make self-restraint easier.—Most of these athletes came from Magna Graecia, and we heard above at 637 b an unfavourable account of the manners of Tarentum.

b 2. σφόδρα . . . εἰρημένα, "confidently asserted"; cp. *Apol.* 25 a πάνυ σφόδρα ταῦτα λέγω.

c 2. In κηλήσομεν (with which αὐτοὺς must be supplied) we have the idea so often expressed in the *Laws* by ἐπείδειν, e.g. 666 c 6, and 812 c 6.

c 5. Cleinias had asked ποίας (νίκης ἕνεκα); To this the words that follow in the MSS. fail to provide a direct answer. I suspect that ἦς has fallen out after νίκης, and that we ought to read τῆς τῶν ἡδονῶν νίκης· ἦς ἐγκρατεῖς ὄντας κτλ.—From the previous λέγοντες καὶ ᾄδοντες κηλήσομεν we can easily imagine "we say" to be supplied with αὖ ζῆν.

c 7. φόβος: not a servile fear of consequences, but a kind of σέβας; cp. above, 798 b 3.—αὐτό is the πράγμα ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν εὐδαίμον λεγόμενον of b 6.

c 10-841 b 5. "If most men are really in a state of worse than bestial depravity, and if none of the higher motives can be trusted to keep our citizens from following a wicked world's example, all the Law can do, in the second place, is (1) to foster feelings of shame and disgust in connexion with sexual indulgence of any kind, and (2) to make discovery punishable by disgrace."

c 11. ἐπειδὴ ἐνταῦθά ἐσμεν τοῦτον τοῦ νομίμου περὶ: the following δέ clause is explanatory of this. The point reached by the discussion of the law regulating sexual matters was a deadlock caused by the national depravity. For this explanatory δέ cp.

Aristotle, *De mundo* 395 a 19 καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν τὸ μὲν τάχιστον ἦ τῶν ὄντων, λέγω δὲ τὸ πυρῶδες, τὸ δ' ἦττον ταχύ.

d 1. With the *κάκη* τῶν πολλῶν cp. above, 835 c 5 ἐν ψυχαῖς διεφθαρμέναις, and below, e 3.

d 3. πορεύεσθαι λέγον: the νόμος is here personified in the same way as the λόγος often is; the "clear duty" of the νόμιμον is to "go forward," pointing out meanwhile to its opponents their heinous depravity.

d 4. μεγάλας ἀγέλας: by a typical scribe's error A and O both omit the latter of these closely similar words; L alone kept it.

d 6. γάμων τε ἀγνοί explains ἀκήρατοι.—The plural γάμοι is used to denote sexual union in general, and not merely the marital union. So Eur. *Hel.* 190, Suidas s.v. ἄνθος calls irregular unions "γάμους ἀγάμους."

d 7. κατὰ χάριν: Stallb. thinks that χάρις is here used in the special sense of what Plato at *Phaedr.* 254 a calls ἡ τῶν ἀφροδισίων χάρις, i.e. that κατὰ χάριν means "in mutual self-abandonment"; but it cannot mean anything more than it does at 740 c 6, i.e. "as a matter of personal preference." (Fic. omits it.)

d 8 f. ἐμμένοντες βεβαίως ταῖς πρώταις τῆς φιλίας ὁμολογίαις, "staunchly true to their first love-contracts."

e 2. δῆ, "surely."

e 3. I think τῶν πλείστων is only a stronger form of the τῶν πολλῶν of d 1, and goes with both Ἑλλ. and βαρβ.

e 6. κατακρατεῖν: used absolutely, "to gain the victory"—the victory, i.e., mentioned at c 5.—ἐπ' αὐτοῖς: αὐτοῖς is the refractory citizens. For this use of ἐπί cp. *Gorg.* 488 d οἱ δὲ καὶ τοὺς νόμους τίθενται ἐπὶ τῷ ἐνί.

841 a 1. αὐτοῖς and αὐτοὺς (in the next line) are the νομοφύλακες.

a 2. ἐκφύγη: if the law "eludes their grasp"—cp. above 839 b 2 εἰ τοῦ νόμου τις τοῦτου δύναιτο ἐγκρατὴς εἶναι—i.e. if it is found impossible to win over public opinion to the right side, the νομοφύλακες are to step into the lawgiver's place and frame a "second-best" law.

a 7. Burnet is the only editor who has ventured to print the difficult ἦν which A and O<sup>2</sup> (but not L) have after ῥώμην, though Steph. called attention to its existence in a MS. ἦν, I take it, refers back to something mentioned before: εἴη δ' ἂν, in a 8, to some effect which is to be produced in the future. "There was (mentioned) a way of spoiling the development of the powerful seductiveness of pleasure—by diverting the growth and nourish-



ment of this power by means of *hard work* into some other bodily channel. Now this same spoiling of its development would be produced by the association of *shame* with this particular indulgence (because it would curtail it)." The passage to which the ἦν refers is 835 d 8 where πόνοι σφοδροί were said μάλιστα ὑβριν σβεννύναι.

**a 9 f.** The *shame* would make the indulgence *infrequent*, and the infrequency will weaken the desire.

**b 4.** ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ μὴ πάντως δρᾶν: this depends on καλὸν ἔστω παρ' αὐτοῖς above; "but they need not think it the proper thing never to do it at all."—Burnet's comma after ἔστω puts νόμιμον in its right place. πάντως strengthens the μὴ. (Stallb. and Herm. would reject νόμιμον, and Stallb. takes δρᾶν to stand for λανθάνειν, and τὸ μὴ πάντως δρᾶν to depend on a supplied οὐκ αἰσχρόν ἐστι. Badham, while agreeing to reject νόμιμον, would also reject τὸ δὲ μὴ λανθάνειν αἰσχρόν. He would also (like Ast) read τό τε for τοῦτο in b 5.)

**b 5.** οὕτω . . . δευτέραν, "if we do so, we shall have in this an established legal enactment (involving) a modified disgrace and commendation, and involving an inferior kind of correct behaviour." αἰσχρόν and καλόν are used predicatively. (Stallb. removes the comma after κέειτο. For δεύτερος, "second best," cp. above, 710 d 3, 739 a 4.

**b 7.** οὓς ἤττους αὐτῶν προσαγορεύομεν: cp. above, 626 e ff.

**c 1.** περιλαβόντα: this emendation of the MS. περιλαβὸν τὰ, which occurred independently to Stallb. and Herm., has been adopted by all subsequent editors. περιλαβόντα is metaphorical, and is used in a military sense, like our *circumvent*. There are three "kinds" of influence which will restrain the one "kind" of sinner.

**c 4.** These three influences may be described as (1) piety—the καθιερωθεῖσα φήμη of 838 d 6; (2) ambition (and respect for the state's verdict); and (3) the conviction of the superior attractiveness of "spiritual" as compared with bodily beauty. The phrase τὸ γεγονός ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ τῶν τρόπων τῆς ψυχῆς ὄντων καλῶν—"that which has arrived at the passion for spiritual excellence"—recalls *Symp.* 210 b τὸ ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς κάλλος τιμιώτερον ἡγήσασθαι τοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι.—The ἄμα indicates that the motives of the first and second γένη act much in the same way: they are (1) the fear of God, and (2) the fear of man and respect for his opinion. The third is a seed of good action from within the (possible) sinner's mind.

c 6. ταῦτα δὴ καθάπερ ἴσως ἐν μύθῳ τὰ νῦν λεγόμενα ἐστὶν εὐχαί κτλ., "that which I now describe is an *aspiration*, may be, of the imagination, but there is no community which would not find it a priceless blessing if it actually came to pass." ταῦτα τὰ νῦν λεγόμενα is the forming in the soul of the love of and desire for *beauty of character*.—For this significance of εὐχή cp. above on 736 d 2 εὐχὴ δὲ μόνον ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν λείπεται, and Ar. Pol. 1325 b 38 διὸ δὲι πολλὰ προῦποτεθεῖσθαι καθάπερ εὐχομένους.—μῦθος is used here, much as we use the word *dream*, to denote an *imagined*, not a *real* state of things ("romantic," Jowett). (Perhaps Ast is right in taking ἴσως with εὐχαί ἐστὶ.)

c 7. With the phraseology cp. Rep. 502 c ξυμβαίνει ἡμῖν περὶ τῆς νομοθεσίας ἄριστα μὲν εἶναι ἃ λέγομεν, εἰ γένοιτο, χαλεπὰ δὲ γενέσθαι, οὐ μέντοι ἀδύνατά γε. Ritter and Burnet are clearly right in putting a comma after γίγνοιτο.—L alone preserved the words γίγνοιτο . . . πόλεσι; a late hand added them in the margin of A.

c 8. With τάχα δ' ἂν, he passes, I think, from the region of aspiration to that of what he may hope for as possible in the actual present "with God's help"; even though the love of spiritual beauty should not generally develop.

d 1. In βιασαίμεθα ἂν he resumes the βιάζοιτ' ἂν of c 1. The alternatives introduced by ἢ . . . ἢ (d 5) represent a state of society in which the fear of God and the fear of man either (1) kept men altogether straight in sexual matters, or (2) both (a) confined their unlawful connexions to those with women, and (b) made them hide even these from the rest of the world.

d 2. μηδενός is probably neuter, and τῶν γεν. καὶ ἐλ. depend on μηδένα.

d 3. ἄθυτα is opposed to μετὰ . . . ἱερῶν γάμων at d 6; Ast well cps. Iamblichus, Vit. Pyth. § 195 ἄθυτος καὶ νόθη συνουσία. The genitives παλλακῶν and ἀρρένων are, as Stallb. says, "rather bold."

d 7. ὦνῃταις εἴτε ἄλλῳ ὁτφοῦν τρόπῳ κηταις: at first sight these adjs. seem to belong to ταῖς ἐλθούσαις, but the sense demands that they should describe the class referred to in γυναικῶν τινί in d 6. (Serranus actually takes from ὦνῃταις to πάσας to be a description of the wedding ceremony.)—For the omission of the first εἴτε cp. below, 844 d 8 βοτρυῶν εἴτε καὶ σύκων; it is noticeable that in both passages there follows a fully expressed εἴτε . . . εἴτε.

e 4. ὡς ὄντως ὄντα ξενικόν: cp. Matth. xviii. 17 εἰάν δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας παρακούσῃ, ἔστω σοι ὥσπερ ὁ ἔθνικὸς καὶ ὁ τελώνης.

—εἴτε εἰς εἴτε δύο αὐτοὺς χρὴ προσαγορεύειν : the two laws are one inasmuch as they try to secure the same end, but differ in that the second threatens only *dishonour*, not a definite *penalty* for the minor offence.

842 a 2. A and O omitted the words τε καὶ οὐκ ὁρθῶς which are added in the margin of A. We are not told whether L had them.

a 5. ὁ δὲ δῆ : O omits the δῆ and O<sup>2</sup> writes ὅδε δὲ.

b 1. L alone preserved in μὴν the right reading ; A and O drop the ν.—σχεδόν ἔσμεν ἐν τῷ κατεσκευάσθαι μὲν συσσίτια : i.e. "we may fairly suppose συσσίτια to have been instituted."

b 3. Here a corrector of L alone has the right reading in ἄλλως ; Fic., who translates it by *frustra*, adopted the correction, but the MS. ἄλλος survived in some early printed edd.—e.g. Ed. Lov.

b 6 f. οὔτε . . . χαλεπὸν . . . μέγα τε ἀγαθὸν . . . οὐδέν : cp. the very similar expression above at 835 b 5 οὔτε χαλεπὸν γυνῶνα . . . οὐδ' αὖ . . . μέγα . . . κέρδος ἢ ζημίαν ἂν φέροι.

b 8. The corrector of O, like H. Steph., recognized that A's ἀπεργάσασθαι was right, as against the ἀπεργάσασθαι of L and O. —With ἔχειν we should probably supply ὑμᾶς or ἡμᾶς as subj. ; those who take ἔχειν to be intrans. ignore the κατεσκευασμένα.

c 1. τίν' αὐτοῖς ἂν τρόπον ἔποιτο : αὐτοῖς refers to the same matter as τούτοις, i.e. the common tables, the arrangements of the συσσίτια. Many interpreters take it to be *the citizens*, and translate ἔποιτο ἂν as if it merely meant "*is to be supplied*." Stallb. and Schn. rightly give it the more definite meaning of *consentanea esse, convenire* ; cp. below, d 2 ἐλευθέρους ἀνθ. μᾶλλον πρόποντες. There is a certain *dignity* about the public feeding arrangements, and this must not be compromised by the vulgar associations of e.g. a port-town market.

c 3. παντοδαπῶς : Fic., and the early editions, as late as Ast's, read παντοδαπός, in spite of MS. authority. (? Perhaps the MSS. are wrong.)—μάλιστα δέ, "at all events," or "at least."

c 6. τῷ μὲν οὖν νομοθέτῃ τοῦτο ῥᾶον : τοῦτο is *the present case* for which laws have to be made—"well, that makes the lawgiver's task all the easier."

d 1. μέτριοι : predicative, "adequate."

d 2. ἔτι δ' κτλ., "and besides, those that *are* made will be of a more dignified nature." This second sentence goes on as if the first had been οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἡμίσεις γίνονται οἱ νόμοι.

d 3 ff. ναυκληρικῶν μὲν γὰρ . . . νομοθέτης, "the lawgiver of our

city turns away with great relief from all the endless turmoil of ship-masters, merchants, tradesmen, taverns, dues and tolls, mining-rights, loans, compound interest, and the like." This clattering jumble of mercantile terms is an echo of the "busy hum" of a sea-port market-place.

**d 4.** μεταλλειῶν: the leasing and working of mines was a commercial as opposed to an agricultural activity. Not only would much mine- and quarry-produce come by sea to the port, but much would be heard there of mining-rights and the hiring of mine slaves.

**d 8.** τοῖς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα φυλακτηρίοις τε καὶ ἐπ. ὅρ., "those who look after farming stock or wield farming implements." For ὀργάνων ἐπιστάταις cp. Eur. *Hel.* 1267 and 1413 ἐρετμῶν ἐπίσταται.

**e 1.** τὰ μέγιστα ἤδη νενομοθετηκώς: in English we should begin a new sentence here; "He has already settled the main points."

**e 2.** If a comma is wanted anywhere, it would surely stand after παιδείας rather than after τροφάς, where Burnet puts it. These plurals are used with the force of abstract nouns; e.g. τροφάς here is *nurture in general*; τροφήν in e 4 is *actual food*.

**e 3.** ἐπὶ τοὺς τὴν τροφήν: as Steph. suggested, we must supply a participle (δια)πονοῦντας (or παρέχοντας?) from the following συνδιαπονοῦσιν. (Fic. took τοὺς to be τοὺς νόμους. Ast would write ἐπὶ τὴν τροφήν καὶ τοὺς ὅσοι; is it not possible that we ought to reject the τοὺς?)

**e 6.** It is best to take ἔστωσαν λεγόμενοι together as the verb of the sentence. (L. & S. and all other interpreters take λεγόμενοι with τοῦνομα.) The verb is repeated in εἰρήσθω in the following line.

**e 8.** Not content with merely saying μήτε ὁμοτέρμονος ξένου, he thinks it necessary to specify the particular conditions under which a man could have a foreigner for a neighbour; he must "own land on the frontier, and adjoin a neighbour who is a foreigner."

**843 a 1.** We have already had the proverbial (μὴ) κινεῖν τὰ ἀκίνητα at 684 e 1, and it occurs below at 913 b 9. It applies to the present subject in the most literal sense (ἀληθῶς).

**a 2.** ἄλλον πλὴν ὅρον: Ficinus ignores these words completely, and Cod. Ricard. 67 omits πλὴν ὅρον μᾶλλον. Ast, in his text, brackets πλὴν ὅρον μᾶλλον, but his note seems to follow Ficinus, and bracket ἄλλον as well. If the Cod. Ricard. be followed, the



sentence runs smoothly enough, if we suppose ἡ to stand, as it does elsewhere after βούλεσθαι, for μάλλον ἢ (specially likely after ἄλλον); but it is difficult to see how πλὴν ὅρον μάλλον should ever have been added to such a straightforward reading. If we reject ἄλλον πλὴν ὅρον, we miss an important characteristic of the big stone; i.e. that it does *not* mark a boundary. The two stones are doubly contrasted: (a) one is big and the other little; (b) one marks a boundary and the other does not. It is unlike Plato to leave out any of these four points. (The smaller stone has a stability greater than that given by size.) I would suggest either that ἄλλον πλὴν ὅρον is a careless expression for οὐχ ὅρον ὄντα—"other than a boundary"—or that it is a commentator's explanation of some rather out-of-the-way expression meaning the same thing. (F.H.D. would follow Cod. Ricard.)

a 3. φιλίαν τε καὶ ἔχθραν: these are generally taken to be nouns, but it is more likely that they are adjectives, qualifying γῆν understood.

a 4. ἐνορκον παρὰ θεῶν, "consecrated by an oath to heaven"; i.e. the stone. (L. & S. take ἐνορκον with φιλίαν and ἔχθραν.)—τοῦ μέν is the stone separating two plots of φιλία γῆ, τοῦ δέ that separating φιλία γῆ from ἔχθρα.

a 5. οἱ μετὰ πολέμων τῶν ἐχθίστων ἐγείρονται, "and when they are roused, deadly hostility follows."

a 6. τῶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κακῶν: i.e. the law's penalties.

b 1. μηδεὶς γάρ: γάρ introduces the actual words of the νόμος.

b 2. τοῖς γεωργοῖς: a corrector of O, thinking doubtless that the first persons with whom information should be lodged would be men in an official position, preferred to write γεωμόροις—in later Greek the name of officials who portioned out land to Roman colonists (Dion. Hal. ix. 25). Some official term certainly seems wanting. We should have expected τοῖς ἀγρονόμοις (see below, d3).

b 4. ὡς ἀνάδαστον γῆν λάθρα καὶ βία ποιοῦντος τοῦ ὀφλοντος: this (somewhat clumsy) clause expresses the considerations which are to influence the tribunal in assessing the penalty. ἀνάδαστον ποιεῖν is (of land) to make redistributable—as we might say, "to throw into the melting-pot"; of laws it is "to rescind." καί is not *and* (as Schn. and Wagner) but *or*; βία implies resistance, and resistance publicity. (Is not the clause, possibly, a commentator's explanation of τοιαύτην?)

b 7. τὸ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο: equivalent to a simple English "then," Lat. *item*.

b 8. διὰ τὸ θαμίζειν . . . μέγαν: "many a little makes a mickle" is especially true of petty acts of annoyance on the part of a neighbour. Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1395 b 9, says οὐδὲν γειτονίας χαλεπώτερον. On the other hand a reminiscence of Alcman's proverbial μέγα γείτονι γείτων (echoed in c 2) may have made the following πικρὰν γειτονίαν sound like an oxymoron.

c 2. διάφορον: rather "inimical" than (as L. & S.) "injurious." Cf. Thuc. ii. 27. 2 κατὰ τὸ Ἀθηναίων διάφορον, "out of enmity towards the Ath." (Ast and Schneider take it to be "incommodum.")

c 4. διευλαβεῖσθαι does not, as L. & S. say, govern the gen. (see below on e 2); ἐπεργασίας συμπάσης is governed by πέρι: τῶν τε ἄλλων πέρι goes with διευλαβούμενον, not with the preceding words: "particular and constant care being taken not to encroach on his territory." The following γάρ clause explains the need for this special watchfulness: "though it is hard to help a man, it is easy to hurt him."

c 7. τῆς δὲ ἀναιδείας ἄμα καὶ ἀνελευθερίας ἰατρυνόμενος: cp. above on 728 c: "to cure him of his boorish impudence."

d 2. ἄλλο, "in addition."

d 4. ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν: the reference is to 761 e 2, where it is laid down that the five φρούραρχοι are to have their sixty subordinates as assessors when trying the more important causes.

d 5. τάξις, "staff."

d 6. οἱ φρούραρχοι τούτων, "those among them who are φρ."—The ἐπι- in ἐπινέμῃ has the same force as that in ἐπεργάζεσθαι above, c 6.

d 7. ὁρῶντες κρινόντων, "decide by inspection."

d 8. τῇ τῶν μελιττῶν ἡδονῇ συνεπόμενος: Wagner and Susemihl take this to mean "in pursuance of his delight in bees"; i.e. "as a bee-fancier." Other interpreters (rightly) take it to mean "by humouring the delight felt by bees (in noise)."

e 1. For the οὕτως in κατακρούων οὕτως οἰκειώται cp. *Prot.* 310 d εὐθὺς ἀναστὰς οὕτω δεῦρο ἐπορευόμενῃ.—οἰκειοῦσθαι has the notion of "making the bees like him"; it is more than σφετερίζειν: "sich befreundet" (Müller). The καί connecting σφετερίζῃ and οἰκειώται is explanatory. (Ritter thinks κατακρούων is not "by beating (pans, etc.)," but "knocking or shaking the swarms down.")

e 2. ἐὰν πυρεῖων τὴν ὕλην μὴ διευλαβηθῇ τῶν τοῦ γείτονος: so the MSS. L. & S. tells us that πυρεῖω is transitive, and that διευλαβεῖσθαι can govern a gen. As neither εὐλαβεῖσθαι nor

διευλαβεῖσθαι nor ἐξενλαβεῖσθαι are ever found elsewhere governing any case but the acc., and as πυρεύω occurs here only, and verbs in -εύω are prevailingly intransitive, it is best to make διευλαβεῖσθαι govern τὴν ὕλην and translate πυρέων, "when he is making a bonfire." I think that Steph. was right in changing the MS. τῶν to τήν. If not, τῶν is partitive: "does not take care to avoid the inflammable matter among his neighbour's property."

e 3. With ἐὰν φυτεύων κτλ. ζημιούσθω is supposed to be supplied from the preceding sentence.

e 4. ἀπολείπειν is the technical word for leaving an open space—e.g. at Xen. *Anab.* vi. 5. 11, between troops.—τὸ μέτρον τῶν τοῦ γείτονος χωρίων is "the proper space between the trees and the neighbour's land." At Plut. *Sol.* ch. 23 φυτειῶν μέτρα are the spaces to be left between various trees and a neighbour's land. It is there explained that some trees spread their roots further than others.

844 a 1. ἐπεὶ, "for instance."

a 2. οὐκ ἄξιοι παροχετεύειν λόγοις, "are not important enough for us to let them percolate through our discourse." οὐκ ἄξιοί (εἰσι) is an echo of the μὴ ἄξιον four lines above; the use of παροχετεύειν (*derivare*) is playful. (Ast and Stallb. make the sentence mean "do not deserve to be passed over.")

a 3. ἀλλ': though the laws are not all to be given in detail, he proceeds to give samples which will explain their main principles.

a 4. τὰ κοινὰ νάματα: all rivers, brooks, and springs were public; wells were private.

a 5. ὑποτέμνειν is "to tap"—lit. "to cut into from underneath."—φανέρως: i.e. such as are above ground.—From νάματων in a 4 to ἄγειν in a 6 is unaccountably omitted in the first four printed edd., and (acc. to Stallb.) in *Ξ*. Fic. translates the missing words, and Steph. first recalled them to the text, but, as usual, he does not say where he found them.

b 1. ἀνδρία δὲ . . . νάματα, "in case any districts are affected by a natural droughtiness, and the soil fails to hold the water that comes from the sky." All interpreters naturally take ἐκ γῆς with σύμφυτος, but ἀποστέγει is very variously interpreted. I think Ficinus's "*non retinet*" is right: στέγειν ὕδωρ is the correct expression for "to hold water," and ἀπο- has here an adversative force. (Schneider "*humores non recipit*," Wagner "*die Wässer verschwinden lässt*," L. & S. "*keep in*," Jowett "*absorb*,"

Stallb. "*aquas continet*"—he thinks it means that there is no *surface* water in the shape of streams or pools or springs, because it has all been absorbed by the soil.)—All editors have accepted Aldus's correction of the MS. ἀποστέγειν to ἀποστέγει.

b 3. μέχρι τῆς κεραμίδος γῆς: the Solonian law referred to by Plutarch (*Solon* ch. 23) says a man must dig down ten fathoms in his own land before he asks neighbours to supply him with water: ἀπορία γὰρ ᾤετο δεῖν βοηθεῖν, οὐκ ἀργίαν ἐφοδιάζειν.

b 5. μέχρι τοῦ ἀναγκαίου πώματος: Solon would allow about 8½ gallons a day.

b 6. ἐὰν δὲ δι' ἀκριβείας ᾗ, "if there is a stringency (in the water-supply)," lit. "if it" (i.e. the water-supply) "is under stringency," i.e. "if the neighbours also have only a bare sufficiency." Similar prepositional phrases are δι' ἡσυχίης εἶναι Hdt. i. 206, οὐκ ἐν αἰσχύνῃ τὰ σά Eur. *Phoen.* 1276, οὐκ ἐν ἀβρότῳ κεῖσθαι πρὸς τὰ νῦν πεπτωκότα Eur. *I.A.* 1343.

b 7. τάσασθαι is here used in the sense of "getting a thing settled," as in c 6, and (probably) at *Rep.* 416 d; at *Meno* 91 b it means "to fix it in one's own interest," or "for oneself."

c 1. ἐὰν δὲ ἐκ Διὸς ὕδατα γιγνόμενα: the acc. ὕδατα supposes a following (μὴ) μεθιείς, or some synonymous transitive participle; when the place of this part. is actually taken in c 3 by (μὴ) διδοὺς ἐκροήν, the acc. is left stranded.—This law about injury done to a neighbour's land, either by obstructing the outflow of flood water, or by letting it flow violently on to his land, was (acc. to Stallb.) said by Cujas (*Obs.* *Libr.* xxiv. 24) to have been the source of a law in *Pandect. Lib. i. § 13. 1 de aqua et aquae pluviae arcend. etc.*

c 4 f. περὶ ταῦτα . . . κοινωνεῖν ἀλλήλοις, "to help each other in the matter," i.e. to take steps in common to deal with the flood; διὰ ταῦτα is "owing to the mischief thus inflicted" (and the consequent anger of the injured party). (Ficinus ignores both περὶ ταῦτα and διὰ ταῦτα—"et convenire inter se nequeunt." Schneider translates "ideoque nolunt inter se haec communia habere.")

c 5. ἐν ᾧσται: i.e. in the case of the ὁμότοιχος of c 2.

d 4. ὁπώρας κοινωνίαν: i.e. a generally accepted fruit-harvest law.

d 6. παιδείαν Διονυσιάδα ἀθησαύριστον: whether or not this is, as Winckelmann thought, a quotation, it is certainly a poetical form of expression. The first mention of the "gracious gifts of the goddess Autumn" is the "ungarnered nursling of Dionysus."



Eur. (*Tro.* 128) calls ropes *πλεκτὰν Αἰγύπτου παιδείαν*, "because," as the scholiast says, "Egypt *nourishes* the byblus"; why should the phrase in the text be thought impossible? It is just such a high-flown phrase as a gourmet would use playfully in describing a choice viand. The two kinds of fruit Plato speaks of were (1) the coarse (*ἀγροίκος*), common kind, which was stored in bulk for drying, or made into wine; and (2) the choicer sorts (*γενναῖαι*) which were grown for the table. (Stallb., Susemihl, Ritter, and Burnet accept Grou's emendation of *παιδείαν* to *παιδιάν*.)—*εἰς ἀπόθεσιν γενομένην κατὰ φύσιν*, "made to be stored"; *γενομένην*, rather than *γιγνομένην* (which H. Richards would read), carries us back to the time when the fruit was first "produced by nature."

d 8. *ἀγροίκον ὀπώρας*: "Grammat. Bekkeri Anecd. i. p. 340 'Αγροίκος ὀπώρα· ἀπ' ἐναντίου τῇ γενναίᾳ, ὥς ἐν διαφορᾷ τῆς μὲν πρὸς τὸ ὀπωρίσαι, τῆς δὲ πρὸς ἀπόθεσιν καὶ οἰνοποιῖαν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. Πλάτων σαφῶς ἐν Νόμοις . . ." Stallb.

e 1. *ἀρκτούρῳ σὺνδρομον*: the fixing of the autumnal equinox (when Arcturus rises) as the time for the vintage is older even than Solon. Hes. *Op. et D.* 607 says *εἴτ' ἂν δ' Ὀρίων καὶ Σείριος ἐς μέσον ἔλθῃ οὐρανόν, Ἀρκτοῦρον δ' ἐσίδῃ ῥόδο-δάκτυλος Ἥως, ὃ Πέρση, τότε πάντας ἀπόδρεπε οἴκαδε βότρυς*; but probably Solon was the first to make it illegal for anyone to begin his vintage before that time.

e 3. *ιέρὰς μὲν πεντήκοντα ὀφειλέτω τῷ Διονύσῳ δραχμάς*, "he must be fined 50 drachmas in honour of Dionysus," i.e. "in the interests of fruit-culture." *Διονύσῳ* goes rather with *ιέρὰς* than with *ὀφειλέτω*.

e 4. *δρέπη*: probably Plato used this poetical word because he had Hesiod's *ἀπόδρεπε* in his mind.

e 5. *τὴν γενναίαν νῦν λεγομένην*, "the *σταφυλή* called *γενναία* which we mentioned just now." (Ast, who reads *γενναίαν* for *παιδείαν* at d 6, of course translates "the *σταφυλή* just now called *γενναία*.".) Dio Chrys. *Or.* vii. p. 108 M. (236 R.) *εἰσὶ δὲ γενναῖαι σφόδρα (αἱ ἄμπελοι) καὶ τοὺς βότρυς φέρονσι μεγάλους*.

e 9. All editors but Schneider and Bekker have adopted Steph's *ἐπομένως* for the MS. and Eus. *ἐπόμενος*. Similarly *ἐκείως* in the next line, which was preserved by L (and all edd.), appears in A and O and Eus. as *ἐκείνος*.—*ἐπομένως τῷ νόμῳ*, "on the principle of the law that says . . ." We are told by Diog. Laert. i. 57 that *ἂ μὴ ἔθου μὴ ἀνέλλῃ, εἰ δὲ μὴ, θάνατος*

ἡ ξημία is a law of Solon's. We may therefore conclude, with Herm. *Vestig.* p. 64, that the rest of the laws here given, like those above about water-supply, are modelled on Solon's laws (cp. also below, 913 c).

**845 b 1.** The τὸν τοιοῦτον of LO and A<sup>2</sup> is a simple scribe's error like τῶν . . . δούλων in b 3. It is curious that A or A<sup>2</sup> should have five mistakes of this kind in three lines : ἀιστορῶν A<sup>2</sup> and τῶν μὲν δούλων A.

**b 3.** αὐτὸς ἢ δούλος, "whether master or slave."

**b 5.** τῆς εἰς ἀπόθεςιν ἀσταφίδος οἶνου τε καὶ ξηρῶν σύκων ἀνεπιτηδείου κεκτῆσθαι, "which is not fit to be held in store as raisins, or wine, or as dried figs." (Modern interpreters take ἀσταφίς οἶνος to be "raisin wine"; but (1) ἀσταφίς is not elsewhere found as an adj.; (2) if it were an adj. the τε would more naturally come after it than after οἶνον; (3) Photius apparently took it as a subst. s.v. ὀσταφίδα : ἀλλὰ καὶ Πλάτων ἢ νόμοις τῆς δ' εἰς ἀπόθεςιν ὀσταφίδος; (4) in the extract given above on 844 d 8 ἀπόθεςις and οἰνοποιῖα are distinguished.)

**c 1.** μηδέν is adverbial.—λάθρα λαμβάνειν (cp. above, 841 b 2 and e 1): you must consider the feelings of the owner. If you take his fruit before his eyes, you must expect a moderate beating if you are under 30.—The outspoken denunciations of thieving at 857 a and 941 b are a proof that this is not a concession to the Spartan admiration of the clever undiscovered thief.

**c 2.** τυπτέσθω καὶ ἀμνέσθω : the καὶ is explanatory ; he is to be struck by way of stopping the thief.

**c 6.** According to Ast, αὐτοῦ is a partitive genitive ("partaking of it"), but all other editors regard the word as an adv. of place, "on the spot."

**c 7.** μὴ πειθόμενος δὲ τῷ νόμῳ : i.e. if he "pockets" as well.

**d 1.** ἀναγώνιστος περὶ ἀρετῆς : as we should say, "disqualified for every public distinction."

**d 2.** εἰς τότε, "when the time comes." Cp. above 830 b 2 ; the time, namely, when the question of the man's merit is publicly canvassed before οἱ τότε κριταί.

**d 4.** This little paragraph about injury to water-supply by witchcraft or drugs seems out of place here. Some of the language is of the same high-flown kind as was observable in the chapter on hunting at the end of Bk. VII.

**d 6.** τοῖς ἔδασι σύντροφα τῶν ἐκ γῆς ἀναβλαστανόντων, "joint-nourishers of all that grows out of the earth." The recent use of τρόφιμον in an active sense no doubt helped to make it

clear that σύντροφα too was used actively. In any other connexion τοῖς ὕδασι σύντροφα would have been taken to be "akin to the waters," "sharers of the waters' nursery." L alone preserved the right reading in οὕτε ἥλιον; A and O have οὕτε ὕδωρ.

d 8. ἡ ὕδατος φύσις is a periphrasis for ὕδωρ equivalent to our "such a thing as water." Cp. below on 862 d 8.

e 2. Possibly L is right in reading ἀλλότριον ὄν.

e 5. τὴν ἀξίαν τῆς βλάβης ἀπογραφόμενος, "entering a claim for compensation."

e 7. οἱ τῶν ἐξηγητῶν νόμοι: we were told at 759 c 7 that ἐξηγηταί were to be appointed as exponents of the Delphic laws about divine things. The φαρμακεία here mentioned was probably not commonplace poisoning, but witchcraft, and to get rid of such spells was a religious business.

e 8. ἀφηγῶνται, "prescribe." Above at 672 a 2 ἀφηγεῖσθαι was "to give directions," "to take the lead." Ast would, both here and there, substitute the more ordinary ὑφηγεῖσθαι. Plato may well have preferred the more out-of-the-way form for some reason. In the earlier case the ἀφίκοιντο of L and O is some corroboration for the ἀφ. Fic. translates, as if he had read οἱ τῶν νόμων ἐξηγηταί, by a simple "interpretes."

846 a 2. ἡ τριπλάσιον αὐτὸς κέρδος . . . κερδαίνῃ: e.g. if a cart carrying fodder or fuel could save two miles out of three by going through a neighbour's ground. In any case it would be a hard matter for the judge to compare the benefit of one with the damage done to the other. The principle is clear, though nowadays weight would hardly be allowed to it in the decision of "rights-of-way."

a 4. ὅσα τις ἂν: cp. on 890 a 5.

a 5. ἐκὼν ἄκοντα: this makes the damage malicious.

a 6. διὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ κτημάτων: these words limit the damage to that done by a man's goods, and so it comes in well as a generalization of the case of damage done by the passage of crops. (Ast thinks αὐτὸς ἦ has fallen out before διὰ; Fic. translates "vel per se vel per illa quae possidentur.")—τοῖς ἀρχουσι: probably either the ἀγρονόμοι or the ἀστυνόμοι.

b 5. The MS. ἐκάστων τῶν ἐγκλημάτων is difficult; it must depend on ἀδικήματα: "the magistrates' unjust decisions about any of the charges." Ast's ἕκαστον provides ἐπανάγειν with a more natural object, but leaves τὰ τῶν ἀρχ. ἀδικήματα only translatable as "as regards the magistrates' unjust decisions."

**b 6.** The νόμιμα here mentioned are evidently *methods of legal procedure*.

**c 1.** προσκλήσεων : here probably the citation of the defendant.—ἐπὶ δυοῖν : i.e. κλητῆρων. At Athens the witnesses to a summons were generally two.

**c 3.** οὐκ ἄξια : cp. οὐκ ἄξιοι at 844 a 2.

**c 4.** οἱ νέοι : cp. below, 855 d 2 τοῖς νεωτέροις νομοθέταις χρὴ μέλειν.

**c 5.** τῆς ἀναγκαίας αὐτῶν χρείας ἐμπείρως ἴσχοντες, “they are to treat the cases in which they have to employ them as experiments”—i.e. they are not to try to legislate in advance. (Not “according to their own experience of the usefulness and necessity of them” Jowett, or “necessarium istorum usum experientia cognoscentes” Fic.)

**c 8.** ἤδη goes closely with μέτρον ἔχουσι : “which by this time have got into their right shape.”—The MSS. and all editors except Hermann, Wagner, and Burnet read μέτριον ἔχουσι; L. & S. s.v. μέτριος B. II. state that μέτριον is used as an adv., but they only give this passage as an instance of such a use. Clearly μέτριον ἔχειν could not be used in the sense of μετρίως ἔχειν, and Baiter must be right in holding that μέτριον here—as, in Ξ and the first five printed edd., it is at 698 b 1—is a scribe’s mistake for μέτρον. Cp. 836 a 6, 957 a 4, 959 a 3.

**d 1.** τὸ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων δημιουργῶν ποιεῖν χρὴ κατὰ τόδε, “as to the class of artificers this is what we must do.”

**d 2.** In connexion with this remarkable prohibition cp. below, 920 a ff.

**d 6.** οὐκ ἐν παρέργῳ : the implication is that the work of any δημιουργικὴ τέχνη would be so engrossing as to leave no time or energy for the πολλὴ ἄσκησις necessary for the πολιτικὴ τέχνη. As he says in the next sentence, no ordinary man can satisfactorily practise more than one τέχνη.—δεόμενον agrees with κόσμον. (F.H.D. compares the reluctance to include “business men” in the British Cabinet; and notes that to Plato as to all Greeks the duties of a πολίτης ἀνὴρ included *government*—i.e. taking part in the actual administration of the state.)

**e 1.** οὐδ’ αὖ κτλ., “what is more, he cannot satisfactorily oversee the work of a craftsman in another τέχνη as well as do that of his own.” This justifies the μηδὲ οἰκέτης of d 3.—Burnet is the first editor to restore the MS. ἱκανός for the vulgate ἱκανῶς.

**e 2.** ὑπάρχον γίγνεσθαι : in periphrastic style for ὑπάρχειν ;



cp. 670 b 10 γεγόνασι διηναγκασμένοι, 700 d 3 ἄρχοντες . . . ἐγίγνοντο, 737 c 7 γίγνοιτ' ἂν λεχθείς.—πρῶτον, “to start with,” strengthens the ὑπάρχον γίγνεσθαι. “Ne sutor supra crepidam” is to be the guiding principle from the first. Cp. *Rep.* 370 b, 374 a, 394 e, and *Arist. Pol.* ii. 1273 b 9 ἐν γὰρ ὑφ' ἐνὸς ἔργον ἄριστ' ἀποτελεῖται. δεῖ δ' ὅπως γίγνηται τοῦθ' ὁρᾶν τὸν νομοθέτην, καὶ μὴ προστάττειν τὸν αὐτὸν αὐλεῖν καὶ σκυτοτομεῖν.

e 3. μηδ' αὖ: it follows, in the next place, from this principle, that overseers and employers of labour shall only have workmen of their own kind under them. (It is assumed that to overlook another man's work you must understand it thoroughly yourself; and we have just been told that no man can thoroughly understand more than one craft.)

e 4. μᾶλλον ἢ, “potius quam,” as at *Prot.* 317 b 6. As at a 5 below, it is here used with the further sense of “instead of,” “to the neglect of.”

e 6. εἰκότως μᾶλλον ἐπιμελεῖται δι' ἐκείνων MSS. The δι' was early suspected (“τὸ δι' ἐν τισιν ὠβέλισται” marg. O), and all editors but Burnet omit it. It looks as if the utmost that can be got out of the MS. reading is the statement that the workers of a different kind furnish the employer with an additional title to ownership, because the profits from his own craft are thereby increased—lit. “he oversees more reasonably thanks to them.” This absolute use of ἐπιμελεῖται is very awkward, and the argument itself is by no means conclusive. Enlarged profits do not give any better title to an overseer. I would suggest that δι' is a mistake for δῆ (cp. 849 a 3), which would come in very naturally after πρόφασιν ἔχων: “on the plea that, being the employer of many slaves who work for him, it is clearly more reasonable for him to employ the second set of workers because it increases the profits from his own craft.” The answer of the Nomothetes to this would be: “you may make more money, but the quality of the work of both kinds of craftsmen would suffer, and that is what the state cares about.”

847 a 2. I take τῆς αὐτοῦ τέχνης to stand for τὴν τῆς αὐτοῦ τέχνης. (Most interpreters take τέχνης as depending on the comparative πλείω, and to stand for τῆς τῆς αὐτοῦ τέχνης. F.H.D. would reject this second τῆς αὐτοῦ τέχνης.)

a 3. ἀπὸ ταύτης ἅμα καὶ τὸ ζῆν κτάσθω: i.e. however much he might increase his income by employing workmen of another craft, he must not do so; ἀπὸ ταύτης is emphatic.

a 5. μᾶλλον ἢ: see above on 846 e 4.—τὴν stands for εἰς τήν.

—Above at 846 d 4 the word τέχνη was similarly used in a metaphorical sense.

a 7. κατευθύνωσιν εἰς τὸν αὐτοῦ δρόμον: we use the same metaphor in “running wide,” and “off the course.”

b 2. αὐτοῖς: i.e. the handworkers.

b 3. τῶν ἀναίρεσεων is now generally understood to mean “the undertakings” to perform certain works. Ficinus apparently took it to mean “the acceptance,” i.e. the way the work is received, for he translates “de mercede autem opificum, de operis ipsorum approbatione vel improbatione.” Ast argues that as ἀναίρεσις meant the *abrogation* of laws, it must mean the *rejection* of works, and holds that some word meaning *acceptance* has fallen out before ἀναίρεσεων. Of these interpretations Ficinus’s seems the best. Is it possible that we ought to read ἀνακρίσεων?—The four questions about workmen which might come into court then were: (1) did they get a proper wage? (2) was their work satisfactory? (3) had they any complaints against third persons? or (4) had any third persons complaints against them?

b 7. τέλος . . . μηδένα μηδὲν τελεῖν: nothing but superfluities would be allowed to leave the state, and nothing but absolute necessities would be allowed to come in. Further repression of either export or import by means of a toll would therefore be superfluous.

b 8. καὶ ὅσα . . . θυμιάματα, “and any suchlike foreign spices as concern the worship of the gods.” For πρὸς θεοῦς cp. Soph. Phil. 1441 εὐσεβεῖν τὰ πρὸς θεοῦς, Arist. Pol. 1272 a 19 τέτακται μέρος τὸ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς θεοῦς.

c 2. ἡ περὶ τινα ἄλλην τέχνην: i.e. καὶ ὅσα περὶ τινα ἄλ. τέχ., “anything that belongs to any other art or craft.”

d 2. εἰάν τινος ἡ τέχνης εἰσαγωγίμου δέῃ γίγνεσθαι ἢ φυτοῦ κτλ., “if we need the introduction either of any handicraft or of any vegetable product or etc.” The construction is a curious mixture of εἰάν τινος τέχνης δέῃ and εἰάν δέῃ τινα τέχνην εἰσαγωγίμον γίγνεσθαι.

d 3. ἕνεκα τῆς τοιαύτης χρείας = “for military purposes.”

d 6. τῆς πόλεως: no private individual was to have any of these things as his property; the state was to be the only dealer in such wares.

d 8. τούτου is “war material.”—For a modification of this edict against κάπηλοι cp. below, 849 d and 919 c πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι σμικροτάτῳ χρῆσθαι κατὰ δύναμιν τῷ τῶν καπήλων γένει.

e 2 ff. τροφῆς δὲ . . . γίγνεσθαι, “as to supply and the distribu-

tion of the produce of the soil, if a good system approaching that of the Cretan law were adopted it would meet the case." For a reference to the Cretan system of distribution and supply cp. Arist. *Pol.* 1272 a 15-21, where we learn that in Crete ἐκ κοινού τρέφεσθαι πάντας.

e 4. δώδεκα μέρη: i.e. one for each month; see below, 849 b 4 ff.

e 5. ἥπερ καὶ ἀναλωτέα: i.e. each twelfth is to be consumed in its own month.

e 6. Burnet is the first to mark off οἶον . . . ἥ as a parenthesis.

e 7. The τὰ before ἅπαντα is difficult. Stallb. would reject it.

848 a 1. For ὅσα with the subj. without ἄν cp. above on 737 b 3. (Ast would read ἄν for ἐν, Stallb. ὅσ' ἄν or would reject ἥ; he rightly remarks that ἐν, of which Ast says "sensum non habet," would be "badly missed"—that it is "*in singulis illis duodenis partibus*.")

a 2. κατὰ λόγον: in proportion, that is, to the size of each of the three classes mentioned.

a 4. All editors up to Burnet followed O<sup>2</sup> in reading ἄν τῶν, though A and O have αὐτῶν (Cod. Ric. ἄν αὐτῶν). τῶν is manifestly right and αὐτῶν wrong. Out of respect for A and O Burnet reads αὐ τῶν. But αὐ seems out of place here. The οἱ τέτινες and ὅσοι clauses seem to provide a twofold classification of the "foreigners in general," which has gone before, into *permanent residents* and *casual visitors*. If we read αὐ we assume that the μετοικοῦντες ξένοι are a *fresh* kind, separate from the δημιουργοὶ ξένοι. From 850 b 1 and c 3 we must conclude that the δημιουργοὶ were μέτοικοι, and that the latter word did not denote a separate class of rich merchants or capitalists. Besides, Burnet's reading would embarrass us with a fresh instance of rel. with subj. without ἄν.

a 5. τροφῆς ἀναγκαίου δεόμενοι: this would be the case with all foreigners, whether rich or poor; for no foreigner would be allowed to possess land.—χρεῖα τινὶ πόλεως, "on business with the city."

a 7 ff. ὦνιον . . . πωλεῖν: Ritter (p. 266 n.) cannot be right in thinking that μηδὲν ἐπάναγκες ἔστω πωλεῖν stands for ἐπάναγκες ἔστω μηδὲν πωλεῖν. The analogy of *Symp.* 176 e 5 by itself compels us to translate "there must be no compulsion to sell anything." In the previous sentence τοῦτο μόνον goes more closely with ἐξ ἀνάγκης than with ὦνιον: "only this part can be forced on to the market."

b 2. τῇ μὲν ἴσα, τῇ δ' οὐκ ἴσα: i.e. a division which would be



equal in one way would be unequal in another; e.g. a skin of wine from a good soil would count for more than a skin from a poor vineyard.

**b 7.** τῷ μὲν τοίνυν τοιούτῳ, "in this respect," i.e. in *quality*, or *value*. The genitive τῶν μέρων depends on μηδὲν (μέρος).

**b 8.** μήτε . . . μήτε: the two shares that go to the burghers—of which shares they are to decide the distribution as between themselves and their slaves—are treated as one lot, and the share for the ξένοι as the other.—Most editors have adopted the τό of O<sup>2</sup> before τοῖς: Steph. proposed independently to insert it. It is not necessary: νεμόμενον is "if" or "when assigned."

**b 9.** τὴν τῆς ὁμοιότητος ἰσότητα: care must be taken that the ξένοι are not left with inferior stuff. (The three μέρη are not to be thought of as equal in quantity, but κατὰ λόγον (a 2).)

**b 10.** λαβών: the asyndeton marks the transition to the legal style of the actual enactment; the δ' which all editors before Burnet insert has no MS. authority.—We may suppose that each citizen "takes" a (monthly) supply either (a) proportional to the size of his household or (b) proportional to the amount he had contributed to the common stock. (Probably the former.) Between (a) and (b) we are left to guess, and the same is the case with several other details of the scheme of distribution of supply. So much is clear: free burghers were to get enough to keep themselves and their households, slaves included, out of the public stock into which they had brought all the produce of their lands.

**c 2.** τὸ δὲ πλεόν τούτων: this might mean (a) whatever stores (out of shares 1 and 2) were left over after each burgher had taken his share; if so, we are to understand from what follows that this remainder was to go to the animals, and was to be distributed among the burghers according to the number of (tame) animals kept by each. We are moreover told that in *this* division *value* was not to count—only numbers and bulk. Or (β) τὸ πλεόν τούτων might mean all that was left out of the whole stock after the burghers had taken shares 1 and 2; in other words it would mean "the third, or foreigners' share." This latter supposition involves not only the assumption that there would be nothing over out of shares 1 and 2, but also that the third share was to be given back to the burghers (by a rough, quantitative division) to sell to the middlemen (ἐπίτροποι)—each burgher receiving a quantity in proportion to the number of animals he kept. There are difficulties in either view: the latter is certainly the more far-fetched of the two, and has, I think, the greater difficulties.—Perhaps we



may assume that a register was kept of the amounts supplied by each citizen: on assumption ( $\alpha$ ) this register would show what proportion of the money received from the  $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota$  each citizen was to receive; on assumption ( $\beta$ ) no such register would be necessary.—Further, we may suppose that the city authorities would endeavour to keep the *numbers* of the whole population proportional to the yearly supply of provisions.

c 4 f.  $\omicron\iota\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\kappa \tau\eta\varsigma \gamma\eta\varsigma \delta\epsilon\iota \tau\eta\nu \tau\rho\omicron\phi\eta\nu \gamma\acute{\iota}\gamma\nu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ , “who have to be fed from the soil.”

c 6.  $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$  is “beside” here, as below at 875 b 3 and elsewhere.— $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$  is probably not the foreign  $\delta\eta\mu\iota\omicron\upsilon\rho\gamma\omicron\iota$  but the whole population.

c 7.  $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \tau\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ : not masc. (as Wagner), but neut.—“for matters of such a kind,” i.e. “for town-planning.”

d 1.  $\acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha} \kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu . . . \theta\epsilon\omega\nu$ : Ficinus gets over the difficulty by translating as if Plato had said  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu \kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha} \theta\epsilon\omega\nu$ ; Wagner insists on reading  $\acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha} \kappa\alpha\tau' \acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu$ , referring to 778 c 4 f. and 849 a 3 and 5, and pointing out the difficulty of seeing how the  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}$  could be said to belong to the gods. But about Wagner's reading there is this difficulty, that it assumes that the site for the  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}$  had been already chosen; and this is not the case. It is better to suppose that  $\acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha} \kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu$  is a loose phrase for “an  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}$  with its surrounding temples,” or “temples round an  $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}$ .”—Unlike  $\eta\rho\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  at 809 a 1,  $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\eta\rho\eta\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  is middle here.

d 2.  $\delta\alpha\iota\mu\omicron\nu\omega\nu$  is possibly a spurious addition, cp. 834 e 5  $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \theta\epsilon\omicron\iota\varsigma \tau\epsilon \kappa\alpha\iota \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha} \theta\epsilon\omega\nu$ ;  $\tau\omega\nu \acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega\nu \theta\epsilon\omicron\iota\varsigma$  would then include  $\eta\rho\omega\epsilon\varsigma$  as well as  $\delta\alpha\iota\mu\omicron\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ .

d 2 ff.  $\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon . . . \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omega\nu$ , “and, in case there are either any local deities of the Magnetes, or shrines of other deities of ancient memory, we must pay to these the honour that the men of old paid”; i.e. such sites must still be occupied by temples.

d 3.  $\text{Μαγνήτων}$ : cp. above 704 c 5. There was a tradition that the Magnetes who founded Magnesia on the Meander had migrated from Crete. At 860 e Plato calls his imaginary city  $\eta \text{Μαγνήτων πόλις}$ .

d 6.  $\tau\omega\nu \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$  (sc.  $\theta\epsilon\omega\nu$ ) depends on  $\delta\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu$ , and does not, as Ritter (p. 266) holds, mean “of the other tribes.”

d 7.  $\text{πανταχοῦ}$ : i.e. in every one of the twelve  $\kappa\omega\mu\alpha\iota$ — $\pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\nu \delta\acute{\epsilon} . . . \upsilon\psi\eta\lambda\acute{o}\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma \eta$ : this describes the same arrangement as was recommended for the central city at 745 b 7  $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\nu \text{Ἑστίας πρῶτον καὶ Διὸς καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν, ἀκρόπολιν ὀνομάζοντα κύκλον περιβάλλοντα}$ . These four temples then were not to be round

the ἀγορά, but in the village acropolis. Very few cities can, like Homer's Troy, have had their ἀγορά inside the acropolis.

e 2. τὴν δὲ . . . διελομένους, "and we must provide all the outside country with handicraftsmen, whom we shall divide into thirteen portions."

e 5. τὰ δώδεκα μέρη τῆς πόλεως: cp. 745 c 1.—ἐξω τε καὶ ἐν κύκλῳ κατανεμηθέντας: i.e. the craftsmen were to live in the suburbs.

e 7. L has here preserved for us the right reading in γένη τῶν—so too O<sup>2</sup>—in the place of the inexplicable μενοητων of A<sup>1</sup> and the μὲν ῥητῶν of A<sup>2</sup>.

e 8. τούτων πάντων is probably masc.

e 10. L's γεωργοῦσι is a likely reading; so too O<sup>2</sup>.

849 a 1. ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ ἐπιμελείσθαι: a remarkable conjunction of aor. with impf. inf. Perhaps we may translate "take in hand and keep in hand."

a 2. τὴν . . . ἀρχὴν stands for τοὺς ἄρχοντας, cp. above, e 8.

a 3. L alone has preserved the full reading. The corrector of O put in the missing words, but A reads τοῖς δὲ δι' ἀγοράν που.

a 4 ff. ἡ δὲ ἐπιμέλεια . . . κολάσεως: this somewhat freely constructed sentence was spoiled in all the early editions by the insertion of a δέ before δεύτερον—due probably to a mistaken doubling of the first two letters of that word. Even Stallb. retains it. Wagner, Herm., and Burnet are the only editors who get the sentence right, as even Zür. and Schneid. put no comma after τι, and connect μή τις ἀδικῇ τι with the following instead of with the preceding words. The duty of the ἀγορανόμος is first to protect the temples round the agora from violation, and "in the second place to superintend the human business that goes on in it, watching to see who behaves well and who ill, and inflicting punishment where it is needed." I think τῆς τῶν ἀνθρ. χρείας depends on a "supplied" ἐπίσκεψις rather than on ἐπιμέλεια; the ἐπισκόπους ὄντας points to this: the inf. κολάζειν is then an exegetical description of that in which the ἐπίσκεψις consists; so that the construction, if fully expressed, would be (ἡ δὲ ἐπιμέλεια) ἐπίσκεψις ἃν εἴη τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατ' ἀγοράν χρείας, ὥστε σωφροσύνης τε καὶ ὕβρεως ἐπισκόπους ὄντας κτλ.

a 5. χρεία is generally translated by *necessitates* or *needs* here, but the context points to its being used in the sense of *business*, though, unless 848 a 5 χρεία τινὶ πόλεως be allowed to furnish one, it is hard to find a parallel use of the word in classical Greek.

(Wagner translates "in Betreff der für die Menschen nothwendigen Lebensbedürfnisse." A.M.A. would translate it by *intercourse* here and at 848 a 5.)

a 7. τῶν ὀνίων does not stand for περὶ τῶν ὀνίων, as Stallb. says, but depends on ἕκαστα in b 1.

a 8. τὰ περὶ τοὺς ξένους ταχθέντα πωλεῖν τοῖς ἀστοῖς, "what the citizens have been told to sell to the foreigners"; i.e. the ἀπονεμηθὲν τρίτον μέρος ὀνιον ἐξ ἀνάγκης of 848 a 7.—περὶ τοὺς ξένους stands in the place of a dative.

b 1. Schneider and Burnet are the only editors who venture to print the MS. δ' ἑκάστῳ. Stallb. is content with the unauthorized vulgate δὲ ἕστω. Hermann emends to δ' ἑκάστου, which gives an even easier reading than the vulgate, but fails to account for that of the MSS. ἑκάστῳ is probably a repetition of the immediately preceding ἕκαστα, and is neuter: "for each of the salable articles the law is that on the first of the month the ἐπίτροποι are to bring out the portion of things to be sold to the foreigners."

b 3. ὅσοι τοῖς ἀστοῖς ξένοι ἢ καὶ δοῦλοι ἐπιτροπεύουσι, "I mean those foreigners or slaves whom the citizens employ to supervise the supply." The dative τοῖς ἀστοῖς, "on behalf of the citizens," is a pregnant one; the implication is that the citizens appointed them for this purpose. We are told below (c 7) that no citizen or citizen's slave is to engage in this traffic.

b 5. ὅσα περὶ σίτον: perhaps "food-accessories."

b 6. A few inferior MSS. (possibly) and the printed edd. down to Ast have δωδεκάτῃ for the MS. δεκάτῃ.

b 7. δι' ὅλου τοῦ μηνὸς ἱκανήν, "enough to last for the whole month."

c 1. τρίτῃ δ' εἰκάδι: L. & S. tell us that τρίτῃ εἰκάδι means the same as τρίτῃ μετ' εἰκάδα, or τρίτῃ ἐπ' εἰκάδι, i.e. "on the 23rd of the month." This seems unlikely; it is also unlikely that, when the first and second market-days were the 1st and the 10th, the 3rd should be the 23rd, instead of the 20th. This difficulty is met by W. R. Paton's suggestion that we should read τρίτῃ: this τρίτῃ might qualify πρᾶσις—"the third sale," i.e. that of live stock; or it might qualify ἀγορά understood—"let the third market—on the 20th—be the sale of live stock." But perhaps it is better met by Schneider, who appears to think that this market was to take place on every "third twentieth of the month," i.e. on the 20th of every third month.

c 2. αὐτοῖς δεομένοις: it will be remembered that at 848 a 1



the language implies that only such live-stock as could be spared from the farms was to be brought to market.—(There is no need, with Steph. and Ast, to change αὐτοῖς to αὐ τοῖς.)

c 3. οἶον δερμάτων κτλ.: Ritter (p. 260) sees in this a modification of the law mentioned at 846 d 2 f. Evidently, he says, the γεωργοί employed their slaves in the manufacture of these articles sold by them at the third monthly market. But what is to prevent the farmers from employing the services of τὰ πρόσφορα γεωργοῖς γένη τῶν δημιουργῶν (848 e 6) who lived in their midst? It was doubtless these ξένοι who were to make the leather etc. The spun and woven articles would be thought of as household products of the women of the family, not as the productions of a τέχνη.

c 5. παρ' ἄλλων κτωμένοις: this is only a way of saying that they could not provide these things out of their own property. Even the country δημιουργοί did not own the articles they made up for the farmers.—καπηλείας must be "acc. of inner object" with μήτε τις πωλείτω μήτε ὠνείσθω in c 8.

c 6. κριθῶν ἢ πυρῶν εἰς ἄλφιστα νεμηθέντων, "barley or wheat flour."

c 5-8. No citizen is to engage in retail trade either as buyer or seller: he must make no money by buying wholesale and selling retail.

d 1. αἱ τῶν ξένων ἀγοραί are evidently distinct from ἡ κοινὴ ἀγορά (e 3); in the latter both citizens and ξένοι might traffic.

d 2. οἶνου μεταβαλλόμενος πρᾶσιν: πρᾶσιν, like καπηλείας at a 5, is "acc. of inner object," μεταβαλλόμενος being used absolutely in the sense of "trading." These ξένοι bought wholesale and sold retail.

d 4. μάγειροι: the butchers, like any other craftsmen, would of course be ξένοι.—διατίθεσθαι, like our "dispose of," is a synonym for "sell." Cp. Eryxias 394 d 4 and 5. The beasts would doubtless be in the butchers' charge between the market-day when the citizen sold them and the time when they were killed.

d 5. ὕλην καύσιμον: firewood was not to be brought into the market. The country ἐπίτροποι buy it wholesale (ἁθρόαν) from the producers and would act as middlemen between them and the tradesman who sold to the consumer.

e 1. καθ' ὅσον ἂν βούληται, "in whatever quantity he likes."

e 3. τὴν κοινὴν ἀγοράν: see above on d 1.—φέροντας: we are not told who the sellers are. In the case of raw material they might be citizens; the sellers of manufactured articles would



certainly be ξένοι; in some cases it would perhaps be the ἐπίτροποι.

e 4. Schneider takes ἕκαστον to be neuter—"each article"—and so would provide something for the genitive τῶν ἄλλων χρημάτων to depend on. If, as is more likely, it is masc, τῶν ἄλλων must be attracted into the case of ὁπόσων, or else depends on it.—ἐν οἷς ἂν . . . ἐν τούτοις: this clause, with its following amplifications, is an explanatory asyndeton to εἰς τὸν τόπον ἕκαστον, and ἀλλάττεσθαι κτλ. explains πωλεῖν. The early editions—not so Ficinus—have an inexplicable θεῶν in the place of the MS. θῶνται. Steph. corrected this, apparently as a conjecture of his own. He also pointed out that ἐν τούτοις is correlative to ἐν οἷς, but all subsequent editors except Ast (possibly) and Burnet ignore this, and spoil the passage by putting a colon after ὠνίων. This connexion of ἐν τούτοις with ἐν οἷς forbids us with Ficinus to take ὄρους τῶν ὠνίων θῶνται to mean "pretia venalibus imposuerint." The ὄροι must be *local*, cp. 915 d 7. ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ τεταγμένῃ ἐκάστοις κατ' ἀγοράν.

e 5. τεκμηράμενοι is rightly explained by the scholiast as σημειωσάμενοι; it means "appoint," "peg out."

e 7. μὴ προῖεμενον ἄλλον ἐτέρῳ τὴν ἀλλαγὴν, "and a man must not hand over to the other party his part of the transaction (whether it be goods or money) without getting the equivalent." Cf. πρόδοσει πίνειν, "to drink on credit" (L. & S. s.v. πρόδοσις). Cf. 915 e.

850 a 1 ff. τὸ δὲ ὠνηθὲν ἢ πραθὲν . . . τὸ ἐναντίον: i.e. the extent to which the sale or purchase brings a man's property above or below the legal limit—if, that is, a man gets (by purchase) more than he ought to have, or pays more than he ought away—the excess must be recorded then and there (τότ' ἤδη) in the court of the νομοφύλακες—this means "confiscated"—and the deficiency (either in goods or price) made good—lit. "must be crossed out, annihilated." The words μηδέτερά τούτων ποιεῖν must mean "neither buy nor sell." At first sight it looks as if the νόμος in question were merely a law fixing the limits of price for the market in question. This is how Ficinus takes it ("lex qua rerum venalium mensurae et pretia constituta sunt"); but Ast, Wagner, Stallb., and Jowett rightly assume that the νόμος in question is that enunciated above at 744 d ff. which lays down *limits of wealth and of poverty* beyond which no citizen is to be allowed to go. If a particular sale brings a citizen's property above or below these limits, in the former case the surplus is con-

fiscated; in the latter it is made good—we are not told by whom. (Perhaps ἐξαλειφείσθω means “the transaction is to be annulled.”)

**a 5 f.** τὰ αὐτὰ . . . ἔστω . . . οὐσίας, “the same rule is to hold about the register of the property of ξένοι,” i.e. there are to be no foreign millionaires or paupers either. At 745 a 6 we are told of the arrangements for the register of citizens’ property παρὰ φύλαξιν ἄρχουσιν. Evidently there was to be a similar register for the ξένοι (cf. d 1).

**a 7 f.** ὡς οἰκήσεως οὐσης . . . κατοικεῖν, “it being understood that residence is permitted to any foreigner who wants to take up his abode here and is able to do so.”

**b 1.** κεκτημένῳ: this and the two following participial clauses give the *terms* (ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς a 7). We should translate by separate verbs: “he must have a craft; he must not stay in the country more than twenty years,” etc.

**b 2.** ἀφ’ ἧς: sc. ἡμέρας.

**b 3.** πλὴν τοῦ σωφρονεῖν: this metaphor reminds us of the way in which at 846 d 4 and 847 a 5 he called τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐπιμελείαν a τέχνην; so here “good behaviour” is a τέλος.

**b 5.** For the plural χρόνοι cp. above, 769 c 5 ἐάν τι σφάλληται τὸ ζῶον ὑπὸ χρόνων.

**b 6.** λόγου ἀξίῳ πρὸς εὐεργεσίαν τῆς πόλεως γεγονέναι τιναῖς ἱκανήν: a very involved form of expression; “to have become noteworthy in the direction of some considerable service done to the state.”

**b 8.** πείσειν, “that he will establish his claim.”

**c 1.** αὐτῷ γίγνεσθαι κυρίως, “should be officially granted him.”

**c 6.** ἐπὶ τούτοις: the “terms” are that he must have a craft, and must start his twenty years’ residence at the age of fifteen.

**d 1.** ἐξαλειψάμενος τὰς ἀπογραφάς: as he is taking his property away with him (b 5) there is no need any longer that the record of it should remain. The duty of having it cancelled falls on the departing ξένος.

## BOOK IX

**853 a 1 ff.** δίκαι . . . νόμων, “the next place in a systematic list of laws naturally falls to judicial processes arising out of all the activities hitherto described.” (Stallb. and other interpreters take

ἀκόλουθοι οὔσαι as predicate to γίνονται ἄν, and meaning, like μετὰ ταῦτα, "next in order."

a 5. τὰ μέγιστα: not "the most important cases about which men might go to law," but, as the following words show, "the most important points about the lawsuits themselves"—i.e. the penalties, and the tribunals.

a 6. ῥηθέν: Ast, followed by Herm. and Wagner, rightly rejects this word. Possibly Plato first wrote ῥηθέν, but changed it to λεγόμενον when he saw he had ῥητέον at the end of the sentence—without however erasing ῥηθέν. Λεγόμενον is an absolute impersonal, and on it ἦν . . . τυγχάνειν depends. (Schneider and Burnet take ῥηθέν to be the absolute participle on which the following clause depends, and B. makes this clearer by shifting the comma from ῥηθέν and putting it after λεγόμενον—and so F.H.D. But should we not in that case have had λεγόμενα? Stallb. and Winckelmann independently proposed to read διαρρήδην for ῥηθέν, and Orelli ῥητήν.)

b 1. ἐκείνα is the description in Bk. VIII. of the farming and kindred activities.

b 4. The καί before νομοθετεῖν, and the καί before ἀξιοῦν in b 7, both emphasize the following infinitive: "the very act of legislating; the very act of assuming."

b 5. τοῦτο δρᾶν goes with μέλλομεν, and stands for νομοθετεῖν. Schneider and Burnet make this clear by their comma after δρᾶν (Stallb. puts the comma after μέλλομεν, and Ast follows H. Steph. in inserting a καί before τοῦτο.)

b 6. ὀρθότης, as above at 847 e 3, is "a good system," "an efficient organization." Reference is to the legal enactments as to government and education which the previous books have explained.

b 7 f. ἐν δὲ . . . μεθέξοντα, "the mere assumption that there may arise in such a state a man who will be guilty of the most flagrant manifestations of the wickedness of other states." τῶν μεγίστων is neuter, and goes directly with μεθέξοντα; this is better than to make it, like ἄλλων, agree with πόλεων (understood). Cp. below, 854 e 3 ἡδικηκὼς τῶν μεγάλων καὶ ἀπορρήτων ἀδικιῶν.—Steph. is possibly right in reading δὴ for δέ.

b 9. προκαταλαμβάνοντα καὶ ἀπειλοῦντα form a kind of hendiadys; "(legislate) by anticipatory threat (against any such as may arise)."

c 1 f. τούτων, γενομένων, and αὐτοῖς are, I think, all masc.

c 3. ἐσομένους (for which Steph. would substitute ἐσομένους) is

an absolute acc. ; the case was probably chosen to suggest an object to προκαταλαμβάνοντα. For a similar acc. after ὡς cp. below, 874 b κηρύξαι τῷ κτείναντι . . . μὴ ἐμβαίνειν ἱερῶν . . . ὡς . . . ἀποθανούμενον ; also 643 d 8, *Rep.* 426 c, *Xen. Mem.* i. 2. 20.—ἐπειδὴ . . . τὰ νῦν : the order in which we should take the words is : ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐ τὰ νῦν νομοθετοῦμεν καθάπερ οἱ παλαιοὶ νομοθέται ἐνομοθέτουں, θεῶν παισὶν νομοθετούμενοι τοῖς ἥρωσιν, ὡς ὁ νῦν λόγος, αὐτοὶ τ' ἐκ θεῶν ὄντες ἄλλοις τε ἐκ τοιούτων γεγονόσιν, ἀλλ' ἀνθρωποὶ τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων σπέρμασιν. There is, at first sight, much to attract in Badham's νομοθετοῦμεν, οἱ (with a comma after νομοθέται) for the MS. νομοθετούμενοι, but a review of the whole sentence condemns it ; (1) the οἱ would naturally be taken to refer to θεῶν παισίν, whereas Badham meant it to have νομοθέται as its antecedent ; (2) in B's construction τοῖς ἥρωσιν is worse than useless ; it blocks the direct connexion of ἐνομοθέτουں with ἄλλοις. The curious middle νομοθετούμενοι is perhaps an indication that the lawgivers were legislating for their own class.

d 2. οἶον κερασβόλος, "what you might call horn-struck." The word is applied to beans of any sort which have such hard outsides that they will not soften when boiled. An ordinary synonym for this seems to have been ἀτέραμνος, for which Plato here, and below at 880 e, prefers the form ἀτεράμων. For the childish etymologies given for κερασβόλος see *Plut. Symp. Quaest.* vii. 700 c ff., *Ruhnken, Tim.* s.v., and *Ast's* note here. Fic. seems to have taken κερασβόλος to mean "struck by lightning, so as to become hard as horn." *Ast* thinks that τήκεσθαι and ἀτηκτοὶ (*L* ἄτακτοι) are mistakes for τέγγεσθαι and ἄτεγκτοι.

d 3. I adopt Steph.'s addition of καὶ before καθάπερ.—ἐκεῖνα τὰ σπέρματα : i.e. the seeds which were implied by the use of the term κερασβόλος.

d 4. ἰσχυροῖς of course does not apply to the severity of the law now about to be made, but to the efficacy of the existing laws.

d 5. γίγνωνται : the somewhat harsh asyndeton by which οἷτοι γίγνωνται is appended to the ἐγγίγνηται after μή τις in d 1 was ignored by the correctors of A and O, who changed the word to γίγνωνται (and so the first four printed edd., which put a full stop at πυρὶ). Steph., to remove the asyndeton, proposed to insert καὶ before καθάπερ. This is perhaps the best way out of the difficulty.—ὦν δὴ χάριν οὐκ ἐπίχαριν λέγοιμ' ἂν πρῶτον νόμον ἱερῶν περὶ συλήσεων, "it is for these men's sad sake that I shall begin with a law about temple robbery."



d 8. οὔτε ἐλπιστὸν πάνν τι, "nor is it in the least to be expected." πάνν τι manifestly qualifies not ἐλπιστὸν but οὔτε.

d 10 f. ὁμως δὲ καὶ σύμπασαν τὴν τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως ἀσθένειαν εὐλαβοῦμενος, "and because at the same time I cannot forget the fallibility of mankind in general."

854 a 3. δυσίατα καὶ ἀνίατα, "desperate, or nearly so." Cp. *Phaedo* 113 e.

a 4. ἐμπροσθεν : i.e. 772 e 4 ff., where the principle of prefixing προοίμια to laws is first "approved of."—ἅπασι τούτοις : i.e. to all these laws against desperate offences—such as sacrilege, parricide, or high treason.

b 2 ff. οἷστρος δέ τις ἐμφυόμενος ἐκ παλαιῶν καὶ ἀκαθάρτων τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀδικημάτων, περιφερόμενος ἀλιτηριώδης, "but an infatuation which springs up in men as the result of wrongs done in old time and not expiated—and so the infatuation still runs its accursed course." οἷστρος is a picturesque substitute for the ἄγος or ἄτη of the tragedians, and it suits Plato's theories better. The nature of the inherited mischief is, in Plato's view, not so much the liability to vengeance as the *tendency to commit crime*. In his view, no doubt, the only really effective κάθαρσις for the original crime would have been the due punishment of the offender, because that would have checked the original tendency towards evil. Cp. *Sophist* 229 a ff. ἡ κολαστικὴ τέχνη is a κάθαρσις which purifies the soul from ὕβρις and ἀδικία. Now that this tendency has survived, and appeared in a descendant, all that can be done is to pray heaven to cure it, and to keep good company.—The mention of an evil influence which is neither ἀνθρώπινον nor θεῖον—it is the result of the *accidental* absence of punishment—reminds us of the celebrated passage below at 896 e where the *Ath.* speaks of the existence of a ψυχὴ that does harm "residing in all things that move and guiding them, both in heaven and in earth," and may perhaps be considered along with that passage. The use of κινεῖ here in b 2 shows that he is thinking of a *world-force*; and περιφερόμενος ἀλιτηριώδης suggests the πλανωμένη αἰτία of *Tim.* 48 a, and the ὑπεναντίον τι τῷ ἀγαθῷ which τόνδε τὸν τόπον περιπολεῖ ἐξ ἀνάγκης of *Theast.* 176 a.

b 6. The meaning "thought" which δόγμα has here and at *Tim.* 90 b is not given in L. & S.—ἀποδιοπόμψις (much like ἀποπομπή) means "the averting of an incurred punishment by sacrifice"; the verb ἀποδιοπομπεῖσθαι, from which it is formed, is used below at 877 e for "to free from pollution" (later "to reject"). Acc. to scholium quoted by Ruhnken, *Tim.* s.v. the δῖον

was the skin of the victim (sacrificed to Zeus) on which the sacrificer stood who was to be freed from the curse.

**c 1.** λεγομένων . . ὑμῖν, "reputed among you." The correctors of L and O were probably right in altering the MS. ὑμῶν to ὑμῖν, and the latter probably owes its universal acceptance to the fact that the first printed texts adopted it. Ficinus ignores both λεγομένων and ὑμῖν.

**c 2.** πειρῶ λέγειν αὐτός, "get into the way of saying yourself"—a curious recipe for inducing belief.

**c 5.** The same ellipsis of εὖ ἔχει occurs at *Prot.* 325 d, but apparently not elsewhere in Plato.—σκεψάμενος: L. & S. and nearly all interpreters give σκέπτεσθαι here the exceptional meaning of νομίζειν—"make up your mind that death is nobler, and get rid of life"; but probably Schneider is right in translating by *spectans*, "fix your eye upon the greater nobility of death."

**c 8.** τῷ μὲν πειθομένῳ τὸν νόμον ἂν σιγῇ δεῖ, "in the case of the man who takes this advice" (whether he is cured or commits suicide) "we must leave the law unspoken." Cp. below, 938 a 6 πειθομένοις μὲν σιγῇ, ἀπειθοῦσιν δὲ φωνῇ νόμου ἦδε; cp. also 870 e 4.

**c 9.** μετὰ τὸ προοίμιον, "*besides the prelude.*"

**d 2.** γραφεῖς τὴν συμφοράν: as below at 934 b 3 συμφορά is euphemistically used for a criminal inclination; "let him bear his infirmity written on his face and hands."

**d 4.** There is an awkwardness in the separate dependence on one verb γένοιτ' ἂν of the two participles δοῦς and σωφρονισθείς. Cobet would read σωφρονισθείη, and reject "languidum illud γένοιτ' ἂν βελτίων"; the doubled ἂν is slightly in favour of this. Cobet's sentence certainly seems the better of the two.

**d 5 f.** οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ κακῷ δίκη κτλ.: cp. above on 728 c 2. Plato does not here (as below at e 7, and as at 862 e 4 ff.) allude to the benefits to the community, only to the "sophronizing" effect on the criminal himself of δίκη: either it does him some positive good, or it lessens the evil in him; cp. 934 a 1 σωφρονιστύος ἔνεκα, and 934 b 1-3 ἢ τὸ παράπαν μισῆσαι τὴν ἀδικίαν . . . ἢ λωφῆσαι μέρη πολλὰ τῆς τοιαύτης συμφορᾶς.

**d 7.** Like our word *wretch*, μοχθηρός in Greek means sometimes *miserable*, and sometimes *noxious*, *wicked*. Ritter (p. 268) tries to think that μοχθηρότερον ἦττον here may mean "less miserable," though he admits that the Platonic use of μοχθηρός does not bear him out; but "*less unhappy*" is not an alternative to *better*. Schneider translates "aut quominus peior fiat impedit."

**e 5.** οἷας παιδείας . . . τυγχάνων οὐκ ἀπέσχετο: the participle is the principal verb in sense. "What an education he had to keep him from committing crime, and yet he committed it!" The argument is "if such an education did not keep him from crime, nothing could!"

**e 7.** ἐλάχιστον τῶν κακῶν, "the least of (all) those evils of his!"

**855 a 1.** Schneider and Burnet alone put a comma after γενόμενος. From Fic. downwards all other interpreters take γενόμενος with ἀκλεής, and either put a comma after ὀνήσει, or put none at all; moreover they give ἀκλεής the meaning of δυσκλεής. Surely S. and B. are right: ἀκλεής and ὑπὲρ τοὺς τῆς χάρας ὄρους are both subordinate to ἀφανισθεῖς; the καί marks them as two distinct results: the malefactor's fate is to perish (ἀφανισθεῖς) both from (1) the mouths, and (2) from the sight of men; his name is never to be heard, and even his tomb is not to be in his native land. See further below, 873 b. Cp. 862 e 5 παράδειγμα μὲν τοῦ μὴ ἀδικεῖν τοῖς ἄλλοις γενόμενοι. Stallb. cites Xen. *Hell.* i. 7. 22, where it is stated that the Athenians did not allow men guilty of sacrilege or treason to be buried within their native country.

**a 2.** παῖσι δὲ καὶ γένοι κτλ.: "Lex sanequam humanissima, atque tanto magis digna admiratione, quo latius pervagata fuit apud veteres opinio illa, qua maiorum delicta adeo a diis etiam in posteris puniri credebant," Stallb.

**a 3.** καὶ λόγος ἔντιμος λεγόμενος, "and let it be told to their honour." (Stallb. would translate "let there be *what is called* honourable recognition.") This addition to the neutral κλέος "repute" gives it a favourable significance; so above, 663 a 3 κλέος τε καὶ ἔπαινος πρὸς ἀνθρώπων.

**a 5.** δημόσια . . . τῇ πολιτείᾳ . . . γίνεσθαι, "be forfeited to the community." χρήματα is property both in land and money; so Aesch. *Eum.* 757 ἐν τε χρήμασιν οἰκεῖ πατρώοις.—τῇ πολιτείᾳ and ἐν ᾗ go closely together: "not if it is a community which is bound always to have the same and an equal number of holdings."

**a 8.** With ἐκτίνειν we may suppose either πρέπον ἂν εἶη or δεῖ to be supplied in thought from the preceding sentence.—ἂν ᾗ τι τῶν τοῦ κλήρου κατεσκευασμένου περιττεῖν: so the MSS. If the awkward τῶν is correct, we must supply χρημάτων with it and translate "if there is anything left over beyond the property belonging to the estate as equipped." But it is probable that W. R. Paton is right in substituting ἂν ᾗ τί τι for ἂν ᾗ τι τῶν,



"if a man has anything left over after the estate has been duly equipped," τοῦ κλ. κατ. being gen. abs. The effect of placing κατέσκευασμένου just before περιττεύον is to give the impression of "over and above the (due) equipment."

b 2 ff. τὰς δὲ . . . δικάσταῖς, "the νομοφύλακες must ascertain the exact facts about the matter from their registers, and reveal the true state of the case to the Court as occasion may arise."—For the registers of property (ἀπογραφαί) see above, 745 a 6, and 850 a 4 and d 1.—When the Court is correctly informed about a man's property, it is in a position to save his holding from losing its equipment and so falling out of cultivation. (Fic. and Ast make a curious mistake about ἀργός, translating *ne quis . . . sua sorte privetur*.)

b 6. πλέονος: i.e. greater than he has money enough to pay. —ἐὰν ἄρα, "unless of course."—All editors have adopted the αὐτόν of L and O<sup>2</sup> as against the αὐτῶν of A and O. One inferior MS. has αὐτά.

c 1 f. ἄτιμον δὲ παντάπασιν μηδένα εἶναι μηδέποτε μηδ' ἐφ' ἐνὶ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, μηδ' ὑπερορίαν φυγάδα: there are many obscurities here: (1) no modern editor but Burnet has ventured to print the MS. ὑπερορίαν; they all adopt O<sup>2</sup>'s (and Steph.'s) correction to ὑπερόριον; (2) though other interpreters take φυγάδα to be the subject to ἄτιμον εἶναι, Ritter suggests that it might be predicate to εἶναι (and so Jowett); (3) the scholiast, followed by Fic., Ast, Wagner, and L. & S., takes ἄτιμος to stand for ἀτιμώρητος in the sense of *impunitus*, whereas Stallb., Schneider, Ritter, and Jowett give it its ordinary meaning of *outlawed*. As to (1), the MS. reading cannot easily be explained away; we are thus driven to suppose that it is used as an adverbial acc. equivalent to εἰς τὴν ὑπερορίαν of 866 d 4 and 936 c 5 (so Steph. and Ast would read here). The other two points are far more important, especially (3). All who take ἄτιμος to mean *impunitus* must of course take the usual view of (2)—i.e. that φυγάδα is subj. to ἄτιμον εἶναι. But how is the state to punish, in any other way than by exile, the criminal who has escaped to another country? (2) As against Ritter's suggestion that φυγάδα may be predicate, and, with a supplied παντάπασι, mean "*exile for good*," there stands, as he recognizes, the fact that below at 877 a 7 μετᾱστασιν εἰς τὴν γείτονα πόλιν διὰ βίου is ordained as a penalty, and at 871 d 6 we have φευγέτω ἀειφυγίαν. One of the consequences of complete ἀτιμία at Athens was that the property of the culprit was confiscated and his



family therefore impoverished—they even shared the ἀτιμία. The immediately preceding passage seems to suggest that *this* is what Plato wanted to avoid. We may translate then: “But for no offence whatever is a man to be made a complete outlaw, not even if he has sought exile in a foreign land.” Either, as stipulated at 877 b 1, he is to be allowed to retain his property, or, at all events, his family is not to be deprived of it. (Stallb., who was the first to print O<sup>2</sup>’s emendation ὑπερόριον, thinks that the particular ἀτιμία which is deprecated is the becoming liable to be ἀτιμώρητος in the sense of “liable to be killed with impunity.” But how could one state secure such impunity if the slaying took place in another ?)

c 2 ff. θάνατον δὲ . . . γιγνέσθω: Stallb. makes a vigorous and mainly successful defence of the MS. reading. The accusatives θάνατον κτλ. *would have been*, he says, nominatives—subjects to γιγνέσθω—for the number of which see Heindorf on *Euthyd.* 302 c, Adam on *Rep.* 363 a—but they were attracted into the acc. to suit the καθάπερ εἶπομεν γίγνεσθαι δεῖν. Unlike Burnet, he, like most editors, puts a comma before, not after τὴν δίκην ταύτην: this he takes to be an adverbial acc. and translates it *in hac causa* (though in his note he says it is κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον). These words, however, go better as the *subject* to ἐκτίσεις γίγνεσθαι, the case referred to being one where the offence was ἀξία χρημάτων.

c 3 f. ἀμόρφους is “degrading.”—These are some of the προηλακισμοί spoken of at b 8.—παραστάσεις, “exposures”; there seems to be a sinister force in the παρα-: the lexicographers explain the word by the obscure στάσις παρά τινα ἄτιμος; so παράδειγμα is used for *warning* (Thuc. iii. 40. 8). Ruhnken cites a passage from Dio Cassius lv. 790 which seems to be an echo of this one: ἔδραι τε ἄτιμοι καὶ στάσεις ἐπονείδιστοι . . . συχνοὺς βελτίους ἐποίησε. (With παραστάσεις. εἰς ἱερά may be compared the punishment to be seen in some modern schoolrooms of being made to kneel before a crucifix.) There is much to attract in Ast’s suggestion that we ought to transpose ἡ παραστάσεις and put it after ἱερά. The neighbourhood of temples might be places of penance, and so might the boundaries of the land, but there seems no point in combining the two. If Ast is right, the παρα- would only have a *local* signification. “But the penalties of death, or of imprisonment, or of being made to sit or stand in disgrace, or of exposure at temples on the frontier, or the payment of a fine which we just said was to be the punishment in that case—let these be inflicted.” In other words “where death, etc.,

ought to be the penalty, let those penalties be inflicted." (Herm. would end with τὴν δίκην ταύτην γίγνεσθαι, Schramm would read τινέσθω (as passive of the mid. τίνομαι) for γιγνέσθω, Steph. γιγνέσθων, Ast prints . . . δεῖ. Τὴν δίκην ταύτη γιγνέσθω.)

c 7. νομοφύλακες: the court to inflict a death sentence was to consist of the pick of the last year's magistrates (cp. above, 767 d e ff.) with probably an equal number of νομοφύλακες added—the numbers to be settled by the "younger legislators" (cp. above 846 c 4).

d 1. τούτων: whether this is neut. or fem. it probably is equivalent to τούτων τῶν δικῶν.

d 4. πρὸ τούτου: i.e. "before the voting takes place."

d 5. κατὰ τὸ στόμα: not "at the beginning" as the scholiast explains it, but "face to face with."—ὁ δικαστὴς ἐξῆς: the analogy of παντὶ ἐξῆς τεκμηρίῳ (Thuc. i. 20. 1) and πάντ' ἄνδρα ἐφεξῆς (Dem. Phil. iii. 128) suggest that ἐξῆς is perhaps not merely "in a row" here, but that ὁ δικαστὴς ἐξῆς means "every single judge."

d 6. ἐγγύτατα: probably not "close to the accuser and accused" but "close to each other." The close unbroken order of the judges would make their appearance imposing.

d 8. σπουδῇ, "diligenter" Fic.—ἐνα λόγον: while the above regulations coincide generally with those of the Athenian court of the Areopagus, Plato differs from it in this, that in the Areopagus both accuser and accused were allowed *two* speeches each. (Herm. *Vest.* 46 f.)

e 2. The terms ἀνακρίνειν and ἀνάκρισις (e 6) seem to be here used not in any of the technical legal senses but to describe a process of testing the case on both sides, which would nearly correspond to our judge's *summing up*.

e 4. ἐξῆς ἅπαντας, "all indiscriminately," "all and sundry." Cp. Thuc. vii. 29. 4, Eur. *I.A.* 341.

e 5. (οὔτι ἂν) . . . ῥηθὲν ἢ μὴ ῥηθὲν ἐπιποθῇ: the ἐπι- strictly refers only to the ῥηθὲν; μὴ ῥηθὲν τι ποθεῖν is "to wish something unsaid"—i.e. to find it redundant, or even wrong, so that the whole phrase means "omissions or mistakes."—τινα τρόπον goes with ῥηθὲν ἢ μὴ ῥηθὲν.

e 7. ὅσα ἂν καίρια δοκῇ, "whatever (the judges in their pronouncements) find to be relevant."

856 a 2. ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίαν: apparently the court is supposed to sit in a building corresponding to the Athenian Prytaneum, in which there was an altar of Hestia—the most sacred spot in the state.

a 5. παραλαβόντας is almost "allowing due weight to."

**a 6.** ψῆφον ἱερὰν ἕκαστον φέροντα καὶ ὑποσχόμενον πρὸς τῆς ἐστίας: the fact that each judge has sworn "by the altar" makes his vote ἱερά; καί is explanatory, like the καί after the πολλοί before another adj., and in καὶ ταῦτα.—Though all MSS. have πρὸς the first five edd. have πρό—Fic. "*per Vestam*."

**a 7.** For the tense of the MS. κρίνειν, for which Steph. and Ast would read κρινεῖν, see Goodwin, *M. and T.* §§ 100 and 136, and Stallb.'s note on *Crito* 52 c.

**b 2 ff.** ὃς ἂν . . . παρανομῇ: the asyndeton marks the style of the legal enactment. "Whosoever, in reducing them to subjection to *men*, masters the laws, and makes the state the slave of a party, and uses unlawful force to effect all this, and stirs up civil strife . . ." Both νόμους and πόλιν are to be thought of as objects of ἄγων; ἀνθρώπων is a subjective gen. like ὀλίγων ἀρχήν at *Polit.* 302 c. The reading ἀνθρωπον, adopted by Fic., and by all texts except those of Winckelmann and Burnet, is due to a correction in A and O; that reading would confine the offence to the attempt to establish the rule of a τύραννος, whereas the plural would apply either to an oligarchy or a tyranny, or even to a democratic faction.

**b 3.** The MSS. have ἐταιρείας, though in A it looks as if the εἰ might have been altered from ι. All editions but Burnet's print the quite unwarrantable dat. plur. (Fic. "*factionibus*"). Either a gen. or a dat. may be used with ὑπήκοος, but the sing. "*party*" suits the context better than the plur. "*factions*," or "*political clubs*."

**b 7.** λεληθότα τε . . . μὴ τιμωρούμενον: Burnet's comma after δειλία δ' helps to mark this unpatriotic failure to punish such proceedings as due *either* to blindness, *or* to cowardice. It is a mistake to interpret τε . . . ἢ by *sive . . . sive* as Stallb. does; the τε is wanted to connect μὴ τιμωρούμενον with μετέχοντα, while ἢ μὴ λεληθότα, δειλία δ' is in form a parenthesis. (Ast saw the meaning of the words, but thought it necessary to its expression that τε and δ' should be struck out; whereby the main sentence is spoilt.)

**c 3.** ἐνδεικνύτω ταῖς ἀρχαῖς εἰς κρίσιν ἄγων: this is not two actions but one. The information to the authorities is conveyed in the form of a prosecution.

**c 4.** μεταστάσεως is gen. of the *charge*.

**c 5.** ἄμα καὶ παρανόμον: the violence was an offence in itself, but its illegality makes it worse.

**c 6.** οἷπερ: here the corrector of O has L on his side in reading οἷπερ for the mistaken οἷσπερ of A and O.

c 7. τὴν ψῆφον θάνατον φέρειν: the most important feature of the proceedings is added in the form of an explanatory asyndeton. Only Schneider and Burnet preserve the MS. reading; all other texts follow the corrector of O (as at 855 c 2), who inserted a δέ after ψῆφον, to remove the asyndeton.—θάνατον φέρειν is "to have the power of inflicting death."

c 8. ἐνὶ δὲ λόγῳ, "once for all."

d 2. ἐφεξῆς, "without a break."

d 3. πλὴν ὅσον κατεσκευασμένοι τοῦ κλήρου παντελῶς, "except just enough to equip the 'lot' fully." The gen. means "belonging to, necessary for." Cp. above, ἂν ᾗ τί τῃ τοῦ κλήρου κατεσκευασμένου περιττεῖν, and ὑπὲρ τὸν κλῆρον below at 857 a 6.

d 4. εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ πατρίδα: this is said with special reference to the contemplated colony of Magnesia, whose inhabitants were to come from the majority of Cretan states (702 c).

d 6. Ast would insert ἥ before δέκα, but cp. *Apol.* 17 d where T has ἔτη γεγωνὸς πλείω ἐβδομήκοντα, and *Thuc.* iv. 44. 6.

d 7. τούτων refers to the sons, and is antecedent to the following οὓς. Either the father or the paternal or maternal grandfather, as the legal guardian of the son in question, was to "nominate" (ἀποφαίνειν). From those thus nominated the state chose ten by lot, and out of those ten Delphi was to select the future possessor of the derelict property.

e 5 f. κοινὸς δ' ἔτι . . . δικῶν, "there is yet a third case in which there must be one law like the last, both as to judges who are to try the men—and there must be a like procedure in the court." καὶ ὁ τρόπος τῶν δικῶν—with which we must supply κοινὸς εἰς ἔστω from the preceding sentence—goes on as if ὁ τε νόμος περὶ δικαστῶν had preceded it.—κοινός is "common to this case and that just mentioned," i.e. "like the last."—The anacoluthon is made more awkward by the tautological κοινός and εἰς. We do not want both words; possibly εἰς is a mistake for τις, for which the following εἰς ἔστω at e 8 is partly responsible. Cp. above, 722 e 7 δύο μὲν τινε.

e 6 f. οἷς ἂν προδόσεως αἰτίαν ἐπιφέρων τις εἰς δικαστήριον ἄγῃ stands for ἐκείνων οὓς ἂν, προδ. αἰτ. ἐπ. αὐτοῖς, εἰς δικ. ἄγῃ.

e 7. πρόδοσις is a variant for the more normal προδοσία.—Cp. *Rep.* 443 a καὶ ἱεροσυλιῶν καὶ κλοπῶν καὶ προδοσιῶν ἢ ἰδία ἐταίρων ἢ δημοσίου πόλεων.

e 8. μονῆς ἐκγόνοις καὶ ἐξόδου: cp. above, c 8—d 5.

857 a 1. For the pleonastic περὶ ταῦτα cp. *Rep.* 353 d τὸ ἐπιμε-



λείσθαι . . . καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα ἔσθ' ὅτῳ ἄλλῳ ἢ ψυχῇ δικαίως ἂν αὐτὰ ἀποδοῖμεν ;—O<sup>2</sup> has *περὶ μονῆς* for *μονῆς*.

**a 3.** The *ἐπικείσθω* of Eusebius (also given as a variant in O) well suits the dat. *σύμπασιν* : cp. Hdt. ii. 38 *ἀσήμενον δὲ θύσαντι θάνατος ἢ ζημία ἐπικέεται* and vi. 58.

**a 4.** *δίκης τιμωρία*, "legal penalty," lit. "the penalty belonging to the case." Later hands in the margins of A and O give as variants *δίκη* and *τιμωρία*s. This led Ast to conjecture *δίκη τιμωρίας* "ultio poenae," and Winckelmann *δίκη τιμωρός* comparing 716 a 3, 872 e 3, and *Epín.* 988 e 5 ; but both of these emendations suppose an original *δίκη* instead of the MS. *δίκης*, which Eusebius confirms.

**a 5.** *πρῶτον* marks off the case of the man who can pay from that of the man who cannot.

**a 6.** *καὶ ἰκανὴν . . . κληῖρον*, "and has enough property over and above his land" (and its equipment) "to pay with." Though *τοῦ κληροῦ* is read by A and O and Eusebius (and defended by Stallb.), Ast, Zurr., Wagn., Herm., and Burnet accept Steph.'s alteration to the acc. The gen. was probably a thoughtless scribe's mistake.—*ἀποτίνειν* = *ὥστε ἀποτίνειν*.

**a 7.** *τὸν καταδικασάμενον*, "the successful prosecutor."

**b 1.** *πέisas τὴν πόλιν* : the authority which could thus give absolution on the part of the state would probably be the sitting committee of thirty *βουλευταί* who represented the *βουλή* for the month. Cp. 758 b ff.

**b 4.** The *λέγομεν* of A<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>2</sup> suits the sentence better than the *λέγωμεν* of ALO, and all texts adopt it. *λέγομεν* is used in the sense of *κελεύομεν*—"How can we order no difference to be made between, etc.?"—*ἦ* is used after *διαφέρειν* even when it does not mean "be superior to." Cp. Xen. *Mem.* iii. 7. 7 *τί δὲ οἶει διαφέρειν ὃ σὺ ποιεῖς ἢ τῶν ἀσκητῶν ὄντα κρείττω τοὺς ἰδιώτας φοβεῖσθαι* ;

**c 1.** Steph. was the first to call attention to the reading *πρότερον* for the *ἕτερον* of ALO ; it occurs in the margin of L and O. Fic. had adopted it, as do all modern editors.

**c 2 ff.** *τὰ περὶ . . . λέγειν*, "the business of legislation has so far not been at all thoroughly worked out, as may be concluded from the matter in hand."

**c 3.** O has *ὥς*, ALO<sup>2</sup> have *ὥστε*—the *τε* in A having been altered from something else ; all printed texts read *ὥς γε*.

**c 4.** *πὼς δ' αὖ καὶ τοῦτο λέγομεν* ; "what again do I mean by this?" This is a rhetorical question, and not of the same kind as

the πῶς δὴ λέγομεν of b 4, though the αῖ seems to refer to it. Fic. and Ast assign the question to Cleinias. (See below, e 2, where Fic. makes the converse alteration.)

c 5. ὅτε . . . ἀπηκάζομεν: i.e. above at 720 c f. This reminder confirms the ἐννενοηκότα καὶ πρότερον of c 1.—The correctors of A and O and the early texts, and also Herm., give the un-Attic forms ἀπεικάσαμεν and ἀπεικάζομεν for the Attic ἀπηκ. of the MSS.

c 6. νομοθετουμένης is clearly passive here; cp. 701 d 8 ἡ νομοθετουμένη πόλις.—The early texts down to Steph. had ἐπίστασαι δὴ for the MS. ἐπίστασθαι δεῖ; Fic. translates the MS. reading.

d 2. L alone of the MSS. has here in χρώμενον preserved for us the right reading; A had χρω\*μενω, A<sup>2</sup> and O χρωμένω, which O's margin pronounces to be "the bad reading of all the copies."—For μὲν . . . τε see L. & S. s.v. μὲν A II. 6 c.—"and, just like any philosopher, using arguments, and tracing the source of the disease, on (the basis of) a complete review of the nature of the body."—With ἐξ ἀρχῆς and περὶ φύσεως cp. above, 720 d 3 καὶ ταῦτα ἐξετάζων ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ κατὰ φύσιν.

d 5 f. προχείρους ὄντας τοῖς πλείστοις λεγομένοις ἰατροῖς, "which come readily to the mouths of most professed physicians." Cp. *Tim.* 88 a τῶν λεγομένων ἰατρῶν ἀπατώσα τοὺς πλείστους.

d 6 ff. ὦ μῶρε . . . γίνεσθαι, "how silly of you! you are *teaching* your patient instead of curing him; he doesn't want to be made into a doctor, he wants to be made whole." Cp. 720 d 6 διδάσκει τὸν ἀσθενοῦντα αὐτόν.

e 2. Fic. (alone) takes this to be a rhetorical question of the Ath.'s.

e 3. τάχ' ἂν, εἰ προσδιανοοῖτό γε ὥς, "maybe he would be right if he further came to the conclusion that . . ."

e 5. πρὸς τρόπον: so above, 655 d 7.

e 8. τὸ παρόν, "praesens nostra condicio" (Stallb.).

858 a 1. The γένους of A and O was probably due to a misunderstanding of an abbreviation for γενομένους (as read by A<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>2</sup>).

a 2. τὸ τε ἄριστον καὶ τὸ ἀναγκαιότατον, "both the best possible, and the irreducible minimum."

a 8. κατεχομένοις, "constrained."

b 1. ἡδῆ, "this very moment."—In the MS. οὐκ ἔστιν we have the converse mistake to that made in a 1, -έρ being misread as an abbreviation of ἔστι; the mistake was corrected in the margin of L and O, but not in A.

**b 2.** εἰπεῖν σὺν θεῷ, "if I may say so"; cp. *Protag.* 317 b, *Epist.* iv. 320 b, *Eur. Med.* 625.

**b 3.** Plato evidently chooses λιθολόγος rather than the more usual οἰκοδόμος (see Ruhnken, *Tim.* s.v. λιθολόγοι) so as to lead up to his simile of the picking and choosing of stones for building.—ἐτέρας . . . συστάσεως, "other kind of construction" (than that of a building).

**b 5.** συστάσει is possibly used here in the concrete sense of *structure*.

**b 7.** τὰ μὲν παρατιθεμένους, τὰ δὲ συνιστάντας, "accumulating some of our material for future use, and using some of it to build with."

**c 1.** The usual chiasmus; τιθέμενα corresponds to συνιστάντας. —Here again Plato chooses words of double suggestion: παρατίθεσθαι is "to lay by a store," "to accumulate material," τιθέμενα is here used as the passive of τιθέναι with νόμον in the sense of "to enact."—The use of the neuter is remarkable.

**c 2.** κατὰ φύσιν μᾶλλον, "more scientific."

**c 7.** γράμματα καὶ λόγοι, "literature."

**c 10–d 3.** This passage is variously punctuated. Steph. and Ed. Bipont. put commas after συγγράμμασιν, after ποιητῶν, and after συγγράψαντες; Ast after ποιητῶν and συγγράψαντες, Bekker, Stallb., Zürr., Schneider, and Burnet after συγγράμμασιν and συγγράψαντες, Herm. and Wagner only after συγγράψαντες. If any commas are put in they ought to be at Steph.'s three places, but it is better still to put none at all—ποιητῶν . . . συγγράψαντες stands for "authors in general," and subdivides them into (a) *creative*, and (b) *didactic* (whether in verse or prose).

**d 1.** The αὐτήν of ALO is an ordinary scribe's error. The earlier texts adopted O's αὐτῶν; Steph. first gave the correct αὐτῶν.

**d 6 ff.** ἀλλὰ δῆτα . . . ἔσσεσθαι: whether interrogative or not, this sentence is ironical—either "do you mean to tell me that the lawgiver alone is not to, etc.?" or "a pretty thing if the lawgiver is not to . . ." ἀλλὰ δῆτα is used thus ironically at *Sophist* 249 a 9 and *Sophocles, O.T.* 1375, in both of which passages there is the same doubt about the interrogation mark. Fic., Ast, and Stallb. strain μόνον to mean pre-eminently (among authors). But Plato evidently did not claim such an exclusive privilege as that for the lawgiver author, as the following words show.—Jowett (ed. 2) unaccountably makes περί govern γραφόντων, and pays no attention to μόνον.—No one but Steph. (and Ed. Bipont.) knows anything

about a variant γραφέντων for γραφόντων; Stallb. says Ven. Ξ has γραφθέντων.

d 7. οἷά τέ ἐστι καὶ ὡς κτλ., "wherein they consist, and how necessary their pursuit is to happiness."—We are reminded, by this claim of the lawgiver to rank as an *author*, of the recommendation (at 811 d) to employ the present treatise as a school reading-book.

e 1 ff. ἀλλὰ αἰσχρὸν δὴ μᾶλλον . . . κακῶς θέσθαι γράψαντας, "pray is it more disgraceful for (poets like) Homer (etc.) if they make a bad pronouncement on life and its aims, and less of a disgrace to Lycurgus, etc.?"—For the acc. γράψαντας cp. above, 806 e 6.

e 3. A and O wrongly wrote καλῶς for κακῶς. L has the right reading, and so have O<sup>2</sup> and all printed texts; Ficinus's "*probe*" and Serranus's "*praeclare*" follow A and O's error.—θέσθαι is chosen as a word constantly used with νόμον, and so specially suitable for the case of a νομοθέτης.

e 4. τό γε ὀρθόν, "by rights"; cp. 659 b 3 ὥς γε τὸ δίκαιον.

e 5. There appears to be no MS. authority for the δῆ which the early texts have in place of δεῖ.

e 6. διαπυττόμενα, "when we open them"; cp. Soph. *Ant.* 709.—The erasure of the ττ in A gave rise to many variants and emendations; the early texts have διαπυττόμενα, the margins of the MSS. have διαπνύόμενα. Steph. read διατυπούμενα.

e 7. ἢ κατ' ἐκείνα συνεπόμενα, ἢ διαφωνοῦντα αὐτοῖς εἶναι καταγέλαστα, "either to be in harmony with *them*, or to provoke ridicule by their divergence from *them*." The second ἢ was omitted in all MSS. and restored by O<sup>2</sup>. Herm. thought it was the first ἢ which was omitted, and hailed the omission as an improvement. The sentence is forcible enough without the first ἢ, but not quite the same. Plato seems here to suggest that literature falls into two classes, of which the latter ought to be "placed on the index."

859 a 4. We must supply δεῖν with φαίνεσθαι.—ἢ . . . γράψαντα . . . ἀπηλλάχθαι: in the second alternative the form of expression is varied by the personification (cp. below 881 a 6) of τὰ γεγραμμένα, which are represented as "bidding and threatening like a tyrant, and then washing their hands of the business when once they have issued the decree"; and the personification involves the author in the curious statement that "what is written" writes itself up on the walls. Somewhat so at 881 a 6 πόνοι are spoken of as λέγοντες. (This is, I



think, better than taking τάξαντα etc. as masc. acc. with *τινα* understood. Wagner tries to make (a supplied) *τύραννον* the subj. of ἀπηλλάχθαι. Stallb. thinks that ἤ is "rather than," comparing Hdt. ix. 26 οὕτως οὖν ἡμᾶς δίκαιον ἔχειν τὸ ἕτερον κέρας ἢ περ Ἀθηναίους. If he is right, there should be no interrogation mark after ἀπηλλάχθαι—and he puts one.)

a 6-b 4. σκοπῶμεν οὖν δὴ κτλ., "this then is the question we have now to face: are we to adopt this persuasive tone in our discourse on laws—or at all events do our very best to adopt it—and are we ready to endure any inconvenience that such a course may condemn us to? I pray God we may succeed; if he wills, we shall."

b 3. I think that we ought to read γε for the MS. τε; cp. *Meno* 92 b καὶ εἶην γε.

b 6. We here return to the consideration of penalties which was interrupted at 857 b 4. The digression has prepared us for a discussion of the *principles* on which the penalties are to be assessed.

b 7. The omission of νόμον with τόν is unusual. No editors but Schneider and Burnet have ventured to print the τόν, though it is in both A and O. The correction given in the margin of O omits both τόν and τῶν. The MS. reading makes a distinction between the law punishing sacrilege, *which has been settled*—τὰ μὲν ἔθεμεν—and the case of theft etc. which is still under discussion, and this reading should certainly be preserved.

c 1. ἔθεμεν: possibly a gnomic aorist; "we enact once for all." Cp. 858 b 7 τὰ μὲν παρατιθέμενους, τὰ δὲ συνιστάντας.

c 2. The separation of περί from its case by three words is unusual.—νομοθέται γὰρ γιγνώμεθα ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐσμέν πω: in other words "we are feeling our way, and we cannot adopt a definite method of procedure without a good deal of preliminary investigation."

c 3. ὡς εἶρηκα, "in the way which I have pointed out." The margins of L and O tell us that these words were suspected by some. The "way pointed out" was to search out the *origin* of the evil, and the *principles* of the method for its removal. Therein is involved the *nature of virtue and justice* (858 d 7). Cp. 857 d 2 ff.

c 6. συμπάντων, "in general."

c 7. κατιδεῖν . . . ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς: i.e. "we must clear our minds of misconceptions, and mutually destructive theories."

c 8 ff. ἡμεῖς τε . . . οἱ πολλοί τε: the implication is that, for all their efforts after superiority, they, as well as the common

public, need to get clearer ideas.—Plato, in his usual way, links the sentences by the various meanings of *διαφερόμεθα* and *διαφέρειν* —“disagree,” and “surpass.” (Jowett ed. 2 translates *διαφέρειν* by “contradict.”)

d 3. *ἐγὼ περάσομαι φράζειν*, “I think I can explain.” Cp above, 835 d 3. This self-assertive *ἐγὼ* is common in the *Epistles*. Cp. vii. 324 b *περάσομαι δ’ ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὐτὴν ἐγὼ πρὸς ὑμᾶς διεξελθεῖν*.

d 6. For the repeated *εἶναι* at d 8 cp. the repeated *δοκεῖν* at *Rep.* 601 a. (Herm. would reject the first *εἶναι*, and Wagn. and Stallb. agree.)

d 8. *ταύτη* is an emphatic repetition of *κατ’ αὐτό γε τὸ δικαιοτάτον ἦθος*. For the statement cp. *Gorg.* 476 b *οὐχὶ τά γε δίκαια πάντα καλὰ ἐστίν, καθ’ ὅσον δίκαια*;

e 5. Schneider, Ritter, and Burnet rightly put a comma between *ἐστίν* and *σχεδόν*: “clearly what is suffered is included by us in the ‘all’ just as much as what is inflicted”—*ἴσα* being = *ἴσως*. (All other interpreters make *ἴσα* the only predicate of *ἐστίν*, giving it the meaning of *ὅμοια*.)—For the doctrine of the similarity between *πάσχον* and *ποιοῦν* cp. *Gorg.* 476 a 6 ff.

e 6. *τί οὖν δῆ*; “what then?”

860 a 1. *ὁμολογούμενον* (pass.) agrees with *πάθος*—“the acknowledgement that it is *καλόν* in exact proportion as it is *δίκαιον* will not involve any contradiction in terms.”—The *διαφωνούντα* refers to the *ὅπη διαφερόμεθα* of 859 c 7.

a 5. *λεχθέντων κτλ.*, “for we should be calling what is just most abominable.” Again, for emphasis, the same thing is said thrice over, the adj. being changed into the superlative.

b 2. *καὶ μέλλοντες δὴ κτλ.*, “and just as we were on the point of enacting a great many (more) laws of the same kind, we stopped, because we saw two things: one was that these penalties were immeasurably heavy, and the other was that of all penalties they were not only the most just, but the most degrading (*αἰσχιστα*).” The former of these two reasons was the one which influenced Cleinias (857 b 4 ff.), and we must suppose that it was the latter that caused the digression on the part of the Athenian. The only intimations, however, that have been given us of this line of thought are the coupling of *ὀνείδη* with *τιμωρίας* at 856 c 8, the *προπηλακισμοῖς* of 855 b 8, and the *ἀμόρφους ἔδρας* of 855 c 3. As Ritter says, the workmanship of this part of the dialogue is faulty.

c 4. For *τὸ ἡμέτερον ἔχει* standing for *ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν* cp. on *τὸ ἐμόν* at 688 a 6.—L is clearly right in reading *ἡμ.* for the *ὑμ.* of A and O.

c 5. τῆς συμφωνίας: the article to which Matthiae and Ast object has its definite meaning: it is *the* agreement or disagreement which has been considered all along.

c 6. It is hard to account for the fem. ποίαν by any theory of attraction other than that of the attraction of the scribe's eye to ποίας; Ast would read ποῖον, Baiter ποῖα, Schneider ποῖ ἄν.

d 1. εἰς πάντα κακοί: cp. *Charmides* 158 a 7 εἰς πάντα πρῶτον εἶναι, above 677 b 7 ἀπείρους . . . τεχνῶν . . . εἰς πλεονεξίας, 775 a 7 τῷ μὲν εἰς χρήματα μεγίστῳ.

d 1 ff. The doctrine here enunciated occurs often in Plato's works: e.g. above at 731 c 2 and 734 b 4; three times in the *Republic*—382 a, 413 a, and 589 c; at *Gorg.* 509 e, and *Tim.* 86 e 1; it is partly explained at *Meno* 77 d. As Adam says, in his note on *Rep.* 382 a, Plato's view of punishment as *remedial* is in close connexion with the Socratic conception of vice as involuntary, and a form of ignorance—a view to which Plato evidently held fast to the end of his life. In his latest works, however, he lays increasing stress on the importance of reinforcing enlightened views on right and wrong, of public opinion, of good company, and the careful formation of *good habits*. Cp. Archer-Hind on *Tim.* 86 e 1: "Soul, as such, is good entirely. . . . No evil therefore can arise from the voluntary choice of the soul. Evil then must of necessity arise from the conditions of her limitation, which takes the form of bodily environment. And it is clear that all defects in this respect are due either to physical aberrations or faulty treatment." Cp. especially *Tim.* 87 b. Aristotle combats this Socratic and Platonic view,—e.g. at *Magna Moralia* 1187 a 5 ff. It amounts, he says, to holding that a wrongdoer cannot help doing wrong. If so, what right has the Law to punish him? Cp. also *Eth. Nic.* 1145 b 21 ff., and *Mag. Mor.* 1200 b 25 ff.

d 6. ἀκούσιως δὲ ἐκούσιον οὐκ ἔχει πράττεσθαι ποτε λόγον, "to say that a willing act is done unwillingly is nonsense." "Everyone," he goes on to argue, "who holds—as I certainly do—that wrongdoing is done unwillingly, must hold that every wrongdoer does wrong against his will."

d 9. εἰ καὶ τις κτλ.: it looks as if Plato has here some particular dissentient philosopher in view. (It seems rather hard that he should call him "opinionated and self-assertive.") Teichmüller (acc. to Ritter, p. 280) says it is Aristotle who is meant. At *Eth. Nic.* 1145 b 31, when discussing this Socratic doctrine, Aristotle says εἰς δέ τινες οἱ τὰ μὲν συγχωροῦσι τὰ δ' οὐ; further on at 1146 b 22 ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀγεται προαιρου-

μενος, νομίζων αὖτε δεῖν τὸ παρὸν ἡδὺν διώκειν, ὁ δ' οὐκ οἶεται μὲν, διώκει δέ.

e 1. ἄκοντας μὲν ἀδίκους εἶναι, "that there are wrongdoers who do so against their will."

e 3. τίνα οὖν: Burnet, by his parenthesis marks after πάντας and οὗτος, points out that this οὖν goes back to σύμφημι γὰρ κτλ. at d 9.

e 4. Aldus is responsible for the change of εἰ με (Fic. si me) to οἶμαι in the first four printed editions.

e 6. νομοθεσίας τῇ . . . πόλει: for the government of one noun in the dat. by another cp. 633 c 2 αὐτοῖς ἐναντῶν διακονήσεις.

e 7. φήσω is the apodosis to εἰ ἐρωτῶτε. (Ast and Stallb. say there is none.)

861 a 1. πάντων: with this we must supply τὰς ζημίας θήσομεν from the previous sentence.—οὐκ is qualified by the subsequent τὸ παράπαν, just as οὐ or οὐδέν often is by a subsequent πάνν, or as μή is by the subsequent ὅλως in the N.T. μὴ ὁμοῦσαι ὅλως.

a 8. For the doubtful ἐμπροσθεν by the side of νυνδὴ cp. above, 683 e 5 and 717 b 2. The reference is apparently to 859 c 6 ff., and 860 c 1 f. (Stallb. says it is to 857 c).

a 10. τοῦτο δὲ λαβόντες: we should say "bearing this in mind." In this sense λαμβάνειν generally has a dative like νῶ with it; so, e.g., below at 898 e 2 f.—πάλιν: the first question, begun at 859 c 6 ff., was "wherein do we contradict ourselves?" the second question, now put, is "how are we to reconcile the contradiction?"

b 1 ff. ἄρ' οὖν . . . οὐτ' ἐξευπορήσαντες οὔτε διορισάμενοι κτλ.: this sentence begins as if the verb were to be in the first pers. plur.; but at b 6 the ἡμεῖς is replaced by ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν ῥηθεὶς λόγος, and so the verbs are in the third sing.—τούτων is "about these," i.e. τῶν δικαίων.—ἐξευπορεῖν is "obviate." The ἀπορία is the practical difficulty of the philosophic legislator when asked to distinguish intentional from unintentional offences. As a philosopher, the legislator is unable to admit that any offence can be intentional; but he recognizes the force of the popular view of the distinction so drawn, and is not going to legislate in the face of it (κατανομοθετεῖν) on the strength of his philosophical pronouncement, as if it were a divine revelation. The distinction he proceeds to draw is that between the "crimes" and "torts" of modern law.

b 5. ταύτη καὶ νομοθετεῖται, "are so laid down in their enactments," i.e. are laid down as two distinct kinds of offence.



c1. κατανομοθετήσει: not merely (as L. & S.) "lay down laws," but "legislate (the objection) down"; cp. καταδικάζω, καταδοκέω.

c2 ff. δηλῶσαι δύο τε ὄντα καὶ τὴν διαφορὰν ἄλλην (οὖσαν), "to show not only that they are two (distinct) things, but that the difference between them is other (than that popularly supposed)"; cp. below, d6 ἀλλὰ ἄλλω τινὶ δὴ ποτε (διαφέρειν). Hermann prints ἀλλήλων for ἄλλην, referring to Heindorf's note on *Phaedr.* 237 c. There some MSS. have οὔτε ἄλλοις for the correct οὔτε ἀλλήλοις, and at *Alc. I.* 112 a the MSS. have ἢ ἄλλοις, where Proclus has preserved the probably correct ἢ ἀλλήλοις. But here ἀλλήλων, though it might stand, would greatly impoverish the argument, as Ritter emphatically says (p. 282). (Stallb. also rejects Herm.'s emendation, but explains ἄλλην as merely = "praeterea.")

c5. ἀμὴ γέ πη κρίναι: the ordinary man's (πᾶς) decision may not be based on the same grounds as that of the philosopher, but it will be demonstrably rational and sensible.

c8. Here and at d3 μὴ λέγειν is probably "to deny." It would be hard to take it otherwise at d3.

d1. πρῶτον διορίσαντας: i.e. "before we prove that all ἀδικήματα are unintentional, we must make *some* distinction between them (even if it is not the popular one)". (The common interpretation, from Fic. downwards, is "show *by a process of definition*, before we go further.") The active διορίζω (as here and above at 860 e7) seems to be used in a more abstract philosophical sense than the more practical middle (as at b2), which is rather more usual in Plato and elsewhere. At b2 the speaker was thinking of the best way to escape the dilemma—"helping himself to a distinction."

d2. τὸ μὲν οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν ἐμοὶ πάντως πού γίγνεσθαι: πάντως qualifies the previous οὐκ just as πάνν or τὸ παράπαν often qualifies a previous negative: "one is a thing which I cannot possibly allow to happen . . ." (On the other hand at *Rep.* 454 c8 πάντως qualifies the following verb ἐπιθέμεθα.)

d3. From the ἐμοὶ of the previous line we may supply in thought an ἐμέ with οἴομενον. (Stallb. would supply τινα.)

d4. νόμιμον, which is printed in all texts except Bas. 2, Wagner's, and Schneider's, is given in the margin of A and O as a variant for the ἐμόν in their text. Fic.'s "nec mei officii id essef neque pium" shows that he adopted the reading ἐμόν—which was probably due to misreading of the last two syllables of

νόμιμον. νόμιμον καὶ ὅσιον is a variety of the common δίκαιον καὶ ὅσιον, said of what is allowed by both human and divine law; cp. Aristoph. *Thesm.* 675 ὅσια καὶ νόμιμα μηδομένους. At *Phaedo* 108 a 5 one reading is ἀπὸ τῶν ὁσίων καὶ νομίμων.

d 4-7. κατὰ τίνα δὲ . . . δηλοῦν: the usual, and, I think, correct punctuation of this passage puts commas after ἐκάτερον and ποτε, making τίνα . . . ποτε an indirect question dependent on δηλοῦν. Burnet puts an interrogation mark after ἐκάτερον, and begins a fresh sentence with ἀλλά—supposing διαφέρειν to be supplied in thought with ἄλλω τινί. This punctuation does not give a good balance between the μέν and δέ clauses. (On the other hand Burnet's reading of the passage forms a better introduction to what follows, which is an attempt to show that the real distinction is *other than* most people think.)

d 8. Cleinias's answer probably means no more than that he quite agrees with the Athenian on both points, the μέν clause, as well as the δέ clause.

e 1. ταῦτα ἔσται: i.e. δηλοῦν ἐπιχειρήσω.

e 4. ἀφθονόν ἐστι, "are of constant occurrence."

e 6 ff. The mistake is to take all *injuries* to be *offences*. *Injuries* may be either intentional or unintentional, but there are no intentional *offences*. On the other hand, the fact that an action benefits, instead of injuring, you, does not save it from the possibility of its being an *offence*.

e 9. τῶν πάντων is the same in effect as ἐν αὐταῖσι at e 7—"out of the whole number (of injuries)".

862 a 2. οὐ φημι is not "deny" here, but "I do not say."

a 4. μὴν is equivalent to an emphatic δέ, and with ἄκοντα we must supply ἀδικεῖν; the οὐ of a 2 extends to νομοθετήσω.

a 7. πολλάκις, "in many cases"—an instance of its use which shows how πολλάκις came to mean "perhaps."—It is possible to regard ὠφελίαν as "acc. of inner object" to ἀδικεῖν, but better to suppose that when the speaker began he meant the predicate to apply to ὠφελίαν, but changed the construction so as to make it qualify the doer.

a 8. ἐὰν ᾗ γ' ἐμὴ νικᾷ: the MSS. have ἐὰν ᾗ γε μὴν καὶ, with ἡγεμονικαὶ in the margin of A, and ᾗ γε μὴ νικᾷ in the margin of O. This last Ficinus seems to have read, and Steph. prints. Aldus however had the perspicacity to divine the true reading, and Lov., Bas. 1 and 2 followed him. (ᾗ γε μὴν καὶ is almost as remarkable an instance of the right letters wrongly joined as is presented by the MS. and early edd. reading at Eur. *Herc. Fur.*

1115.)—For the ellipse of γνώμη cp. above 653 c 3 κατά γε τὴν ἐμήν.

b 1. τι τῶν ὄντων, “any mortal thing.”

b 3. αὐτῷ qualifies ἀπλῶς, which means “in so many words.”—ἦθει καὶ δικαίῳ τρόπῳ: δικαίῳ is to be understood to go with ἦθει as well as with τρόπῳ; the real question is not “is the action (of giving or taking) right or wrong?” but “is the spirit and manner of the action a right one?”

b 6. The MSS. have τὸ μὲν ἀβλαβὲς ὑγίης: in the margin of A and O is written γρ. βλαβέν and this led to the substitution in printed texts of βλαβέν for ἀβλαβὲς, and so we get the vulgate, in which the ὑγίης is very lame in view of the ὑγίης which follows in c 2. Winckelmann was the first to suspect that ὑγίης was a “gloss” on ἀβλαβὲς (showing that it was here used in a passive sense), and proposed to read καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀβλαβές. Stallb., Herm., and Wagner follow him. Badham (on *Phil.* 56 d), and Ritter (p. 282), independently concluded that the βλαβέν of the margin must have been originally in the text, and so arrived at the clearly correct reading καὶ τὸ μὲν βλαβέν ἀβλαβές.

c 1. καὶ τὸ θανατωθέν ἢ τρωθέν ὑγίης: for the construction of this clause we must go back to ποιητέον in b 7, which is naturally enough connected by μέν and δέ with πειρατέον in c 3. The two tasks which the legislator has to perform are (1) to remedy the various kinds of harm done, and (2) to get rid of the enmity caused by the harm. (Ast wants either to reject ἢ τρωθέν ὑγίης as a marginal gloss, or to transpose it after the vulgate βλαβέν—καὶ τὸ μὲν βλαβέν ἢ τρωθέν ὑγίης.—Burnet inserts a comma after τρωθέν, taking, i.e., ὑγίης as secondary predicate to ἐξορθοῦντα.)—θανατωθέν is joined by a bold zeugma to τρωθέν. The only way by which the laws can “restore” the dead is by imposing “blood-money.” (Winckelmann would transpose θανατωθέν and place it before ἀποίνοις, omitting ἦ.)

c 2. τὸ δὲ ἀποίνοις ἐξίλασθὲν τοῖς δρώσι καὶ πάσχουσιν ἐκάστας τῶν βλάβειν, “the relation between the doers and sufferers of the several injuries, which has been soothed and set right by compensation.” The philosopher recognizes that there is some—the Cynic would say a greater—hostility on the part of the offender, which has to be removed. δρώσι and πάσχουσιν are datives of the “people interested.”

c 3. The MSS. all have ἐκ διαφορᾶς εἰς διαφορὰν, with the variant φιλίαν in the margin of A and O. This variant has been accepted by all texts and all interpreters. I would suggest that it

is more likely that Plato wrote ἐκ διαφορᾶς εἰς διαλλαγὴν. Two words beginning with δια- might well have been confused; but how explain the change of φιλίαν to διαφορὰν?

c 6. Ed. Lov. does not, as Ast says it does, leave out the ΑΘ. before τὰς τοίνυν—nor does Ficinus—The δέ after κέρδη (cp. 665 b 5), which we owe to L and the correcting hand in A and O, is so apposite and idiomatic, that it is strange to find Zür. and Herm. rejecting it.

c 7. τινα is acc. sing.—“in case a man, when wronging somebody, makes him the gainer by it.” (Stallb. says τινα is acc. pl. neut. and, like Ficinus and, I think, Jowett, supposes the *gain* to belong to the wrongdoer.)—ὥς οὐσῶν ἐν ψυχῇ νόσων, “for you must remember that they are diseases of the soul.” We were told at b 3 that it was ἦθος and τρόπος that constituted the ἀδικία, and ἦθος and τρόπος are purely dependent on the ψυχὴ of the doer, therefore ἀδικία is a νόσος of the ψυχῇ. To cure this disease is an important part of the work of the lawgiver.

d 1. For ὅτι τις ἂν cp. below on 890 a 5

d 2. τὸ παράπαν qualifies only the subsequent μηδέποτε, notwithstanding the intervening ἥ, just as διαφερόντως qualifies ἦττον πολὺ—“either never at all to venture to do so again, if he can help it, or to do so very much less often.”—For πολὺ after a comparative see Stallb. on *Alc. II.* 143 d μᾶλλον πολὺ. (Wagner makes τὸ παράπαν qualify εἰς αὐθις—“überhaupt für die Folge.”—Jowett translates as if we had ἥ μὴ τὸ παράπαν, and makes three alternatives. Fic. takes τὸ παράπαν with the preceding words.)—All the edd. before Ast adopted the διδάξῃ and ἀναγκάσῃ of L and O<sup>2</sup> for the correct futures of A and O: ὅπως is modal, not final; cp. *Soph. Aj.* 556 and *Phil.* 55 where the MSS. have subjunctives after a modal ὅπως.

d 4. πρὸς τῇ τῆς βλάβης ἐκτίσει, “besides making the damage good.” (Fic. curiously connects this with the preceding διαφερόντως ἦττον πολὺ—“vel rarius admodum, poenae impositione deteritus.”)—ταῦτα is adverbial, “therefore,” or “and so.” The whole sentence is in an eager conversational style; after εἴτε we must suppose the ποιήσει, which only comes in the ᾧτινι clause, to be supplied in thought. (Ast says ταῦτα—with which he supplies ποιεῖν, from ποιήσει—is τὸ διδάσκειν καὶ ἀναγκάζειν.)—For ἥ after εἴτε cp. above, 739 d 6 εἴτε πού θεοὶ ἢ παῖδες θεῶν.

d 5. μεθ’ is quasi-instrumental; cp. above on 710 d 7.

d 7. τις, as Wagner says, stands for “the legislator.”

d 8. τὴν τοῦ δικαίου φύσιν: cp. above, 845 d 8 τὴν ὕδατος



φύσιν, below, 869 c 2 τὴν ἐκείνου φύσιν, 942 e 1 πύλων τε καὶ ὑποδημάτων γένεσιν καὶ φύσιν, 968 d 1 πρὸς τὴν τῆς φυλακῆς φύσιν, and especially *Rep.* 401 c 5 τὴν τοῦ καλοῦ τε καὶ εὐσχημονος φύσιν ("the true beauty"); see Adam's note on *Rep.* 476 b 6 αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ καλοῦ . . . τὴν φύσιν.

e 2. It is not clear whether to Winckelmann or to Schneider belongs the credit of restoring what is clearly the right reading τίνα; in place of the vulgate τινά or τινά, Wagner adopts τίνα; but does not, as Schneider and Burnet do, complete the correction by changing the full stop after πόλιν in e 6 into a comma. (Winckelmann would also change καὶ νόμον θήσει into κατανομοθετήσει—a proposal as attractive as it is bold.)

e 3. γιγνώσκων που κτλ.: not only will the exchange of such a life as theirs for death be a boon to the incurable criminals themselves, but it will be a double benefit to the state; for (a) it will deter others from crime, and (b) the number of criminals in the state will be diminished. Cp. *Rep.* 410 a 2 οὐκοῦν . . . τοὺς δὲ κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν κακοφυνεῖς καὶ ἀνιάτους αὐτοὶ (οἱ δικάσται) ἀποκτενοῦσιν; Τὸ γοῦν ἄριστον, ἔφη, αὐτοῖς τε τοῖς πάσχουσιν καὶ τῇ πόλει οὕτω πέφανται. Above at 728 c 5 and 854 e 7 he speaks of this useful warning to the survivors; and at 735 e 3 ff. of the mischief such men do while living; and at 942 a 3 and 958 a 1 he repeats that for such incurable cases death is the only remedy. Our present passage states the whole case more fully than any other.

e 5. For παράδειγμα γεόμενοι cp. above, 855 a 1.

e 6. οὕτω δὴ resumes the γιγνώσκων που; the μέν which A<sup>2</sup> and the vulgate insert after οὕτω was evidently put in by someone who thought that there was a full stop after πόλιν.

863 a 1. κολαστήν: even in the case of the punishment of death the κολαστικὴ τέχνη is ἰατρική, and that not only when viewed in its connexion with the state. Cp. *Rep.* 410 a 1 where Adam in his note quotes *Plut. Apophth. Lac.* 231 a κράτιστον δὲ ἔλεγε (sc. Pausanias) τοῦτον ἰατρὸν εἶναι τὸν μὴ κατασήμενον τοὺς ἀρρωστοῦντας, ἀλλὰ τάχιστα θάπτοντα.

a 5 f. τὸ τῆς ἀδικίας . . . διαπεποικίλλται: the ὥς clause explains the ταῦτα in a 4, and a διάφορον has, I think, to be supplied in thought after ἀκουσίῳ: "how the distinction between wrongdoing and injury, and that between intentional and unintentional acts have got mixed up together in these cases." For this use of διαποικίλλω cp. above on 693 d 7. (Most interpreters—and so F.H.D.—do not suppose διάφορον to be supplied after ἀκουσίῳ,

and make Cleinias ask the Ath. to explain first the distinction between ἀδικία and βλάβη, and then the way in which this distinction complicates or is complicated by the other question. I would submit that the subsequent context agrees better with the translation given above. What follows is a careful classification of ἀμαρτήματα according to the springs of action in each case: this classification will help us to what is *guilt* (e 5 ff.), and what is not, and what the plea of "not on purpose" amounts to.)

a 7. καί is explanatory.

b 2 ff. ὥς ἐν μὲν . . . ἀνατρέπει, "that there is innate in it one affection or, if you like, constituent, called θυμός, which, being a pugnacious and formidable creature, often works havoc by blind violence."—We have no word corresponding to θυμός as used here: it denotes almost any kind of *glowing feeling* that cannot be described as an appetite.

b 8. The MS. βιαίον after ἀπάτης is a difficult word here. We are told (1) that the pugnacious θυμός works havoc by *violence*, and (2) that the ῥώμη of ἡδονή is of the opposite kind, working by persuasion and trickery. It is strange, when contrasting it with *violence*, to call this trickery *violent*! ἀβιάστον or λαθραίου would be apt epithets of ἀπάτης here, but I would suggest that what Plato wrote was οὐ βίᾳ, that the οὐ, having been accidentally omitted, was put in over the line, and then, by a further blunder, tacked on to the end of ΒΙΑΙ—or υἱαι. Cp. below, 864 c 5 where τὸ δὲ μετὰ σκότους καὶ ἀπάτης λαθραίως γιγνόμενον is opposed to τὸ διὰ βαιῶν καὶ συμφανῶν πράξεων πραττόμενον. Burnet's comma after δυναστεύουσιν is possibly a misprint. (F.H.D. thinks that βιαίον is merely an amplification of the idea of ῥώμης—the "violence" is now that exercised by ἀπάτη. Bdh. on *Phil.* 41 e thinks it a mistake for a compendiously written βιάζεσθαι.)—αὐτῆς ἡ βούλησις: the personification of ἡδονή goes so far as to suppose her to have a *will*. In this way the *will to do wrong* is represented as belonging not so much to the wrongdoer as to the tempter Pleasure.

c 1. τρίτον, αὐτό in c 2 and αὐτοῦ in c 3 all speak of ignorance as a *thing*.

c 2. διχῇ μὲν διελόμενος αὐτὸ ὁ νομοθέτης ἂν βελτίων εἴη, "the lawgiver will, however, do well to distinguish between two kinds of ignorance." βελτίων ἐστὶ ποιῶν and βελτίων ἐστὶ ποιεῖν can stand in Greek for βέλτιον ἐστὶν αὐτὸν ποιεῖν; cp. Lobeck's note on *Soph. Aj.* 635, where many instances are given—among them *Dem. Ol.* iii. 38. 6 οἴκοι μένων εἰ βελτίων—and below,

902 a 9 βελτίω πράττειν. (So Falstaff says "I were better to be eaten to death with a rust than to be scour'd to nothing with perpetual motion.")

c 3. τὸ μὲν ἀπλοῦν αὐτοῦ, "when it occurs in a simple form."—The participles ἡγούμενος in c 4 and τιθείς in c 7 resume and explain the διχῇ διελόμενος of c 2, but when he gets to the clause corresponding to the τιθείς clause, he ignores the previous construction, and goes on with θήσει instead of with a participle.—κούφων ἀμαρτημάτων: it is implied, but not said, that in such cases the lawgiver will impose no penalty.

c 4 ff. τὸ δὲ διπλοῦν . . . ἐχομένους, "but where it is a complicated condition, and a man's folly is the result not only of ignorance but of his belief that he is wise—wherein he imagines that he knows thoroughly things about which he knows nothing at all—and supposing the ignorance is accompanied by strength and power, he will account such cases the causes of great and disgraceful offences" (and will legislate accordingly), "but when the ignorance is coupled with weakness, since the offences are of a childish or senile kind, he will count them as offences indeed, and make laws against those who perpetrate them, as though they were offenders, but they will be laws of the mildest and most indulgent kind possible."

c 6. μετὰ μὲν ἰσχύος καὶ ῥώμης ἐπομένης: the higher the rank of the conscientious but wrong-headed offender, the more serious the crime. Cp. *Phil.* 49 b 3 for a precisely similar distinction.

d 1. There is no authority for the παίδων which Fic. and all edd. before Bekker read for παίδειά.

d 2. It would be well perhaps, with the earlier editions, to put in the comma after γιγνόμενα which Schneider, Wagner, Herm., and Burnet omit.

d 6 f. ἡδονῆς . . . καὶ θυμοῦ . . . ὁ μὲν κρείττων ἡμῶν, ὁ δὲ ἥττων: above at 626 d and e the contest was represented as being against oneself; here it is represented as being against pleasure (or desire), and anger. The same metaphor is used in the τυραννίδα of e 8, and the δυναστεύουσιν of b 7.

d 10. It cannot be said that, in the same sense, there is a contest going on between ourselves and ignorance; we do not either successfully combat or yield to the seductions of ignorance.

d 11. οὐκ: the οὐδ' of O<sup>2</sup> adds emphasis, but is by no means necessary.

e 2. πάντα δέ γε . . . ἄμα, "and yet we say that all of these often take each man when his own will is dragging him one way and urge him all the time (ἄμα) in the opposite direction." εἰς

τὴν αὐτοῦ βούλησιν ἐπισπώμενον is lit. "being drawn towards his own wish." The suggestion is that what is done against a deliberate wish is done unintentionally. Even *ignorance*, though, as we have just been reminded, it cannot be represented as an *active antagonist*, can yet be the condition under which we are induced to move in a direction contrary to that in which we really wish to go. "If I had known that," a man says, "I should never have acted so." His ignorance *conduces* to his fault.

e 5. τό τε δίκαιον καὶ τὸ ἄδικον, ὃ γε ἐγὼ λέγω, "just what I mean by right and wrong."

e 6. οὐδὲν ποικίλλων, "without mixing up with it any irrelevant matter." διαποικίλλω is used in the same sense as above at a 6 and 693 d 7. He wants to strip the distinction between *right* and *wrong* of any complication with any other possible pair of opposites. (See on a 5 above.)

e 7. ἡδονῆς καὶ λύπης: pleasure and pain are counterparts of each other; both stimulate ἐπιθυμίαι; they both act at once in the same person sometimes, as Socrates shows at *Gorg.* 497. It is rather startling therefore to find below at 864 b 3 that λύπη is used to give a common title to the *first* class of stimulants or incentives—i.e. θυμός and φόβος, as distinguished from the *second* class which is an εἶδος ἡδονῆς. Ritter (p. 283 f.) stoutly declares it to be impossible that Plato wrote λύπης at b 3. He tries in vain to think of any word for which λύπης is a writer's error. It is not easy—as Ritter admits—to find a common term to denote the εἶδος consisting of θυμός and φόβος. Are we to presume to condemn Plato for discerning an element of *pain* in both mental affections or conditions, and calling them therefore an εἶδος λύπης? They are not *pure pain*, but they are nevertheless *painful*.

e 8. ἐάν τε τι βλάβηται καὶ ἐὰν μή, "whether it does any damage or not."

864 a 1. πάντως, "emphatically."

a 2. ὅπῃ περ ἂν ἔσεσθαι τούτων ἡγήσονται πόλις εἴτε ιδιωταὶ τινες: so the MSS. No interpreters have been able to make anything of τούτων; the philosopher Cousin was doubtless on the right track when he saw in it a mistake for τοῦτο—i.e. τὸ ἄριστον—but A<sup>2</sup>'s equally untranslatable variant τοῦτον makes it seem more likely that Hermann's τοῦτό γ' was the original reading.—Fortunately the difficulty about the reading τούτων does not touch a vital point in the doctrine, which doctrine is this: that when personal feeling is the dominating spring of action, wrongdoing must result (quite apart from the question whether anybody is damaged or not by



the action); while if *the will to choose the best course*—what we should call *conscience*—has supreme sway, all action so regulated is *right*, even though damage should arise from it, and such sway will make for a man's true interest all his life through.

**a 4.** *κἄν σφάλληται τι*: a comparison of 862 a 5 ff., and more particularly of 863 e 8, to which this passage directly corresponds, forces us, I think, to translate *σφάλλιν* here as at 769 c 4 (*εἰάν τι σφάλληται τὸ ξῶον ὑπὸ χρόνου*) and (probably) at 648 e 2 (*μηδὲ ἐν σφάλλεσθαι μέγα*), i.e. to translate *σφάλλιν* by *to damage*. The dictionaries do not give this meaning, and this passage is usually taken to mean "even if he—or it, i.e. the *δόξα*—makes some mistake" (and consequently does some harm). *σφάλληται*, then, I would take to be an impersonal passive—"even in case some damage is done." This damage is the *τοιαύτην βλάβην* of a 7.—The variant *καί* for *κἄν* lays too much stress on the *βλάβη*, and would suggest that damage *generally* followed conscientious action.

**a 6.** *δοξάζεσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἀκοίσιον ἀδικίαν*: cp. above, 862 a 5 ff. "No," Plato would say, "the damage *is* unintentional, but it is *not* an *ἀδικία*; it is a *tort*, not a *crime*—as we should say in modern legal phraseology.

**a 8.** *δύσερις λόγος*, "a contentious argument."

**b 1.** *ἀμαρτανόμενα*, "errors," is an even milder term than *ἀμαρτήματα*, "offences."

**b 2.** *ταῦτα εἰς μνήμην ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀναλαμβάνειν* is "to get a still firmer mental hold of them"; so *μνήμη ἀναλαμβάνειν* at *Pol.* 294 d 7, *ἀναλαμβάνειν* alone at *Phil.* 34 b 7.

**b 3.** *λύπης*: see on 863 e 7 above.—The genitives *λύπης*, *ἡδονῆς*, and *ἐπιθυμιῶν* are assimilated to the gen. *ἀμαρτανομένων*, and depend on *εἶδος*. With *ἔφεσις* the construction changes to a nominative.

**b 5.** Only L and the corrector of O preserve Cleinias's interposition.

**b 6.** The MSS. have *ἐλπίδων δὲ καὶ δόξης τῆς ἀληθοῦς περὶ τὸ ἄριστον ἔφεσις*, "(the) impulse of expectation of and the right opinion about what is best." Clearly Plato never wrote that. In this enumeration the above phrase takes the place of the *ἄγνοια*, which was mentioned at 863 c 1 as the third *αἰτία ἀμαρτημάτων*, and nothing but the direct opposite of *ἀληθοῦς* can fit the phrase to represent *ἄγνοια*. It is not enough then to reject *τῆς ἀληθοῦς* as spurious (or, with Ast, to reject *τῆς . . . ἔφεσις*). We are driven to some such emendation as Ritter's *τῆς <μῆ> ἀληθοῦς* (cp. 667 e 11

δόξῃ μὴ ἀληθεῖ), or Grou's ἄφεις (in the sense of *loss*) for ἔφεις, or Prof. H. Jackson's ὕφεις. As a third such emendation I would suggest reading ἀμαθοῦς for ἀληθοῦς. Cp. 863 c 4 ὅταν ἀμαθαίνῃ τις, and *Theaet.* 170 b 9 τὴν δὲ ἀμαθίαν ψευδῇ δόξαν. This ἀμαθοῦς I would take to qualify ἐλπίδων as well as δόξης. The meaning *impulse, incitement, stimulus* which I give to ἔφεις is doubtful, but it accords with the meaning "to set on" which is found for ἐφίειναι. F.H.D., like H.J., thinks that the mistake is in the word ἔφεις.

**b 8.** There is no MS. authority for the vulgate (τούτου δὲ) αὐ τοῦ τρίτου, which survived with Ast's text, and is still found in Zürr. and Herm. Schneider, Stallb. (1860), and Burnet print the perfectly sound MS. reading τούτου δὲ αὐτοῦ τρία διχῇ τμηθέντος. Usually διχῇ τμηθῆναι means "to be cut in two"; here, as Ritter saw (p. 285), it means "to be cut twice" ("durch zwei Schnitte getheilt werden"). The passage is an exact parallel, as Prof. Burnet kindly points out to me, of *Timaeus* 36 d 2 τὴν δ' ἐντὸς σχίσας ἐξαχῇ ἐπὶ κύκλους ἀνίσους. As six cuts in a body or a line produce seven separate parts, so *two* cuts would produce *three*. (L. & S. s.v. ἐξαχῇ cite the *Timaeus* passage for the meaning "in six parts," and Archer-Hind ignores ἐξαχῇ both in his translation and in his notes.)—That τρία can stand for εἰς τρία is established by Stallb.'s note on *Philebus* 23 e 4 πολλὰ ἐκάτερον ἐσχισμένον, where he cites *Politicus* 283 d 4, *Laws* 737 e 4, *Phaedr.* 253 c 8, and Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 2. 4, vii. 5. 13. To these Prof. Burnet adds Thuc. ii. 47. 2 οἱ σύμμαχοι τὰ δύο μέρη ἐσέβαλον.—What the τρία μέρη are has been clearly explained above at 863 c 1–d 4. Sins of ignorance are there divided into three classes: (1) those of pure ignorance, (2) those of highly-placed and powerful ignorance which thinks itself knowledge, and (3) those of impotent ignorance which thinks itself knowledge.

**c 4.** All modern editors—except Zürr. who, appealing to the ἀμοίωσιν of 863 c 7, prefer to emend to ἀσυνφώνων—adopt Fähsé's (*Sylog.* p. 392) ξυνφανῶν for the MS. ξυνφώνων. The (chiastic) contrast of βαιῶν with μετὰ ἀπάτης, and of συνφανῶν with μετὰ σκοτούς is exactly what we should expect here. Ficinus tacitly assumes this by translating "quod vi et aperte committitur." All this classification is merely an instruction to the judges of the various shades of criminality or illegality.

**d 1.** All texts have adopted L's τε as against the δὲ of O. O<sup>2</sup> has τε, and A has a gap of three spaces.—Ast would assimilate the construction of the two clauses by omitting τὰ.

d 2. τῶν stands for περὶ τῶν.

d 4 f. ἢ νόσοις . . . διαφέρων, "or when he is so ill in body, or at so advanced an age, or so much of a child as to be no better than a madman." (Ast and Stallb. take παιδίᾱ to be "puerilis imprudentia" on the part of an adult, and τῶν τοιούτων to be equivalent to παίδων—such an adult, e.g., as Mr. Harold Skimpole. The παιδίᾱ and τῶν τοιούτων would easily bear this interpretation, but the nature of the classification almost compels us to assume that διαφέρων covers συνεχόμενος as well as χρώμενος; i.e., applies equally to the infirm from sickness, age, or infancy. It is hard to suppose that the lawgiver would have to admit all Mr. Harold Skimpole's excuses for his pecuniary irregularities.) τῶν τοιούτων then is equivalent to τῶν μανέντων; μανείς denotes *mental* infirmity, while all the other three states supposed are *bodily*.—We have seen at 808 e 2 that παιδίᾱ was used in the sense of *infancy*, as well as in that of *childishness*. Both there and here the MS. testimony varies between παιδίᾱ and παιδείᾱ. Steph. was the first to print παιδίᾱ here, and A seems to have had it originally at 808 e 2, where all texts print it.

d 6. L preserved, in ἐκλεγχθεῖσιν, more of the correct reading than A and O did in ἐλεγχθεῖσιν; the corrector of A was the first to get it right.

d 7. ἀναφέροντος τοῦ δράσαντος ἢ τοῦ σκηπτομένου ὑπὲρ τοῦ ποιήσαντος, "on the representation of the criminal or his advocate."

e 2. πάντως, "by all means," qualifies ἀποτινέτω; cp. below, 865 c 1 πάντως ἔστω μὲν ὡς αὐτόχειρ. (Some interpreters take it with ἀπλῆν.)—τῶν ἄλλων δικαιομάτων, "the rest of the sentence."

e 4. οὕτω, "in that case."

e 6. πάσης, "any part of."

e 8. οὕτως, "only then."

865 a 1. All texts have adopted L's φόνου for the unexplained φθόνου of A and O, and they have also, on the authority of the correcting hand in the margin of A, inserted the word πειρώμεθα after ἡρξάμεθα. It may be worth while to suggest that what Plato wrote was ἀνεπίφθονον δὴ, καθάπερ ἡρξάμεθα, διὰ τέλους παντὸς εἶδους πέρι φόνου θεῖναι τοὺς νόμους, "there can now be no objection to our going on to the end, as we began, with our ordinances about every kind of murder." (Herm. would reject the second φόνου of the ordinary text. Ficinus makes short work of the passage, but there is no hint of the πειρώμεθα in his translation, which is: "Sed, ut incepimus, de unaquaque specie caedis leges absolutius conscribamus.")

**a 3 ff.** ἐν ἀγῶνι . . . ἢ κατὰ πόλεμον : for this law Ast cps. the νόμος and explanation at Dem. *Contra Aristocratem* p. 637.

**a 5.** φίλιον : cp. below, 876 e 6.

**a 6.** ὡσαύτως : i.e. "unintentionally."

**a 7.** Burnet is clearly right in rejecting τῶν ἀρχόντων ; it involves (1) the confusion of ποιουμένων with ποιούντων, and (2) an impossibly harsh change of subject between ποιουμένων and ἀπομιμουμένων. Both ποι. and ἀπομ. are gen. abs. with αὐτῶν or τῶν ἀνθρώπων supplied in thought as their subject. Cp. *Parm.* 137 c 3. (Wagner translates ποιουμένων rightly, and supplies an αὐτῶν with it (from the foregoing τις) as subject, and he says τῶν ἀρχόντων depends on ἀσκησιν—"die von der Obrigkeit anbefohlene Übung"; this is very far-fetched.)

**b 1.** The καθαροσις of A is an instructive scribe's error—**oc** for **oe**—and the corrections by the διορθωτής to καθαρὸς τις and καθαρῶς τις, and that of O to κάθαρσις are instructive instances of correctors' methods ; they are capable of looking at the word alone, without considering the context at all. καθαρθεῖς we owe to L.—For Delphi in this connexion cp. 738 c, 759 c, and 831 a.

**b 3.** ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀκόντων τελευτᾷ, "dies at *their* hands when they are trying to save him"; αὐτῶν is emphatic. Cp. below 870 e 3 ὑπ' ἄλλον τελευτῆσαι τὸν τότε βίον. (Wagner and Jowett take ὑπ' αὐτῶν with θεραπευόμενος ; in that case ἀκόντων would be gen. abs. with its subject unexpressed.) Ast quotes Antiphon iii. 3 § 5 (p. 127. 29) εἰ δέ τοι καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱατροῦ ἀπέθανε . . . ὁ μὲν ἱατρὸς οὐ φονεὺς αὐτοῦ ἐστίν, ὁ γὰρ νόμος ἀπολύει αὐτόν.

**b 6.** ψιλῶ, "unarmed."

**c 3.** νομίζων is subordinate to παρεχέτω. He must represent to himself that it is just as if one of his own slaves had been made away with, and must compensate the loser (by giving him one of his own, or else the price of that one). Ritter cps. 879 c 8 for a similar use of νομίζω : νομίζων ὡς πατέρα διενυλαβείσθω. To judge by their punctuation, all editors before Burnet make νομίζων subordinate to κτείνῃ—a fantastic notion indeed—that of a man's accidentally killing another man's slave *under the impression that it was his own*.

**c 4.** ἡ : i.e. if the compensation is given voluntarily, it is simple ; if at the compulsion of the court, double.

**c 5 ff.** τῆς δὲ . . . ἀποκτεινάντων : it is not clear, but probably the two following provisions apply to *all* cases of slave-killing, not only to the last mentioned case in which compensation has been refused. As to (1), the value of slaves would be extremely



variable according to their character and accomplishments, and the only satisfactory decision of such a question would be that of a disinterested court or arbitrator; as to (2), the making the purification in the case of a slave's accidental death more elaborate than in that of a fellow competitor at the games has apparently in view the praiseworthy nature of the latter homicide's activity.

**d 2.** καθηράμενος: for this use of the middle cp. *Phaedo* 114 c οἱ φιλοσοφία ἱκανῶς καθηράμενοι. καθαρθήτω in d 4 is middle in sense.

**d 7.** ἐν ἐλευθέρῳ φρονήματι, "in the pride of freedom." (O<sup>2</sup>'s variant, βία, ὡς ἐν ἐλευθέρῳ φρονήματι, is worthy of consideration.)

**e 3.** ἐν τοῖς ἡθεσι τοῖς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ συνηθείας, "in the haunts that he has learnt to call his own." (Ficinus curiously takes this second ἑαυτοῦ to be the homicide.)

**e 5.** μνήμην σύμμαχον ἔχων, "finding an ally in the homicide's memory." There is the germ of a tragedy in this phrase.

**e 7.** τὰς ὥρας πάσας τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ: "verba . . . videntur linguam antiquissimarum legum referre," Stallb.

**e 9.** καί, "even so."

**866 a 3.** ἐπίσκοπος ὢν τούτων πάντων γενομένων: Ficinus's interpretation of this clause—"qui utrum paruerit attendet"—is preferable to that of Schneider and Wagner—"ad quem factorum horum omnium observatio pertinet"—because it takes better account of γενομένων, and provides a more intelligible ground for the reconciliation which is immediately recommended.

**a 4 f.** The coupling, by τε and καί, of μέτριος ἂν εἴη and συγγνώμην ἔχέτω is singular. μέτριος ἂν εἴη would seem to be a suggestion with a hint of command in it: "besides, he would undoubtedly (πάντως) be doing the right thing in being on good terms with him." From *Dem. Cont. Arist.* p. 644 it may be inferred that in Attic law the consent of the nearest relative was necessary, even after the time of exile had expired, before the homicide could return to his country. Plato goes further, and lays it down that the consent ought to be given.

**b 2.** τῷ ὀφλόντι, "if he be found guilty"; but of what? of murder? or only of not having completed his year of exile? Apparently what is meant is that, if it is proved that the year of exile has not been completed, this changes the legal position of the homicide into that of a murderer.

**b 3 f.** μὴ ἐπεξίῃ τῷ παθήματι: i.e. "fails to prosecute the case." —τὸ μίasma ὡς εἰς αὐτὸν περιεληλυθός: absolute neut. acc. with ὡς (cp. 626 b 1); "on the assumption that the pollution (of the

crime) has come round to him"; the following gen. abs. clause being subordinate.—Herm. *Vest.* p. 52, says that, though many of Plato's laws about homicide are taken from Attic law, this last law, which gives "anyone" the power of prosecuting the defaulting next of kin, was certainly not to be found there.—A and O have *περιεληλυθότος* as though *τοῦ μιάσματος* had preceded; L and the corrector of O have the correct reading.

**b 4.** *τοῦ παθόντος προστρεπομένου τὴν πάθην*, "inasmuch as the slaughtered man makes his death a matter of atonement"; makes it so, i.e., for the next of kin.

**c 2.** *ἀπειναντησάτω*: the MSS. here and below at 868 c and e give the verb as *ἀπειναντέω* and the noun as *ἀπειναύτησις*; this is made quite clear by the *ἀπειναντεῖν* at 868 c 8, for which the early texts give *ἀπειναντείτω* on no MS. authority. The form *ἀπειναντίω* is supported by Ruhnken, *Tim.* s.v.—We may conclude from the following regulations for the case of the *ξένος* that the *μέτοικος* had also to undergo the *καθαρμός*.

**c 4.** *τῆς τῶν νόμων τῶνδε κυρίας*, "which is the legitimate owner of—which has the right to—these laws"; i.e. which can demand their execution. (Fic. boldly assumes that *κύριος* can be used in a passive sense, translating "in qua leges huiusmodi dominantur"; and so Jowett—"which is under the dominion of our laws.")

**d 1.** Stallb. says *ἐκπίπτῃ* means "is driven out of its course," "loses its way," but clearly most other interpreters are right in taking it to mean "is shipwrecked."—A fantastic corrector of O changed *χώραν* into *πύραν*.—*σκηνησάμενος ἐν θαλάττῃ τέγγων τοὺς πόδας πλοῦν ἐπιφυλαττέτω*, "he must establish himself with his feet in the sea, and so wait for a ship to take him away." In England in the fourteenth century the felon who, having taken sanctuary, was allowed to abjure the kingdom, promised in his oath that if, when he reached the port, he had to wait for a ship, he would every day advance into the sea up to his knees, to show his intention to depart from the kingdom.

**d 4.** *ἄσυλον*, "under safe conduct."

**d 6.** *διχῇ δὲ πρῶτον τὸ τοιοῦτον διαλαβεῖν*, "we must first distinguish between two cases (of wrathful action)"; i.e. there is (1) the unpremeditated blow dealt in the anger of one moment and repented of the next, and (2) the deliberate and determined *vendetta*.

**d 7.** *γὰρ δὴ* after this *θυμῷ* is balanced by *δέ* after the *θυμῷ* in e 3; while the *μέν* after *ἐξαίφνης* is balanced by the *τε* after *μεταμέλεια* (as above at 838 e 6); H. Richards would make the

construction quite ordinary by putting the μέν after the first θυμῷ.—For τοῖς ὅσοι cp. above, 714 e 3 and below, 871 e 3.

e 3. It is possible that, as Ast suggests, an ἄν has fallen out somewhere between this ὅσοι and ἀποκτείνωσι, but far more likely that the writer was unconsciously influenced by the omission of the ἄν with the previous γίγνεται, especially in a sentence where πέπρακται and τοῖς had already to be supplied in thought from the parallel clause above.

e 5. A<sup>2</sup>'s ἀποτίνωσι is probably due to some scribe's unintentional omission of the κ; it cannot have been suggested as an improvement on ἀποκτείνωσι.

e 7. καὶ σχεδὸν ἀμφοτέροισι θυμῷ γεγονότας, "and you may fairly say that both are prompted by anger"—for both are cases of *provocation*.

867 a 1. μεταξὺ δέ που τοῦ τε ἐκουσίου καὶ ἀκουσίου: the argument is that, as both murders are prompted by anger, neither is quite deliberate (though the latter is far more deliberate than the former).

a 2. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἰκὼν ἐστ' ἑκάτερος, "for all that, each of them resembles (one of the two)." ἑκάτερος stands for ἑκάτερος ἑκατέρου; the latter word is not necessary, because the immediately following explanation (with the usual asyndeton) replaces it. Though both can fall between the two extremes, one case is much nearer one extreme, and the other much nearer the other.

a 3. ὁ μὲν τὸν θυμὸν φυλάττων, "the one who nurses his anger."

a 5. ἀταμιεύτως: not "prodigally," as L. & S., but "uncontrollably."

a 7. L alone has preserved the right reading ἀκούσιος, in the face of the absurd ἐκουσίως of A and O.

b 2. τινὰς ὡς ἀκουσίους: τινὰς is "in a sense"—the Lat. *quosdam*.

b 3. εἰς εἰκόνα μὲν ἄμφω θείναι, "to class each under its like." Stallb. well cps. *Tim.* 57 e κίνησιν δ' εἰς ἀνωμαλότητα αἰεὶ τιθῶμεν.

b 7. τὸ γὰρ εἶδος . . . ἐλαττόνως: variety between the two parallel clauses is characteristically secured by the omission of τιμωρητέον in the former, and the omission of εἶκος in the latter.—All texts before Burnet's adopt the εἰκόσις of the correctors of A and O instead of the less ordinary form εἶκος which is found in A and O.

c 7 f. δύο . . . θυμόν, "let him be made to find in a two years' exile a bridle to his wrath."

d 3. *μεγέθει θυμοῦ πλείω*, "longer because of the greatness of the anger"; the dative is a loose extension of the dative which marks, with a comparative, the measure of excess or defect. It could hardly have been so used with *τιμωρηθεῖς* alone.—*καθόδου δὲ περὶ τούτοις* MSS.; Steph., Ed. Bipont., and Ast have *καθόλου δὲ περὶ τούτων*, and so Ficinus. Ald., Ed. Lov., and Bas. 1 and 2 have *καθόδου δὲ περὶ τούτων*. Bekker first restored the MS. reading. The origin of the error is obscure. It is particularly strange that Fic. should have read the *καθόλου* which does not appear elsewhere until Ed. Steph. His translation is "universalis autem istorum haec dispositio sit."

d 4. From *χαλεπὸν μὲν* to *γινόμενα* in e 1 is a parenthesis, and the explanation of the *ᾧδε* is taken up at *τούτων οὖν* in e 2.

d 5–7. The *τούτοις*, the *ὁ . . . χαλεπώτερος*, the *ὁ δὲ ἡμερώτερος* and the *ὁ δὲ ἡμερωτέρως* all refer to the authors of the crimes. (Fic., Schneider, and Jowett translate as if they referred to the *φόνου*.)—*χαλεπώτερος* is "dangerous."—*εἴη* has to be supplied from the second clause to the first, and *ταχθεῖς* from the first to *ἡμερώτερος* in the second; *ὁ μὲν* has to be supplied with the former of these other two clauses, and *τὰ περὶ τὸν φόνον ἂν πράξειεν* with the latter.

e 1. *κατὰ τὰ νῦν εἰρημένα*: i.e. the murder in cold blood is generally the worse of the two.

e 2. *τούτων πάντων*: i.e. the considerations mentioned in the parenthesis.

e 3. *ἐπειδὴν δέ*: with these words begins the real explanation of the *ᾧδε* in d 4.—*ὁ χρόνος ἔλθῃ*, "the period elapses"; cp. 958 b 3. Ast would read *ἐξέλθῃ*, comparing 909 a 5, where the MSS. have *ἐξέλθῃ* in a similar case. Fic. translates "cum vero restituentorum exulum tempus advenerit."—With *πέμπειν* *χρή* has to be supplied from the previous sentence.—*αὐτῶν* is partitive; i.e. *τῶν νομοφυλάκων*. (Wagner takes it to be an objective gen.—"of the murderers.")

e 4 ff. *ἐσκεμμένους . . . γίνεσθαι*, "who, having, during this period" (i.e. that of the exile), "investigated with still greater care the conduct of the exiles" (i.e., the circumstances of the murder), "may even (*καί*) pronounce judgement on the question of the pardoning and receiving back of the culprit." The *καί* before *τῆς αἰδοῦς* is the same *καί* which occurs below at 869 b 5.—For the *τε . . . καί* cp. 868 d 5.

e 7. *τοῖς δέ* possibly includes both the showers and the receivers of the *αἰδώς*.



**868 a 1.** ἐμμένειν : there is to be no appeal.—ὁπότερος is used just as πότερος is above at 628 b 7 and below at 914 d 1; cp. Heindorf on *Theaet.* 143 a.

**a 3.** κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ξένου ἀφίξιν αὐτῇ πασχέτω : i.e., like the returned ξένος at 866 c 5, he is to be put to death.

**a 4.** The θυμῷ, though only expressed in the second clause, is implied with the ὁ κτείνας of the first; otherwise the former clause merely repeats the case of 865 d 1.

**a 7.** ἀθλα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἱερά : light is thrown on this passage by a comparison of 935 b 6 μηδ' ἐν τισι δημοτελέσι θυσίαις, μηδ' αὖ ἐν ἀθλοῖς, μηδ' ἐν ἀγορῇ. These two enumerations probably correspond : τὰ ἄλλα ἱερά will then mean, not “*sacred places*” (as Wagner), or “*temples*” (as Jowett), but *public religious ceremonies*; and ἀθλα will not be “*gymnasia*” (as Fic.), nor “*the arenas*” (as L. & S.), but “*the public games.*” The concourse in the marketplace was made sacred by the temples round it. The other two assemblies which the ἀκάθαρτος would pollute by his presence are the gatherings of spectators (1) at the public games, and (2) at the public sacrifices, both of a religious character.

**b 1.** τόν τε ἐπιτρέποντα : the person whose connivance would leave the murderer free would of course be ὁ τοῦ τελευτήσαντος γένει ἐγγύτατα.

**b 3.** τὴν διπλασίαν τῶν πράξεων πράττειν probably means that the purification ceremony would be twice as elaborate, and therefore twice as costly.—Ast calls attention to the chiasmus in the enumeration.

**b 5.** αὐτὸς αὐτῷ κομιζέσθω : such a stimulus to the will of ὁ βουλόμενος is unusual in this legislation.

**b 6.** Ritter points out (p. 287) that we are not told what is to be done to a slave who *accidentally* kills his master, or another citizen. Judging from the fact that the καθαρμοὶ were the same for the slaughter of slave or free (865 d 4), he concludes that the punishment also would be similar. You could not *banish* a slave though; probably he would be imprisoned instead.

**b 7 f.** χρωμένους τῷ κτείναντι χρεῖαν ἦν ἂν ἐθέλωσι, πλὴν μηδαμῇ μηδαμῶς ζωγοῦντας, καθαροὺς εἶναι, “however they like to treat the murderer they are to be guiltless, provided they do not leave him alive in any shape or form”; cp. c 4 f. (Ritter maintains that the words only mean that they “must not make him a prisoner before they kill him.”)—Herm. *Vest.* p. 57, note 238, quotes Antipho, *De caed. Her.* § 48 to show that in Attic law the executioner in such a case must be a public functionary.—

Here, and at c 5, the MSS. have ἀνέλωσι(ν) corrected by O<sup>2</sup> (and at c 5 by A<sup>2</sup> as well) to ἄν ἐθέλωσι(ν). In the former passage ἀνέλωσι survived in print as late as Ed. Bipont. in spite of Steph.'s protest, whereas in the latter the correction to ἄν ἐθέλωσιν was printed from the first.

c 2. ἄλλος τις δοῦλος: this is a *possible* expression for "any slave who is *not* the murdered man's own"; so also is ἄλλον . . . ἐλεύθερον (as Fähse, Ast, and Zürr. would read here) for "any free citizen who is *not* the slave's master." But the latter seems no improvement on the former. If any alteration is necessary I should prefer to read ἀλλότριος for ἄλλος. Ficinus translates: "sin vero servus non dominum suum sed alium liberum per iram necarit;" this looks as if he had read ἄλλον τις δοῦλος ἐλεύθερον.

c 3. οἱ δεσπόται: a curious general plural, like the τῶν φυγόντων of 867 e 5, and the τῶν κτεινάντων below at d 1; or does it possibly mean the *master and mistress* of the slave?

c 4 f. οἱ δὲ . . . ἐθέλωσιν: this sentence says almost exactly the same things as were expressed above at b 7 by χρωμένους . . . καθαροὺς εἶναι.

c 5. The MSS. read ἃ δὲ γίγνεται μέν, ὀλιγάκις δέ, διὰ θυμόν. Aldus (apparently) was the first to mend this by inserting ἄν before διὰ, and so all the early edd. and even Stallb. and Schneider; Zürr. and Herm. follow the quotation in Eus. *P. E.* p. 712 a in reading ἐὰν δέ, ὃ γίγνεται μέν, ὀλιγάκις δέ, διὰ θυμόν; Burnet's ἄν δ' ὃ comes nearer the MS. reading than Eusebius's ἐὰν δέ, ὃ; Fic. translates "si pater aut mater (accidit enim, quamvis raro) per iram, etc."

c 6. Ritter (p. 287) calls attention to the fact that nothing has been said of the case where a son or daughter has *accidentally* caused a parent's death. No doubt, as he says, the penalties would have been milder than in the case of a death caused διὰ θυμόν (cp. 869 a). Possibly, besides the religious purification, the unlucky son or daughter would have to be separated from the family for a time.

c 7. καθάρσεις μὲν τὰς αὐτὰς τοῖς ἄλλοις: apparently the ceremonial impurity incurred by the taking of a life is the same in any case; cp. below, e 2. Where double purification was enjoined—at b 3—a double pollution had taken place—the purification enjoined had been omitted.

c 8. There is a harsh change of construction from the MS. καθαίρεσθω to ἀπενιαντεῖν; it is obviated if we adopt, as Herm. does, Eusebius's καθαίρεσθαι for καθαίρεσθω. There is no MS.

authority for the ἀπειναντεύτω which was printed in all editions down to Ed. Bipont.; still less, of course, for Ast's ἀπειναντιζέτω. (See above on 866 c 2.)

d 3. ὦν ἕκγονον ἢ ἀδελφὸν ἀπεστέρηκε: it is very unusual to find ἀποστέρειν governing an acc. of the thing taken and gen. of the person robbed. L. & S. cite this passage and Plut. *Aem. Paul.* ch. 26 τὸν ἔλεον ἀπεστέρησεν ἑαυτοῦ as instances of such usage. It is best, though, with Fic., Schn., and Wagn., to take ὦν as *possessive* here, as at e 10 below. ἀποστέρειν often takes an acc. of the thing stolen when the person robbed is not mentioned.

d 4. All texts before Bekker had κοινωνεῖν for the MS. κοινωνόν.—ὁ δὲ ἀσεβῶν τε περὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἀπειθῶν: the τε . . . καὶ is explanatory, as above at 867 e 6.

e 1. ὡσαύτως: i.e. δι' ὀργήν.

e 2. τριετείς ἀπειναντήσεις: the same generalizing plural as at c 3 and below at e 8 in ἀπειναντήσεων.—A has τριετις, in which the second ι has been altered from something else. O has τριέτις. Probably A had originally τριέτες (Stallb. gives τριέτες as the reading of O).

e 5. ὁ γεννήτωρ ἢ ὁ γεννηθείς: the ἢ is not to be pressed to the logical conclusion. It does not mean that the guilt might lie either with the one or the other, but that both would be equally liable to prosecution.

e 7. From ἢ ἀδελφῇ to ἀδελφῇν are missing in A and O<sup>1</sup> "propter ὁμοιοτέλετον," Stallb.

e 9. The δεῖν γίνεσθαι has to be supplied from the second clause to the τοῖς γονεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις of the first.

e 10 ff. τοῦτοις: again the same generalizing plural.—ὦν . . . ἱερῶν: this is the law referred to, given in the form of an explanatory parenthesis. As Stallb. says, it would be easier to translate this if we had οὖς instead of ὦν. ὦν is a possessive gen. to be taken with ἀδελφῶν: "(he must not live with those) whose brothers he has robbed brothers of, or whose children he has robbed parents of."—The resuming τοῦτοις δέ is not necessary to the sentence, but adds clearness.—αὐτοῖς too seems unnecessary; is it a mistake for αὐ? (Ast says αὐτοῖς "propter sequens ἱερῶν appositum est"; but the eating with them is more a *personal* connexion than the *joining with them in a sacrifice*.)

869 a 1. εἰρημένω: i.e. above at 868 b 1-5.—νόμῳ ὑπόδικος: the dat. with ὑπόδικος indicates the injured or prosecuting party—as which here νόμος is personified.

a 3. γίγνηται: Apelt, in his review of Burnet's *Laws* (Berl.

*Phil. Woch.* (1908) p. 131) notices that Fels (in Peipers' *Quaest. Crit. d. Pl. Legg.* p. 122) gives γίγνοιτο as the reading of A here. I have since inspected the passage in A, and found it to be γίγνηται, as Bekker and Burnet have said.—μανίαις: this plural occurs in the same metaphorical sense above at 783 a 2 and at *Polit.* 310 d 8; below at 881 b 4 and at *Theaet.* 158 d 8 it is used in the literal sense.—For the gen. ὀργῆς Stallb. cps. ὑπὸ λαιμαργίας ἡδονῆς below at 888 a.

a 5. ἀφιγῆ ἔκων: Stallb. cps. Demosth. *In Pantaen.* 983. 20, according to which Attic law allowed any murdered man's forgiveness to act as a bar to prosecution.

a 6. The ἐκούσιον of the MSS. is clearly a mistake. Cornarius was the first to correct it to ἀκούσιον.

a 7. τᾶλλα ὅσαπερ ἐκείνοι: i.e. having gone into exile for a time; cf. e 3 above.

b 1. πολλοῖς νόμοις: i.e., as he explains, the laws against violent outrage, against impiety, and against sacrilege.

b 2 ff. ἔνοχος . . . ἱεροσυλίας, τὴν τοῦ γεννητοῦ ψυχὴν συλίσας: so Shakespeare in *Macbeth* II. iii. 73:—

Most sacrilegious murder hath broke ope  
The Lord's anointed temple, and stole thence  
The life o' the building.

Was Plato the first to speak of the body as the temple of the soul? and was St. Paul consciously or unconsciously recalling Plato's metaphor when he wrote (1 *Cor.* vi. 19) ἡ οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι τὸ σῶμα ὑμῶν ναὸς τοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐστίν; ?

b 4. Schneider alone of all editors preserves the τοῦ of the MSS., as against the τό to which it has been altered. We should be better off without either τοῦ or τό. I have bracketed τοῦ, believing that it was due to the τὴν τοῦ in the line above.

b 6. δικαιοτάτον . . . ἦν: cp. above, 744 b 1 ἦν καλόν, and Goodwin, *M. and T.* § 416.

b 7. Is not μέλλοντι . . . τελευτήσεται a commentator's explanation?

c 2. τὴν ἐκείνου φύσιν: perhaps we may translate "him and all he is." φύσις, ἔξις, and γένεσις are all used by Plato—e.g. *Tim.* 72 a and b—to form circumlocutions such as are formed in English with *substance*, *essence*, *quality* and *nature*.

c 4. πῶς τούτῳ δίκης γε ἄλλως προσῆκον τυγχάνειν ἂν γίγνοιτο ἐν νόμῳ: lit. "how is it fitting for that man to meet with punishment under the law in any other way?" ἐν νόμῳ is not simply



*juste*, as Fic., Ast, and Jowett take it—neglecting *προσῆκον*—but looks back to the νόμος παρέξει and νομοθετήσει of the former part of the question. Cp. 874 c 6.—O joins ἐν νόμῳ to the following sentence, but writes ἐννόμῳ; this led Stallb. to conjecture ἐννόμως, though he connected it with the previous sentence.—L's variant ἄλλης for the ἄλλως of A and O—also noted by the corrector of O—sounds natural; but could it ever have been altered to ἄλλως if it had stood there originally?

d 4. κατὰ ταῦτ' ἔστω τοῦ καθαροῦ εἶναι: this genitive is more usual with ἔχειν; cp. *Rep.* 456 d πῶς οὖν ἔχεις δόξης; *Gorg.* 507 d, *Phil.* 62 a.

d 6. καθάπερ ὁ κτείνας πατέρα: we are told above at b 7 that a man must not use violence to his father, even in self-defence.

d 8. πατρί, "on the part of a father"; a genitival dative, which goes closely with ἀφέσεως.—τῶν τοιούτων is "of such offences."

e 1. ἐὰν ὅστισιν: the same explanatory asyndeton in the statement of the law as above at c 5; it is better to mark this by printing a colon after ἀφέσεως.

e 2. ὡς ἀκουσίου γεγονότος τοῦ φόνου: apparently the possibility of such forgiveness when the injury was thought to be entirely intentional, and not θυμῷ—κατ' ἀδικίαν πᾶσαν γιγνόμενον—is not contemplated. (Herm., Wagn., and Schneider omit the comma after φόνου; this implies that the purification and the year's exile were the regular punishment of every ἀκούσιος φόνος, which was not the case.)

e 4. ἐν νόμῳ probably goes with οἱ καθαρμοὶ γιγνέσθωσαν as well as with ἐνιαντὸς εἰς ἔστω τῆς ἐκδημίας.

e 5 ff. τὰ δὲ . . . λεκτέον, "the next thing we have to describe is the measures to be taken against acts perpetrated intentionally and with right-down wickedness—in this sphere and that of deliberate design—acts due to the yielding to the seductions of pleasure and desire and envy." τούτων περί καὶ ἐπιβουλῆς is obscure; apparently we must supply περί to govern ἐπιβουλῆς, so that it will mean "in the matter of murders and plotting," i.e. in the matter of murders deliberately planned—or is it "in the matter (1) of direct violence, and (2) of indirect, plotted violence"?—It will be remembered that above at 864 b 6 the second class of ἀμαρτανόμενα was said to be due to the prompting of ἡδονή and ἐπιθυμίας, while, in a previous enumeration at 863 e 7, φθόνοι were added. We are now therefore passing to the consideration of this δεύτερον εἶδος τῶν ἀμαρτανομένων.—For δι' ἥτας ἡδονῶν cp. below, 902 b 1 διὰ τινος ἥτας ἡδονῶν ἢ λυπῶν.

**870 a 2 ff.** τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν . . . κακὴν: we are told in the margin of L and O that some MSS. rejected the ῆ in a 4. It was actually omitted in all texts down to that of Bekker. This was doubtless the result of a desire to make τῶν χρημάτων depend on ἥμερος (as Ast does).—It is difficult to find one's way in this tangle of genitives—especially as, by an almost unpardonable looseness of construction, Plato put ῆ δύναμις in apposition to ἥμερος. The power of wealth to generate the lust of its possession may *explain the existence of* the ἥμερος, but it certainly is not the same thing as the ἥμερος. In English we may be allowed to begin a fresh sentence with ῆ . . . δύναμις: "Now this is chiefly to be found where in most men there is greatest and strongest longing. *Wealth* is able to generate in men, thanks to natural inclination, and its disastrous misdirection, innumerable lusts after its never satiating and boundless possession."—It will be remembered that at *Rep.* 580 e φιλοχρήματον is used as a synonym for ἐπιθυμητικόν.

**a 4.** ἄπληστος is not elsewhere found in the active sense of "not satisfying"; if it be thought inadmissible here, we must suppose the word insatiable to be "improperly" used to qualify κτήσις, when really it is the ἔρως which is ἄπληστος.—I think Stallb. is right in supposing κτήσεως to be equivalent to κτήσεως ἑαυτοῦ; wealth has the power of inspiring a passionate longing in us for itself.—With this passage we ought to compare the eloquent indictment of ἔρως πλούτου above at 831 c 4 ff.

**a 6.** That ἀπαιδενσία—like ἀμαθία—is not used in the purely negative sense of "want of training," but "mistraining" is evident from what follows.

**a 7.** ῆ goes with φήμη, and αἰτία is predicate: "the great vogue enjoyed by the ill-advised praise of wealth." φήμη is a pervading report, or tradition, the way in which a thing is usually represented; φήμη here corresponds to τὸ λέγεσθαι three lines below. (Stallb. perversely denies that πρὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων goes with ἐπαινέσθαι; Ast would, with Steph., reject ῆ and take φήμη πρὸς Ἑλ. κ. βαρβ. to be "the high esteem in which wealth is held by both Gr. and Barb.")

**b 1.** τοὺς τ' ἐπιγυγνομένους λωβῶνται: reference to 729 a ff. will, as Wagner points out, explain how the injudicious praise of wealth does harm to the following generation. It is *better*, he says there, for children *not* to have much money left them.

**b 2.** τὸ γὰρ ἀληθὲς λέγεσθαι, "that a right view should be expressed" (is κάλλιστον καὶ ἄριστον). (τό is, however, by most

interpreters taken to belong not to λέγεσθαι but to ἀληθές.) What the right view is we are told in the words ὡς κτλ.

b 4. ἀγαθῶν μὲν οὖν ὄντων ὧν ἕνεκα ὁ πλοῦτος εἶναι πέφυκε, "since then there are certain desirable objects which it is wealth's natural function to subserve."—For different classifications of "goods" cp. above, 631 c. (Fic. and Stallb. think we are meant to supply τούτων with ὄντων: "quare cum bona ea sint quorum caussa, etc.")

c 1. δικαίως πλουτεῖν καὶ σωφρόνως, "only to get as much riches as justice and self-command will allow."

c 2. οὕτως refers back both to the τὸ ἀληθές λέγεσθαι and the resulting δικαίως καὶ σωφρόνως πλουτεῖν. If the right view, and the consequent right principles of action, prevail throughout the world (κατὰ πάσας πόλεις), then there will be in that world no murders of the kind which can only be expiated by the perpetrators' execution.

c 3. νῦν δέ is in strong contrast to οὕτως: "whereas, with things as they now are."

c 4. ἔκουσίον is here used in the popular sense, not the philosophical.—τὰς μεγίστας δίκας, "the extreme penalty of the law"—that i.e. of death. (Jowett, "the worst trials.")

c 5. φιλοτίμου ψυχῆς ἕξις: Ritter (p. 289) remarks that, whereas in the *Rep.* (e.g. 548 c) Plato counts φιλοτιμία as belonging to the θυμοειδὲς μέρος of the ψυχή, here he counts it under the ἐπιθυμητικὸν μέρος. It is not clear, however, that the Plato of the *Laws* would deny that there is a good sort of φιλοτιμία just because the kind of grudge that is borne to another on account of his superior rank and estimation is a mischievous feeling. At 863 e 7 and 869 e 8 he certainly classes φθόνοι along with ἐπιθυμίαι as being both the causes of violent deaths. But φθόνοι are not the necessary products of φιλοτιμία.

c 8. δειλοὶ καὶ ἄδικοι φόβοι, "cowardly and guilty fears." ἄδικοι as applied to φόβοι is not "mistaken," but, like δειλοί, qualifies rather the fearer than the fear: fear is not always cowardly, any more than it is always guilty.—All texts have corrected the natural scribe's error of φόβους for φόνους which was perpetuated in all MSS.

d 2. βούλονται: Ast in 640 a 11 gives many instances of the substitution of "plural for a generalizing singular." We have the converse change in Simon. v. 19 πάντας δ' ἐπαίνημι καὶ φιλέω ἐκὼν ὅστις ἔρδῃ μὴδὲν αἰσχρούν.

d 5. ταῦτ' : i.e. the moral judgements incidentally included in the above classification.

d 6. τῶν ἐσπουδακόντων does not depend (as a partitive gen.) on πολλοί, still less (as a possessive gen.) on λόγον, but goes with ἀκούοντες, to denote the source of the λόγος. οἱ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐσπουδακότες are the professional μυσταγωγοί; below at 872 e 1 the ultimate authorities for this λόγος are said to be παλαιοὶ ἱερεῖς.—λόγον seems to have been A<sup>2</sup>'s correction of an original νόμον. Cp. 872 e 3.

e 2. Schneider's ἐκτείσασι for ἐκτεῖσαι seems, at first sight, to improve the construction, but it does not really; ὑπ' ἄλλου τοιαύτη μοίρα τελευτῆσαι goes better as an alternative expression for that in which ἐκτεῖσαι occurs than as a main verb to which ἐκτείσασι is subordinate, because ὑπ' ἄλλου and τοιαύτη μοίρα are also a repetition of what has gone before, and in Schneider's sentence they would be out of place. The same objection holds against Steph.'s insertion of a καί to connect the two infinitives.—Ast and Stallb. place a comma after παθόντος; ἅπερ ἔδρασεν would doubtless go very well with the following words, but τοῦ παθόντος cannot do without them.

e 4. καὶ πάντως φοβουμένῳ, "and if he has a proper dread of."—ἐξ, "as the result of."

e 5. Wagner well calls attention to the musical significance of the words προοίμιον and νόμος, with which the metaphorical ὑμνεῖν is quite in keeping; cp. above, 700 b and 722 d.

871 a 1. εἰρήσθω τῇ γραφῇ, "it must be proclaimed on a law-tablet that, etc." For the following asyndeton cp. above, 869 e 1.

a 2. ἐμφυλίων: as at Rep. 565 e ἐμφύλιος is used in the general sense of "fellow-citizen."

a 3. τῶν νομίμων εἰργέσθω: cp. Antipho, *De choreuta*, p. 145l. 31 ὁ γὰρ νόμος οὕτως ἔχει, ἐπειδάν τις ἀπογραφῇ φόνον δίκην εἵργεσθαι τῶν νομίμων. In the case there referred to the practical result of this exclusion is the not being able to come into a court of justice to prosecute. Taken along with the context here this seems to point to a local meaning for τὰ νόμιμα, "the places which the law allows us to visit," as opposed to τὰ ὄσια; or perhaps "customary resorts."—Stallb. gives many quotations from the orators which refer to this προαγόρευσις or πρόρρησις—the public proclamation of the excommunication of those accused of murder.

a 4. κοινὸν σύλλογον μηδένα μαιίνων: cp. above, 868 a 7.



**a 5.** *τις . . . ἀνθρώπων* is made more emphatic by the position of the *ἀνθρώπων*; it is contrasted with the following *νόμος*.

**b 1.** *ὁ δὲ μὴ ἐπεξίων δέον . . . τῷ τελευτήσαντι*, "while any man within the limits of cousinship to the deceased, on the male or female side, who evades the obligation to prosecute, or fails" (when prosecuting) "to pronounce the accused man to be excluded from public life."—Acc. to Demosth. *In Euerg.* p. 1161, Attic law said *μέχρις ἀνεψιαδῶν*, which seems to go a generation further, but, acc. to Herm. *De vest.* note 197, means the same as *ἐντὸς ἀνεψιότητος*.

**b 4.** *δέχοιτο*: the wishing or imprecating optative here takes the place of the imperative; so below at 879 d we have *ἀπέχοιτο* and *ἀπείργοιτο* following *διευλαβείσθω*.—*ὥς ἡ τοῦ νόμου ἀρὰ τὴν φήμην προτρέπεται*: in effect these words are equivalent to "in accordance with the law's curse"; lit. "for the curse (which forms part) of the law brings the ominous with it"—"has the virtue of an omen." Winckelmann thinks that a comparison of 866 b 4—*προστροπομένου τὴν πάθην*—should induce us to read *προστρέπεται* here—"brings its ominous effect on a man." (Stallb. translates *φήμην* by "fama et opinionem vulgarem"; Jowett "the voices of men.")

**b 5.** *τὸ δὲ δεύτερον*: in the first place the relative of the murdered man who fails to prosecute and to declare the murderer an outlaw is to be an outlaw himself; in the second he is to be liable to prosecution on the charge of having connived at the murder.

**b 6.** *ὁ ἐθέλων τιμωρεῖν*—i.e. *ὁ ἐπεξίων*—is not the same as *τῷ ἐθέλοντι τιμωρεῖν* in the last sentence; we have now gone back to the relation of the murdered man, and are supposing that he is not a defaulter; hence *τὸν δράσαντα* in c 2 is the real murderer.

**b 7 ff.** *τῶν τε . . . προαγορεύων*: before proceeding to the prosecution at law of the guilty man, the prosecutor must (1)—in view of his own possible contact in court with the murderer—go through a religious purification, and all other ceremonies provided as proper (*νόμιμα*) for such cases, and (2) he must make the statutable proclamation of outlawry against the accused.—The construction is difficult. In its first conception, and in its simplest form, the sentence would stand *πάντα ἀποτελῶν ὅσα ἂν ὁ θεὸς περὶ ταῦτα νόμιμα παραδῷ*, but it occurs to the writer to specify that these ceremonies consist mainly of *washings*, and he expresses this by saying "in the matter of attention both to the proper washings and to other things." Since *λουτρῶν* is in the gen., depending on

φυλακῆς, ἕτερα has also to go into the gen., and, by attraction, ὅσα becomes a gen. too. The use of φυλακή (*attention to*) is much the same as in the παιδείας φυλακή of 654 d 8. (Jowett translates ἀποτελῶν πάντα τῶν . . . λουτρῶν φυλακῆς περί by "observe all the precautionary ceremonies of lavation"—as if the gen. λουτρῶν depended on πάντα and was qualified by φυλακῆς περί.)

c 2. ἴτω ἀναγκάζων: "Non opus est conjectura Stephani ἀναγκάζων, quam Astius complexus est" Stallb.

c 3. For δίκης πράξις in the sense of *exaction of the penalty* cp. below, 958 a 5 ταῖς πράξεσιν . . . αὐτῶν (i.e. τῶν δικῶν).

c 6. ῥάδιον ἀποφαίνεσθαι νομοθέτῃ: i.e. "we need not go into such details here."

c 7. If we keep the MS. ὁ, τίς is predicate to γιγνόμενος ἄν εἴη, "as" or "being what the process of bringing such prosecutions would most duly satisfy the religious requirements." It would be much easier to translate if there were no ὁ. Is it not a scribe's mistaken insertion?

d 2. εἰσάγειν is used not only of the bringer of a suit, but also of the presiding magistrates who allow it to be brought before them; here εἰσαγόντων is said of the νομοφύλακες in the latter sense.

d 4. κυρίως qualifies διαδικάζειν—"to have full authority to pronounce sentence on temple-robbers."

d 5. ἀναιδείας ἔνεκα πρὸς τῷ ἀσεβεῖν: i.e. "besides the desecration involved (in burying the murderer in his victim's native land), there is this further motive: we want to show that the man is *not* pardoned." αἰδώς and αἴδεις, in connexion with a crime or a criminal, mean *mercy* (cp. 867 e 6), and ἀναίδεια has (probably) here the meaning which it has in the phrase λίθος ἀναιδείας, i.e. that of "*unforgivingness*." (It is generally taken here in its ordinary sense of "*impudence*"; "quoniam non impie solum sed impudenter quoque peccavit" Fic.; i.e. like most other interpreters he supposes the objections to the burial to be drawn from *the nature of the crime*. Jowett alone takes the objection to be drawn from the nature of *such a burial*, though he, as I think, translates ἀναιδείας wrongly; "for this would be shameless, as well as impious." This puts too much strain on ἔνεκα.)

d 7. Cornarius's emendation of the MS. που τῶν to τούτων seems clearly right. Not only is τῶν very hard to justify, but the gen. τούτων much improves the significance of τις. "Any of these exiled criminals" is quite in place, but "anybody" is meaningless. (Stallb. would persuade us that τὰ τῆς χώρας is a possible

alternative for ἡ χώρα. Winckelmann thinks that τόπων has fallen out after τῶν; he cps. 705 c and 747 e. One late MS. omitted the τῶν; none of these alterations gets rid of the awkwardness of making a bare τις the subject.)

e 1. Bekker is very likely right in supposing that κτεινάτω originally stood for the κτεινέτω of the MSS.

e 2. ὁ δὲ ἐπισκηπτόμενος: here again, as at b 6, we go back, from the subject of the immediate context, to the general case. ὁ ἐπισκηπτόμενος is not the man who has caught the returned exile, but any prosecutor of a charge of murder.

e 3. τὸν ᾧ ἂν ἐπισκῆπτηται: cp. 714 e 3, 866 d 7.—ἄμα: i.e. at the same time that he begins the prosecution; cp. 872 b 4.

e 3 ff. ὁ δὲ . . . εἰς δίκην: the old punctuation put the comma after the first ἀξιόχρεως, Stallb. and Burnet put it before it. In the former case we must translate: "the sureties produced by the accused must be substantial men in the judgement of the proper court"—for κρίνῃ of course means "judge to be so"—in the latter "the accused must produce his sureties, men whom the proper court judge to be substantial." Then he goes on as if he were quoting the actual words of a well-known enactment—probably of Attic law—"three substantial sureties pledged to produce him for trial." (Ast rewrites the passage: ὁ δὲ παρεχέτω τρεῖς ἐγγυητάς, οὓς ἂν ἡ τῶν περὶ ταῦτα δικαστῶν ἀρχὴ κρίνῃ ἀξιόχρεως. To Ast belongs the credit of seeing that παρέξειν depends on ἐγγυωμένους; Steph. puts a comma after παρέξειν. Winckelmann and Herm. would omit τοὺς ἐγγυητὰς ἀξιόχρεως as involving a "languidissima iteratio." The objection to the last arrangement is that it makes "the proper court" choose the sureties, instead of deciding whether they were substantial enough. It was clearly the accused who had to find his bail—see below, e 6 εἰδὼν δὲ . . . ἀδυνατῇ τις καθιστάναι. No change is necessary and the old punctuation seems rather better than the new.)

872 a 1. τις ἄλλος ἑτέρῳ: so the MSS. Below at 933 e 6 the MSS. read τις ἂν ἕτερον ἄλλον, and there all texts correct ἕτερον to ἕτερος. I would suggest that the MSS. are right there, and wrong here; and that we ought here to read ἄλλῳ ἑτέρῳ. See note on 780 d, and below, 875 d 8, where this same pleonastic ἕτερον ἄλλον is used in just the same connexion as here.

a 4. τοῦτῳ: this is the same dative which we had above at 871 d 3 in διαδικάζειν τοῖς τὰ ἱερὰ συλῶσιν.

a 5. πλὴν τῆς ἐγγύης, "except in the matter of bail." Does

this mean that such a crafty and possibly cowardly man is not to be trusted out of safe custody? or that this kind of murderer is not to be compelled to find bail because the presumption of his guilt is not so strong as in the other case? Probably the latter.—*ταφῆς τῆς οἰκείας ἐξέστω τυχεῖν*: because though not *καθαρὸς τὴν ψυχὴν* he is *καθαρὸς τὸ σῶμα*.

a 6. *τὸ πρόσθεν ῥηθέν* is the procedure arranged in the case of an *ἐκούσιος αὐτοχείριος φόνος*.

b 2. *πλὴν τῆς ἐγγύης*: in the case of *ξένοι* and *δοῦλοι* there was no question of their being allowed a tomb in the country of the murdered man, so the question of bail was the only point in which any difference could arise.

b 2 ff. *ταύτην δὲ . . . καὶ τούτους*: if the *δέ* after *τόν* was originally in the text, it was there through inadvertence, and should be ignored, as Fic. ignores it, in translation. Two classes are spoken of: (1) the *αὐτόχειρες*, and (2) the *ἐπιβουλευσάντες*, and what we are told here is that in the case of *ξένοι* and *δοῦλοι* bail is to be taken for *both* classes. Therefore the comma which stands after *εἴρηται* in all texts but Schneider's should be removed, and *τὸν προαγορεύοντα* must lose its *δέ*. *ταύτην* is an acc. of inner object with *κατεγγυᾶν*. Fic.'s translation is "nisi quod fideiussionem praebere istos quemadmodum illos qui propria manu interfecere censemus." (The original Fic. has *interficere*, a manifest misprint.) Schneider preserves the *δέ* after *τόν* as well as the main sense of the passage by placing the comma after *αὐτόχειρας*, but this involves saying almost the same thing over again.—*προαγορεύειν τὸν φόνον* is probably a loose description of the *πρόρρησις* whereby the murderer was declared an outlaw; cp. 871 a 3, b 1 and c 2.

b 6. *ἄγων πρὸς τὸ μνήμα τοῦ ἀποθανόντος, ὅθεν ἂν ὀρᾷ τὸν τύμβον*, "the executioner must take the culprit *towards* the tomb, to a place from which he can see it." (Fic. and Serranus translate as if there were an *ἦ* in the text before *ὅθεν*; and Ast actually introduces this *ἦ* into his text.)

c 1. *ὁ ἐλὼν* is the man who has secured his conviction, not "the person who took him," as Jowett.

c 3. The *μή* before *μηνυτής* was haplographically omitted by both A and O, and only restored by the corrector of O.

c 4. *καθάπερ ἂν εἰ πολίτην κτείνας ὑπεῖχε φόνον δίκας*, "just as if he had been standing his trial for the murder of a citizen." The *ἂν* is otiose—*conscriptum*—as above at 684 c 3, and as it often is in *κἂν εἰ* and *ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ*.



c 6. οὕτως, after the ὅσαύτως, is not strictly necessary, but it rounds off the sentence, and balances the κατὰ τὰ αὐτά.

c 7. The first hand in A wrote γίννται: Burnet, as against Fels, is right in saying that the η added below the line after ν is the work of the second hand. M. Henri Omont, who examined the passage in A with me, confirms Burnet's view.—The scribes who in A and O wrote ἐφοκι for ἐφ' οἷσι cannot have been thinking about what they were doing; the mistake must have been made early by someone who read οἷς as οκ.—δεινὸν καὶ οὐδαμῶς προσφιλές, "a horrible and repulsive task." As Stallb. says, Plato doubtless had in mind the tradition that Solon deliberately omitted laws against parricide from the code because he refused to contemplate the possibility of such a depth of wickedness at Athens.—Another unaccountable mistake in A and O—which O<sup>2</sup> again corrected—is προσφιλέσι.

d 1. φόνους is a very "loose" accusative; the writer either professes to assume, under cover of the break in the construction caused by the preceding words, that some word governing an acc. has gone before, or boldly uses the acc. φόνους in the sense of φόνους λέγω, as if the ellipsis of λέγω was an ordinary thing.

d 2. ἀδίκους πάντως means the same as the κατ' ἀδικίαν πάσαν of 869 e 6; the murders are assumed to have been altogether without provocation or excuse.—τὰ μὲν πολλά: not "*plurimum*" (Fic.) or "*often*" (Jowett), but "*generally*," or "*mostly*," and contrasted with the following πού τι.

d 3. γένοιτο . . . τι: if the MS. text is sound, τι is subj. to γένοιτο, and means "something of that sort." If Ast's emendation to γένοιντο is adopted, it is of course adverbial.

d 4. λέγειν μὲν δὴ χρεών: the force of this μὲν δὴ is made clearer when it is resumed below in the δὴ . . . μὲν of 873 a 3; the first step is to state the *religious* view of the matter.

d 5. ἔμπροσθε σμικρῷ: i.e. at 870 d 5 ff.—ἀν ἄρα . . . ἀνοσιωτάτων, "in the hope that some may listen to us, and be the more inclined, for such reasons, to renounce of themselves the idea of the most abominable of all kinds of murder."

e 1. ἐκ denotes the ultimate source of the λόγος; cp. *Phaedr.* 244 d παλαιῶν ἐκ μηνιμάτων.

e 2. ἡ τῶν συγγενῶν αἱμάτων τιμωρὶς Δίκη ἐπίσκοπος, "the watchful justice which avenges the shedding of kindred blood." The word ἐπίσκοπος, whether as substantive or adjective, seems to have been confined in classical Greek to the poets and to Plato's *Laws*. With its use here (and for the personification of

Δίκη) cp. 717 d 2 *πᾶσι γὰρ ἐπίσκοπος τοῖς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐτάχθη Δίκης Νέμεσις ἄγγελος*; there ought to be a capital initial here as well as there.

e 6. The reading *κἂν εἰ*, adopted by all editors—except Stallb. ed. 1860, and Herm., who read *κᾶν*—is due to the corrector of O. It is assumed that we have here another otiose *ἄν*, like that in *καθάπερ ἄν εἰ* above at c 4. But (1) *κἂν εἰ* has nearly always a concessive force—except perhaps at *Phaedo* 72 c; cp. Heind. on *Soph.* 247 e, and E. S. Thompson on *Meno* 72 c—and a concessive force does not suit this passage; and (2) even granting that it is equal to *καὶ εἰ*, how came it that, *κἂν εἰ* being very common, the MSS. had either *κᾶν ἦ* (A) or *κᾶν ἦ* (LO)? I would suggest that what Plato wrote was *κᾶν κτάνη*, and that the scribe who first wrote *κᾶν ἦ* let his eye slip to the wrong *av*.

e 8. *γενόμενον*: it is a question whether this ought not, logically, to have been *γενομένην*.

e 9. *τοῦ γὰρ κοινοῦ μιανθέντος αἵματος: κοινοῦ αἵματος* means “the blood which these two share,” not “the family” (as Jowett)—not the *πᾶσα ἡ συγγένεια* of three lines below; the shedding of this “common” blood entailed the “pollution” of what was left of it in the survivor. The rest of the family are *wrathful* but not *polluted*.

873 a 1. *τὸ μιανθέν* is not “the thing polluted,” but “the polluting which has been done,” i.e. the *pollution* itself—the stain on the offender.

a 2. *πρὶν . . . τείσῃ . . . κοιμίῃ*: cp. Goodwin, *M. and T.* § 648. L and O<sup>2</sup> have impossible futures.

a 3 ff. *ταῦτα δὲ παρὰ θεῶν μὲν τινα φοβούμενον τὰς τιμωρίας εἶργεσθαι χρὴ τὰς τοιαύτας, εἰ δέ τινας οὕτως ἀθλία συμφορὰ καταλάβοι*, “and so, while a man ought to be held back by the fear of such punishments inflicted by the gods, still, to meet the case of men’s possibly being overtaken by such a dire calamity (etc.)” *χρὴ*, I think, resumes the *χρεῶν* of d 4 above: the duty is that of the *νομοθέτης*. *χρὴ εἶργεσθαι* is in effect “we ought to try and deter him.” *εἶργεσθαι* is *passive*, not, as Schneider and Wagner take it, *middle* (in the sense of *a se prohibere*); *ταῦτα* is not the object of *φοβούμενον* (as Schneider and Wagner), but is *adverbial*. Ficinus, while rightly translating the rest of the sentence (as against later translators), seems wrongly to connect *ταῦτα δὲ* with *εἶργεσθαι*; he translates “*ab his ergo sceleribus*. (If this *ergo* represents *ταῦτα δὲ*, and if *ab his sceleribus* is only added in explanation of *εἶργεσθαι*, there is nothing to be said against it, but

probably he meant it as a translation of ταῦτα). Even supposing ταῦτα could mean "in this matter," the μέν cuts it off from εἰργεσθαι; ταῦτα δὲ, whatever it means, goes with the δέ clause, as Prof. H. Jackson has pointed out to me in a valuable note on the passage. (Possibly the *coercere* in Ficinus's text is a misprint for *coerceri*.)

The further question arises: if "for this reason" is a correct translation of ταῦτα δὲ, what is the "reason"? We must go back, I think, to the μὴ νομοθετεῖν δὲ ἀδύνατον of c 8 above and the statement at d 3 that parricide does sometimes occur in a well-regulated state. Prof. H. J. thinks that ταῦτα δὲ means "for this reason," but interprets it as "in order to save men from such an awful fate (as the μῦθος promises)." He also regards the *duty* expressed in χρὴ as one falling on the prospective criminal—"he ought to be deterred, but in case some are not etc."

a 5. We owe the ἡ μητρόσ to the corrector of O; A and O omitted it.

a 6. ψυχὴν . . . ἀποστερεῖν σώματος: this looks like a vivid means of expressing belief in the immortality of the soul. (Zeller objects to the expression as strained and outlandish in Plato's mouth.)

b 1. τὰς περὶ τῶν νομίμων εἰργεσθαι: the τοῦ which should strictly follow περὶ is omitted for euphony's sake; Stallb. ventures, at Matthiae's suggestion, to insert it in his text.

b 2. ἐγγύας τὰς αὐτάς: i.e. bail is to be demanded only when the accused was said to have actually committed the murder, or when he was a foreigner or a slave.—καθάπερ ἐρρήθη τοῖς ἐμπρόσθεν: not "as was said in the previous passage," but "as was laid down in the case of" (or "for) the murders above mentioned." For this use of ἐρρήθη cp. below, 879 b 4.

b 4. οἱ τῶν δικαστῶν ὑπηρέται καὶ ἄρχοντες: apparently some magistrates, as official representatives of the whole state, must take part in the execution—as afterwards in the stoning of the murderer's head—if the community is to be freed from the stain. On the latter occasion *every* magistrate is to bring a stone. Wagner, perhaps rightly, understands by ἄρχοντες the officials who generally presided at executions.

c 4. τὴν τῆς εἰμαρμένης βίαν ἀποστερῶν μοῖραν, "violently barring the fulfilment of Fate's decree" (H.J.). Destiny is personified as at *Phaedo* 115 a ἐμὲ δὲ . . . καλεῖ . . . ἡ εἰμαρμένη. ἀποστερεῖν, with only the acc. of the thing, has the sense of *steal*, *appropriate*, *withhold*; as at *Aristoph. Nub.* 1305 and *Soph. O.T.* 323.

(The usual translation of this passage is "violently depriving himself of his allotted span of life.")—*μήτε πόλεως ταξάσης δίκη*, "though his country did not judicially require it of him." For *δίκη* the early texts substituted *δίκην*. Fic. apparently read *δίκη*, but took it with *ἀναγκασθείς*, ignoring *ταξάσης*.

c 6. *ἀπόρον*, "desperate," as above at 698 b 8.

c 7. *ἀνανδρίας* is a gen. of definition, and is equivalent to an adj.; "unmanly." (Winckelmann would emend to *ἀνάνδρω*.)

d 1. *τούτῳ*: for the dat. cp. above, 871 d 3, 872 a 4, 873 b 2, 874 a 6, and three lines below *αὐτοῖσιν*.

d 2. *ὧν* is *τῶν νομίμων*.

d 5. *τάφους δ' εἶναι κτλ.*: the mention of the *δώδεκα μέρη* shows that this is an injunction of the writer's own, not a quotation from the *προσταττόμενα*.

d 7. *τῶν ὅσα ἀργά*: cp. above, 871 e 3. The *τῶν* is a partitive gen. depending on *ὁρίοισι*, just as *τῶν τιθεμένων* below at e 2 depends on *ἀγῶνι*; *τῶν* cannot go with *μερῶν*, for none of the *μέρη* can have been uncultivated or un-named.—*ἀνόνημα* means not included in any definitely named local division.

e 2 f. *ὅσα . . . δράσῃ*: it is not likely that *ἄν* has fallen out both here and from *ὅσα . . . κτείνῃ* a few lines below. Stallb. says the omission is in both cases due to the fact that the main sentence begins with *ἐάν*, from which *ἄν* "tanquam sponte inteligitur."

e 5. *ὁ προσήκων* is only a variety for *οἱ προσήκοντες*.

e 6. The change from the imperative to the (acc. c.) inf. to express a regulation is again made for variety's sake, and it occurs again six lines below.

e 7. *κεραννὸς ἢ τι παρὰ θεοῦ τοιοῦτον*: modern religious sentiment regards death by *any* agency other than human as "death by the visitation of God."

874 a 3. With *ἐρρήθη* we must supply *ἐξορίζειν*.

a 5. *μὴ ἀμελῶς*: by meiosis for *σπουδαιότατα*.—*ἀνέυρετος*: it is curious that, while *ἀνεύρισκω* and *ἀνέυρεσις* are only used in the positive sense, *ἀνέυρετος* should only occur in the negative.

a 7. *ἐπιδικασάμενον*="after establishing his claim." The prosecutor is, of course, the next of kin.

b 4 ff. From *οὗτος* to *καθαρὸς εἴη* occurs in A in a mutilated and quite unintelligible form.—This sentence and the next mark a division of subjects—the conclusion of one subject, and the introduction of another. Therefore *νόμος εἰς* cannot refer only (as Fic., Wagn., Schm., and Jowett take it) to the immediately preceding



law about the unknown murderer. νόμος, as Stallb. says, must here be used in the sense of "legum pars." So we might talk of the "law of murder" in the sense of "the body of enactments dealing with murder." Below at e 4 νόμον is used for "law in general."—"Let this then be the established law on the subject—i.e. that of murder"; lit. "let this be one established law, made about murder." (A and A<sup>3</sup> and O<sup>2</sup> have κυρίως for κύριος, and Schneider and Zürr. have printed it; Stallb., Herm., and Burnet retain the κύριος of L and O. Herm. rightly points out that περὶ φόνον κείμενος is in apposition to εἰς. Ast spoils the sentence by inserting (in his note, not in his text) ὁ before νόμος.—All edd. down to Ed. Bipont. omit ἡμῖν, though Fic. translates it.)

b 6 f. ὄν, like τὰ τοιαῦτα, is neut. plur.; its antecedent is the following τάδε, and it depends on καθάρως. "The murders of which the slayer will rightly be held guiltless, and the conditions on which he will be so held, are the following." (The first four edd. have ὄν, which Ast and Schneider reinstated; A has ὄν.)

b 8. ἐὰν ἐλὼν κτείνῃ: the absence of a τις is due to the fact that the ὁ κτείνας of the previous sentence is supposed to be the subject of this one. The τις was supplied by L and by the corrector of O with κτείνῃ, but not with the ἀποκτείνῃ of c 2. The τις is, of course, in place with βιάζεται, because the subject is no longer ὁ κτείνας.

c 1. The variant ἀμυνόμενον of A<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>2</sup> must have originated in a scribe's careless mistake.

c 4. βίη goes with ὑβρισθέντος, not with τεθνάτω.—τε . . . καί is "not only . . . but also."

c 5. The subject being ἀνὴρ it is unnecessary to put in the equivalent of "his" with γυναικί.

c 6. ἐν τῷ νόμῳ, "by law," or, as A.M.A., "in the eye of the law." Cp. 869 c 5.

c 7. βοηθῶν θάνατον: a remarkable accusative: since in the intransitive βοηθῶν there lurks the idea of *repelling some danger*, the conversational style of the *Laws* admits an acc. with it. (Ast's suggestion of an inserted ἀμυνόμενος would make a clumsy sentence; Fic.'s connexion of θάνατον with δρῶντι, and still more Winckelmann's δρῶν τι, are impossible.)—μηδὲν ἀνόσιον δρῶντι: a distinguishing mark of all these cases is that the action avenged is totally unprovoked.

d 2—e 2. These nine lines contain (1) a classification of personal injuries into fatal and not fatal, and (2) a fanciful connexion of the two classes with previous parts of the work. (1) Injuries

which produce death are injuries to the *ψυχή*; injuries which are not fatal are injuries to the *σῶμα*. (2) The soul needs nurture and education, without which the life perishes—so there are other ways of destroying life than murder, and both ways have now been dealt with. The body too, as has been shown above, needs nurture and training in order to realize its perfection. Its *imperfection* is produced, not only by the lack of this training, but by physical injuries inflicted by its fellows.

This idea that the enumeration and classification of bodily injuries inflicted by one's fellow-man (*ὑπ' ἀλλήλων*) is a subject *connected with and following naturally upon* the consideration of the nurture and training needed by the body, seems to us far-fetched. It would be easy for us to believe either that the whole nine lines, or at all events the two passages *περὶ τροφὴν . . . τοῦναντίον, καί* and *τὰ δὲ περὶ . . . εἴρηται* were not from Plato's hand at all. (But see below on e 4.) Ast and Stallb. leave the passage severely alone. Ritter (p. 290) exclaims that the introduction to the mention of the new subject is "ganz sonderbar und ungeschickt."

d 5. *νενομοθετήσθω*, "so much for that branch of our code."

e 3. *τά γε δεύτερα μετά*: pleonastic = "next after"; the *τά* is like the article in *τό γε εἰκός, ὥς γε τὸ δίκαιον*.

e 4. *καὶ ὁ φαυλότατος*: when he says that this connexion between deeds of violence and murder is one which even the most inefficient of lawmakers must recognize, is there a hint that it might take a more philosophic mind to see the connexions, just maintained, between the building up of the body, and its damage by violence?—The MS. *νόμων* for *νόμον* is an ordinary mistake of assimilation. Winckelmann thinks that *τάξιν* may have fallen out before *νόμων*. *νόμον* for "law in general" is certainly unusual; cp. on b 4 above.

e 6. The first six editions printed *ἐκούσια* for the MS. *ἀκούσια*.

e 7. *προρρητέον*: this formal word promises a *προοίμιον* of importance.

e 8. *περὶ πάντων τῶν τοιούτων*: it is especially in connexion with deeds of violence that the restraining power of law is seen to be salutary.

e 9. *νόμους ἀνθρώποις ἀναγκαῖον τίθεσθαι*, "it is a necessity for mankind to make themselves laws"—not "it is necessary to give men laws" as Fic. and Wagner.

875 a 1. *ἀγριωτάτων θηρίων*: in Eur. *Cycl.* 338 that "*θῆρ πανοῦργος*" the Cyclops bids all makers of laws "be hanged," thereby confirming the wisdom of the philosopher's *πρόρρησις*.

**a 3.** τὰ συμφέροντα ἀνθρώποις εἰς πολιτείαν : for a definition of a true civic community or πολιτεία cp. Arist. *Pol.* 1279 a 28 ὅταν μὲν ὁ εἷς ἢ οἱ ὀλίγοι ἢ οἱ πολλοὶ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν συμφέρον ἄρχωσι, ταύτας μὲν ὀρθὰς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὰς πολιτείας, τὰς δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον ἢ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἢ τῶν ὀλίγων ἢ τοῦ πλήθους παρεκβάσεις.

**a 5.** πολιτικῇ καὶ ἀληθεῖ : hendiadys ; cp. ἀληθινὸς ἐλεύθερός τε below at d 1.

**a 6.** τὸ κοινόν : cp. 697 d 1 τὸ φίλον καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει, and the whole passage there. τὸ κοινόν includes all that we mean by "comradeship," "*esprit de corps*," "loyalty to the constitution." "The social cement consists of the measure of free will which each individual surrenders to society" (L. March Phillips in *Land and Water* July 17, 1915—a modern translation of τὸ μὲν γὰρ κοινὸν συνδεῖ . . . τὰς πόλεις).

**a 8.** Burnet first put a comma, as Ritter suggests, both after and before τοῖν ἀμφοῖν.

**b 1.** μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ ἴδιον : probably this stands for μᾶλλον ἢ ἢν τὸ ἴδιον (τιθῆται καλῶς), but possibly it means "in preference to" (i.e. "at the expense of) the interest of the individual." We may translate προρρητέον . . . ἢ τὸ ἴδιον, "as to violence in general there is an admonition to be given, and it is this. You see it is necessary for men (either) to make laws, and to live by laws, or to be no better than the most utterly savage beasts. Why? Because there is not a man among us whose natural equipment enables him both to see what is good for men as members of a community, and, on seeing it, always to be both able and willing to act for the best. To begin with, it is hard to see that a genuine science of political society must concern itself not with the individual but with the community—for loyalty to the community's interest binds a state together; the pursuit of the individual's interest tears it asunder—hard to see also that the interests of both alike, that of the community and that of the individual, are better served by the community's prosperity than by that of the individual."

**b 2.** ἐν τέχνῃ λαβεῖν probably differs from the more common τέχνῃ λαβεῖν, which Winckelmann proposes to substitute for it, as our "to attain to as a matter of theoretical knowledge" differs from "to attain to by the help of theoretical knowledge."

**b 3.** μετὰ here means "*besides*," as above at 848 c 7 and elsewhere.

**b 4.** ἐμμεῖναι τούτῳ τῷ δόγματι : "bei den Stoikern sehr geläufiger Ausdruck, aus Plato mir sonst nicht bekannt," Ritter p. 290.

**b 5.** καί is explanatory.

**c 1.** ἄμψω τούτῳ : i.e. the avoidance of pain and the enjoyment of pleasure.

**c 2.** σκότος ἀπεργαζομένη ἐν αὐτῇ : cp. St. Paul, *Eph.* iv. 18 διὰ τὴν πῶρωσιν τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν, οἵτινες ἀπηλγηκότες ἑαυτοὺς παρέδωκαν τῇ ἀσελγείᾳ εἰς ἐργασίαν ἀκαθαρσίας πάσης ἐν πλεονεξίᾳ; and, by contrast, *Eph.* i. 18 πεφωτισμένους τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς καρδίας.

**c 3.** ἐπεὶ is here *concessive*—"of course," "I grant you"; cp. on 686 b 2, 769 b 5, 794 d 7.

**c 4.** φύσει ἱκανὸς θεῖα μοῖρα γεννηθείς, "providentially endowed at birth with a native capacity." ἱκανός is predicate to γεννηθείς—"born competent," i.e. able γινῶναι τὰ συμφέροντα ἀνθρώποις εἰς πολιτείαν, and not likely to be perverted, because divinely endowed.—ταῦτα παραλαβεῖν, "attain to this position," i.e. the power and position of an irresponsible autocrat (b 3 ff.). (Fic., Wagner, Jow., and A.M.A. take it to mean "apprehend the truth.")

**c 6 ff.** ἐπιστήμης γὰρ . . . ἀδυνατεῖ, "for no law or order can dictate to insight: the intellect must not be the subject or slave of any creature, but the ruler of all—if, that is, it is in its essence really genuine and free. But really, as it is, such capacity nowhere exists, except to a small amount. That is why we have to take the second best—law and order, which can see and look to most things, but not everything."

**d 5.** ταῦτα δὲ τῶνδε εἵνεκα εἴρηται : Herm. and Burnet rightly put only a colon after these words, as they are of the nature of a transition to what follows. τῶνδε does not here refer to something to come, but to the truth just established—i.e. the need of law.

**d 7.** For the pleonastic ἕτερον ἄλλον cp. 780 d 8 and 933 e 6.

**e 1.** Ast, Schn., Stallb., and Burnet adopt the πότε of the margin of O for the MS. πότερα; Herm. and Wagner adopt Orelli's emendation of it to πότε ἄρα.

**e 3.** πάντα ἢ μηδέν : it is equally impossible for the lawgiver to leave *all* these questions about personal injury to be decided by the courts, and to leave *none*. Questions of fact, for one thing, must be left to the courts; besides this they must also have large powers of assessing fines and penalties.—To Ast belongs the credit of recovering the right reading here. The MSS. have μηδένα δυνατόν, the early edd. μηδένα ἀδύνατον. Fic. seems to have had, or divined, the right reading, for he translates: "Haec autem iudicio cuncta vel nihil horum committere impossibile est."



e 4. κατὰ πάντων, "in all cases."

876 a 2. αὐτόν here, like the αὐτῷ in a 5 and the αὐτόν in c 2, is the *lawgiver*, who was the implied subject of ἐπιτρέπειν.

a 4-8. A note in the margin of O tells us that a corrector of the Πατριάρχου βιβλίον gives the whole of this passage to the Ath., (1) making τίς οὖν ὁ μετὰ τοῦτον λόγος; a rhetorical question of the Ath.'s answered by himself, and (2) joining ποῖα δὴ νομοθετητέον to the previous νομοθετητέον as a dependent question. The question at a 4 does sound rather more natural as a rhetorical question than as put by Cleinias; but the extremely awkward repetition of the word νομοθετητέον forbids us to make ποῖα δὴ . . . τοῖς δικαστηρίοις; anything but an independent question, probably put by Cleinias. It looks as if the above-named corrector of π (the codex Patriarchae) had been offended by the fact that τάδε δὴ . . . ἂν εἰπεῖν εἴη is not an answer to Cleinias's question. To remove this stumbling-block he not only rearranged the passage as far as the speakers went, but also changed τάδε into τὸ δέ (as O tells us he did), so as better to suit a fresh beginning. Fic. gives only the first question to Cleinias; with him the second is no question: he translates "ceterum ut intelligatur quae . . . relinquenda sunt (*sic*), etc." This gives a more satisfactory connexion of ideas, but there is nothing in any MS. we know which corresponds to his "ceterum ut intelligatur."

a 9. τάδε δὴ μετὰ ταῦτα ὀρθότατ' ἂν εἰπεῖν εἴη, "properly, the next thing to do is (not to answer that question, but to state some preliminary qualifications which must be possessed by any law court which can be suffered to settle such questions at all)."

b 1. ἐν ᾗ δικαστήρια φαῦλα καὶ ἄφωνα, κλέπτοντα τὰς αὐτῶν δόξας, κρύβδην τὰς κρίσεις διαδικάζει, "where the courts are mean-spirited and inarticulate, where the judges never tell each other what they think, and never tell the public what their verdicts are." Fic. is doubtless right in taking αὐτῶν to be equivalent to ἀλλήλων—"opiniones iudicum invicem occultae manent."

b 2. καί is "or."—"Cf. acerrimam reprehensionem qua procul dubio turbulentam Atticorum iudiciorum licentiam persequitur ix. p. 876 b" (Herm. *Vest.* p. 44 note).

b 3. μηδὲ σιγῶντα ἀλλὰ θορύβον μεστά: this clearly means "not merely *not* silent, but full of noise." This is like the Latin *non modo* (followed by *ne . . . quidem* or *sed vis*) which stands for *non modo non*. The same idiom occurs below at 891 d 2 μηδὲ εἶ . . .

ἀλλ' ἐξημαρτημένως; but no translator that I know of has ventured so to translate it here.—καθάπερ θέατρα, “just like audiences at a theatre.”

**b 5.** κρίνῃ is here used absolutely, and corresponds to the κρίσεις διαδικάζει in the former description.—O<sup>2</sup>s τό for τότε is a plausible correction, but τότε better suits the immediately preceding ὅταν: “τότε . . . ὅτε [or ὅταν] is a collocation frequently used in the *Laws*” (Hackforth, *Plat. Epist.* p. 184).

**b 7.** ληφθέντα, like its variant εἰλημμένον in the next line, agrees with an implied τὸν νομοθέτην.—οὐκ εὐτυχὲς μὲν, “is a piteous task”; cp. 803 b 5.

**c 1.** ὅτι περὶ σμικρότατα, “(only) for the most insignificant of offences.”

**c 2.** τὰ δὲ πλείστα, “plurima vero et maxima quaeque” (Fic.).

**c 3.** ἄρα, as often, corresponds to a modern oath or other expletive: “if a man, for his sins, ever has to legislate for such a community,” or “for such a god-forsaken community.”

**c 6.** ὁρθὸν καὶ ἔχον εἶ καὶ καλῶς: very pleonastic.—O<sup>2</sup>s τὰ for τό is a very attractive correction: τὰ πολλὰ ἐπιτρέπειν κρίνειν would form an admirable antithesis to τὰ πλείστα αὐτὸν νομοθετεῖν above at c 2; but it is not necessary, and the τό best suits the preceding neut. adj. and participle.

**c 8 f.** ἡμῖν δὴ τὰ νῦν ἀνεμέσητον τὸ μὴ, “in the present case it will be forgiven us if we do not.”

**d 3 f.** τοῦ πάθους τε καὶ πράξεως, “of what is at once injury and guilt”; i.e. the judge must look at the question from both points of view.

**d 4.** ἐπειδὴ δέ: the δέ—“on the contrary”—goes back to ἀνεμέσητον (ἐστὶ).

**d 5.** οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐμμελείς, “particularly capable.”

**d 7.** πολλάκις ἔμπροσθεν: e.g. 718 b 7 ff., and 800 b 6, where such παραδείγματα were called ἐκμαγαῖα.

**e 1.** For περιγραφὴ cp. above, 768 c 5.

**e 3.** The τε which A, O, and L omitted after τότε was restored by the corrector of O.

**e 4.** ἐπανελθόντα ἥδη πάλιν ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους, “and that will bring me back to framing laws again.” It is possible that the early editions were right in reading ἐπανελθόντας, so as to fall into line with εἰπόντας at e 2; but αἰδούμενον, σεβόμενον, and διδόντα below are singular.

**e 6.** φίλιον: i.e. “a fellow-countryman,” as at 865 a 5.

**e 7.** πλὴν ὧν ὁ νόμος ἐφίησιν: ὧν, as Ast says, is masc.—i.e.

unless he is a criminal condemned to death, or such as those mentioned at 874 b 6 ff.

**877 a 1.** οὐδὲ αἰδούμενον . . . ἀναγκάζειν, "but you must make him stand his trial for murder without any more compunction than if he *had* killed him."—Ast cps. Lys. *Adv. Simon.* 159, where we see that this was Attic law.

**a 3.** τὸν δαίμονα comes as near as possible to our personified *Fortune*, worshipped in Greece under the names Τύχη, Αὐτοματία, and Καιρός.

**a 5.** τύχην καὶ συμφοράν: hendiadys. We have the same μείωσις of using the word συμφορά to denote a *crime* at 854 d 2, 873 a 5, 877 c 8, 878 b 3, and 934 b 3.

**a 6.** μὴ ἐναντιούμενον stands almost, by a sort of μείωσις, for συμμαχούντα.

**b 1.** τὴν γείτονα is equivalent to τὴν ἐγγυτάτην. (H. Richards would, plausibly, read *τινα* for *τήν*.)—Herm. (*Vest.* p. 38) cps. Lys. *Adv. Andoc.* § 15 ἂν μὲν τις ἀνδρὸς σῶμα τρώσῃ . . . αὐτὸς μὲν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους τοὺς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου φεύξεται τὴν τοῦ ἀδικηθέντος πόλιν.—καρπούμενον presupposes a μεθίστασθαι.

**b 2.** ἅπασαν: i.e. without any reduction by way of provision for his family. This privilege is to be denied to one who has wounded a wife or husband.—καταβλάπτειν appears to be used in the sense of "inflict permanent injury on."

**b 4.** The second ἄν, which is necessary to the sense, was omitted in all MSS., and first added by Ald.

**c 3.** τὴν δὲ κτῆσιν κτλ.: Ritter (p. 290) assumes that Plato meant this regulation to apply only to the case of a criminal who was the male head of a family. It would doubtless, as he says, be hard on a husband whose wife had tried to kill him, if guardians were to be appointed over *his* property. But why may we not suppose that the wife may have property of her own? If she had, it would be dealt with as the law directs.

**c 5.** ἐπιτροπεύειν: this implies taking the κτῆσις into their hands during the children's minority; the criminal was to have none of it.—The ὥς of the MSS., which the first five edd. omitted, seems to have been omitted in Ficinus's MS.; he translates "*qui eos orbos tutentur.*"

**c 6.** Victor Jernstedt (as noted in *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1908, No. 37) admirably conjectured ἤδη, for μὴ (with the comma after it, instead of before); this involves a weighty alteration in the law, but a not unlikely one. The following words would well accord with such an alteration.

c 7. The corrector of O proposed to insert *ἐάν* after *οὐσίαν*; probably a guess made on the same grounds as his insertion of *τε* after *τότε* above at 876 e 3, but it is clearly a mistake here; the *ἐάν* was inserted in all edd. down to Ast, and was translated by Ficinus.

d 3. *τῇ πόλει*: the filling of the vacant place was primarily a duty owed to the state, on the principle explained below, and above at 740 a 3 ff.

d 4. Ast pointed out the faulty punctuation of all previous editions, which placed a comma after *βουλευομένων*, as if *καταστήσαι* depended on it; *καταστήσαι βουλευομένων* is "they are to appoint in consultation" (with the *νομοφύλακες* and priests).

d 5. *ιερέων*: the priests were probably needed for the religious part of the ceremony—the *καθήρασθαι καὶ ἀποδιοπομπήσασθαι* of e 8. At all events their presence is not again mentioned at 878 a 2, when the religious ceremony is supposed to be over; there it is only *ἅμα νομοφύλαξιν*.—*τρόπῳ καὶ λόγῳ τοιῷδε*: the *καί* is explanatory—"in the following way, that is to say, on the following principle."

d 6. *οἶκος*, as here used in the legal sense, is even more general than *κλήρος*; according to the definition given by Xen. *Oec.* i. 5, it includes *πάντα ὅσα τις κέκτηται*.

d 7. *οὕτως ὡς τῆς πόλεως δημόσιος καὶ ἴδιος*, "to the same extent as it belongs, by every right of property, to the state." *δημόσιος καὶ ἴδιος* is a general and comprehensive term including all kinds of property rights; it is as if he had said "it is the state's *very own*."

e 2. *δυστυχηθῇ* = an English "is unfortunate"; to make a passive out of the entirely intransitive *δυστυχεῖν* is a bold distortion; the parallel *ἀσεβηθῇ* helps it out. The speaker wants to express forcibly that the *οἶκος* itself is a passive recipient of the misfortune and the impiety. It is a question, however, whether we ought not, with H. Richards, to read *δυστυχήσῃ*.

e 3. *ὥστε*, "to such an extent that"; the absence of offspring comes under the head of *δυστυχηθῇ*, the incurring the death or perpetual exile penalty under that of *ἀσεβηθῇ*.

e 4. *γεγαμηκότα* and *ἄπαιδα* go closely together; "married without having children."

e 5. *ἄλλον*: again we owe the true reading to the corrector of O; A and O have *ἀλλ' οὐ*.

e 7. By a curious attraction to the construction of the previous subordinate *ὦν ἂν* . . . *ῇ* *κειμένη* the form of sentence is changed



from ὥστε *c. infin.* to (ἐὰν) φεύγῃ.—We owe the retention ἧ κειμένη ἧ καὶ ἐν to the corrector of O; the other scribes went on after the wrong final ν.—τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἅπαις is a variant for ἅπαις ἀρρένων παίδων as Stallb. says. (Schneid., Wagn., and Jowett make τῶν ἀνδρῶν depend on τις; Fic. omits it.)

**878 a 3.** καὶ ἅμα εὐτυχές, “provided that there is no ill-fortune attaching to it.” (Wagner connects it closely with the following words: “so fortunate as to have many sons.”)

**a 5.** φήμης ἔνεκα ἐπονομάζοντας: i.e. “naming him after one of them” (not after the absconding criminal) “for the sake of the omen.”

**a 6.** γεννήτορά τε αὐτοῖς . . . γίνεσθαι depends on the following ἐπευξαμένους. This passage has been spoiled in all editions by the comma placed in them after τοῦ πατρός. Schneider even rejects the necessary comma after ἐπονομάζοντας, and makes γίνεσθαι depend upon it: τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ he translates by “haec.” Stallb., though taking γίνεσθαι with ἐπευξαμένους, is led by the intruding comma to take τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ as Schneider does (“praying to this effect”). τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ surely goes, as Ast says, with γίνεσθαι, and means in effect “by adopting him”—“praying that in this way he may be to them a propagator of their stock, etc.” (Fic. eludes the difficulty by altogether ignoring in his translation both φήμης ἔνεκα ἐπονομάζοντας and τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ, but he gets the rest of the words right—“deum precati hunc . . . prolis propagatorem, successorem domus sacrorumque et reliquorum omnium cultorem fore.”)

**a 7.** With ἀμείνοσι τύχαις τοῦ πατρός *cp.* 856 e 2 κληρονόμον εἰς τὸν οἶκον καταστήσαι τὸν τῶν ἐκλιπόντων τύχῃ ἀμείνῳ, and below, 924 a 2.

**a 8.** The emphatic αὐτόν serves to point the contrast between the position of the newly constituted burgher and τὸν ἐξαμαρτόντα.

**b 3.** For this use of συμφοραί *cp.* above on 877 a 5.—Herm. (*Comparatio*, pp. 24 f.) states that this method of appointment of an heir by the family was regular at Athens in all cases of a derelict inheritance, and not only in such cases as we have here and at 856 d.

**b 6.** πρότερον ἐκατέρῳ προσβάλλον, “touching each of the two regions in advance”; πρότερον means “in advance of,” or “in front of,” the two frontiers. We may translate (ἀλλ’ οἷς . . . μεταξύ) “but where there is a border-land, that space, advancing up against either of the two districts [and between the frontiers] will lie between the two.” I have bracketed the words

ἐν μέσῳ ὄρων. They look suspiciously like a commentator's gloss on μεθόριον and are awkwardly pleonastic.

b 8. ἔφαμεν: i.e. at 867 b 1 χαλεπὸν διορίζειν κτλ.—The corrector of O here led Fic. and all printed texts (before Burnet's) into reading ἐνεστῶτων for the ἔστω τῶν of A and O. Steph. mentioned the MS. reading favourably, but Burnet is the first to print it. Fic. and the rest place no stop at γενομένων, and either ignore ἐνεστῶτων, or take it to mean "lying before us (to be dealt with)," or "which are now in question." Stallb. expressed doubts about the vulgate reading: Herm. (pref. to vol. vi.) proposed to add ἡ πηρώσεων to τραυμάτων, comparing 874 e 3. The MS. text is certainly preferable to O's correction, though it puts rather a strain on ἔστω—making it stand in the sense of ὁ νόμος ἔστω, "let the law be." The following asyndeton, which is common in legal phraseology, helps to suggest that a νόμος is in question. A very similar phrase is the ὦδε οὖν ἔστω at 879 c 5, where Fic. has *sanciamus* for ἔστω, and that too is followed by the words of a νόμος.

c 1. πρῶτον μὲν: this "firstly" extends to ἐκτίνειν in c 5; the second part of the enactment begins at ὅσα δέ τις.

c 2. ἄν, left out in the MSS. by haplography, was restored by the corrector of A.

c 4. Hermann rightly adopts Orelli's τριπλασίαν for τετραπλασίαν here: his comment is "ex coniect. Orellii, qui aliquid inter ἰάσιμα et ἀνίατα medium requiri intellexit, praesertim quum ipse Plato mox τριπλῆν inter διπλῆν et τετραπλασίαν βλάβην enumeret." Instances of the three classes would be (1) a cut which healed without leaving disfigurement; (2) the loss of an eye or a limb; (3) a cut which healed leaving a disfiguring scar on the face.

c 5. ὅσα . . . βλάβῃ: even apart from the omission of ἄν the construction is somewhat strained, but the sense is unmistakable. (L reads βλάπτει; cp. 932 e 1.)—A makes two curious slips, here and at d 7, reading τρώας for τρώσας, and τουτωσῃ for τοῦτῃ τρώσῃ; the errors were corrected by A<sup>2</sup>.

c 7. τοῦτον δέ: the "resuming" δέ in *apodosi*.—μετά here is "besides"; cp. above, 875 b 3 where it has that meaning when governing an acc.

c 8. A and O have a variant βλάβῃ for the πόλει of L and O<sup>2</sup>; probably due to a scribe's inadvertence.

d 2. καί is explanatory; it is as if he had said "by taking *his* place in the ranks."

**d 6.** τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τούτῳ : these words are meant to cover all the sorts of wounding above distinguished, so that they are equivalent to "in any of these ways." Fic. "*similiter*."

**d 7.** For the MS. γεννήτας ("*contribules*" Fic.), Stallb. after Herm. (*Comp.* p. 26 n.) reads γεννητάς "parents"; Herm. in his text (1852) reads γεννήτας; Steph., while printing γεννήτας, would translate "*parentes*." Ast also mentions the variant. Certainly it seems as if only the family (or families) of the two kinsmen were concerned. If they were not brothers, γεννηταί, and γεννήσασι at e 2, would include the parents of both.

**e 2.** κατὰ φύσιν is added to show that the children in question must not be *adopted* ones; cp. below, e 7.

**e 3.** εἶναι τιμῶντας κυρίου, "are to have full powers to assess the penalty."

**e 4.** αὐτοί : we should have expected οἱ here; if αὐτοί is correct, it must mean "by themselves."

**e 7.** μὴ ποιητοί, ἀληθινοὶ δέ : presumably because a man who had never been really a father, could not properly feel the heinousness of the offence. The following stipulation is also made in the injured father's interest.

**879 a 5.** ἐξιάσθω : cp. *Gorg.* 447 b 1 ἐγὼ γὰρ καὶ ἰάσομαι. Probably the injury would be "made good" by the payment of twice the money value placed on the injury, as in the case mentioned at 878 c 2.

**a 6.** The τις calls attention to the fact that the subject of αἰτιᾶται is not the same as that of the verb in the preceding sentence. (Ast wanted to change it to *τινα*.)

**a 7.** ἀμφισβητησάτω, "he must maintain the charge (in a court of law)."—With this whole law we should compare the similar case of injury done by a slave to a slave, discussed below at 936 c 8 ff.

**a 8.** ἀνδραποδισμοῦ ὑπόδικον ἐχέτω : like the Latin *reus*, ὑπόδικος can be used with the genitive (1) of the *charge preferred*, or (2) of the *guilt*, or *penalty*, admitted. There is a serious difference of opinion as to the meaning of ἀνδραποδισμοῦ : Fic. and Jowett (ed. 2) take it to mean *sentence of slavery*; Herm. (*Vest.* p. 58), Schneider, and Wagn. rightly, I think, translate it by *plageum*—the *crime of kidnapping*. The analogy of the case described at 936 c suggests that the penalty for kidnapping would be twice the value of the slave.

**b 1.** For ἄλλος ἄλλον cp. below, 932 e 1. (Ast afterwards regretted having adopted Steph.'s ἄλλως for ἄλλος.)

**b 2.** τύχης γὰρ νομοθέτης οὐδεὶς ἱκανὸς ἄρχειν: i.e. chance lies outside the lawmaker's sphere. L and Stob. have preserved the right reading as against the ἱκανῶς of A and O.

**b 4.** ἐρρήθησαν, "were prescribed," as at 873 b 2.

**b 6.** βία: the scribes of A and O by haplography left out the second **ια**; the corrector of A obscured the original reading still further by writing βία; Fic. apparently, like all printed editions, read βίαια.

**b 7.** αἰκία is a mixture of personal injury and personal insult, in which the latter is the more important element.

**c 1.** ἐν, the Lat. *apud*, denotes the court which judges, as at 631 b 4.—τοῖς μέλλουσι σῶζεσθαι καὶ εὐδαιμονεῖν, "if they hope to live long and happily"; cp. *Rep.* 427 d τὸν μέλλοντα εὐδαίμονα εἶναι, and 543 a τῇ μελλούσῃ ἄκρως οἰκεῖν πόλει.

**c 2.** ἐν πόλει, "in public."

**c 3.** ἔοικεν is used in the sense of *πρέπει*, a rare use, as L. & S. says, in Attic Greek. (Stallb. cites *Xen. Anab.* vi. 5. 17 τὸ μὲν ἀπιέναι ἀπὸ πολεμίων οὐδενὶ καλῶ ἔοικε, but possibly καλῶ there is neuter.)

**c 5.** αὐτῷ τιθεμένῳ τιμὴν ταύτην εἰς γῆρας, "thereby laying up for his own old age a store of that honour"; i.e. the honour in which he has held the old man who beat him.—ὧδε οὖν ἔστω, "*sic itaque sanciamus*" Fic. This ordinance, though in the form of a νόμος, is only an admonition of the *προοίμιον*.

**c 7.** Eusebius, in quoting this passage, weakens the effect by substituting *λόγῳ* for *ἔπει*.

**c 8.** διευλαβεῖσθω: Ficinus translates this by *reveretur*, and so L. & S. and Jowett. On the other hand Schneider has *metuere* for it, while Wagner translates "*zurückhaltend behandeln*." The previous αἰδέεσθω clause is a positive injunction to show respect to age in general; the three following sentences, in which the verbs are διευλαβεῖσθω, ἀπέχοιτο, and ἀπείργοιτο, are commands to *abstain from* some kind of wrongdoing, to special classes of people. Schneider and Wagner therefore are to be followed here. All three verbs are various ways of expressing "keep your hands off."

**d 1.** ἀπέχοιτο, and ἀπείργοιτο (in d 3), show the same substitution of the opt. for the imperative which was noticed at 871 b 4.

**d 2.** For θεοὶ γενέθλοι in the sense of gods presiding over procreation cp. 729 c 7.

**d 4.** μήτε ὑπάρχων μήτε ἀμυνόμενος: cp. 869 d 1, 880 a 4, 935 c 3.—τὸ παράπαν strengthens the previous negative, as πάνν often does; at 935 b 5 we have the reverse order in τὸ παράπαν μηδείς.



**d 5.** ἀσελγαίνοντα καὶ θρασυνόμενον : these participles are subordinate to τύπτοντα, and are equivalent to adverbs: "who strikes him wantonly and audaciously." (The corrector of A thought an explanatory καί was needed before ἐαυτόν, and put it in.)

**d 8.** Wagner is the only interpreter who takes the sensible view that the ξένος is the subject of γίγνηται, τοῦ τύπτειν δὲ εἰργέσθω being more or less parenthetical. The foreigner is to be carried before the ἀστυνόμοι that he may learn not to strike a citizen. (Cp. e 4 τῆς θρασυξενίας πανόντων.) All other interpreters understand ἵνα πόρρω γίγνηται κτλ. to give a reason for the citizen's forbearing to strike the ξένος—i.e. that he may be made even less inclined than before to think of striking a citizen. But (1) it is not clear that if he held his hand in the one case he would be the more likely to do so in the other, and (2) this interpretation implies that it is a worse thing to strike an ἐπιχώριος than to strike a ξένος, whereas we are distinctly told in the previous passage that the ξένος is under the same kind of special protection as the γέρον : to strike him therefore would be a specially impious action.

**e 2.** τὸν ξενικὸν αὖ θεὸν εὐλαβούμενοι : i.e. they must be careful to see that the ξένος has every justice done him ; e.g. if guilty he must only receive just as much as he gave in the way of stripes.

**e 4.** θρασυξενία is a strange compound ; in this connexion it implies that θρασύτης in a ξένος is particularly out of place, and must therefore be knocked out of him—"give the saucy outlander a lesson."

**e 5.** εἰν δὲ μὴ ἀδικῇ : i.e. if it turns out either he never struck the citizen, or had enough provocation to justify the blow.

**e 6.** ἡλιξ δὲ ἡλικά κτλ. : the two combatants are to be left to fight it out "with nature's weapons" (1) when (whether old or young) they are of the same sort of age, and (2) when the person attacked, though belonging to an older generation, is not yet the father of a family. A comparison of 721 d 4 and 774 b 5 suggests, as Ritter says, that Plato is thinking here mainly of men who have remained bachelors.—We must give a liberal interpretation to ἡλιξ, even though we do not insist that προέχοντα ἡλικία means the same as προέχοντα εἵκοσιν (ἡλικίας) ἔτεσιν of 879 c 7 and 880 b 1.

**880 a 3.** ὁ δὲ ὑπὲρ τετταράκοντα κτλ. : this comes as a sort of side comment—"of course it is disgraceful for any man over forty to be so fighting, and he must expect to be thought a boor if he

does." "A man of that age," Plato would say, "would better consult his dignity by *not* returning the blow." This is not, as Ritter thinks, a contradiction of what has just gone before.

a 6. τοιούτοις παραμυθίοις: cp. παραμυθία at 720 a 1, and Burnet on *Phaedo* 70 b 2. The "admonitions" in question are not the immediately preceding comment, but the whole *προσίμουν*—as he calls it two lines below—beginning at 879 b 7.

a 7. εἰρήνιος ἂν εἴη, "we shall have no trouble with him."

a 8. δέχοιτ' ἂν τὸν τοιόνδε ἐτοίμως νόμον, "shall have the law ready for him" (as follows) (Jowett). For ἐτοίμως where we should have expected ἐτοίμον cp. 754 c 2 ὑπάρχειν ἐτοίμως γεγονότα.

b 2. εἰ μὴ ἡλιξ μηδὲ νεώτερος ἢ τῶν μαχομένων: I think we are bound to take these words literally, and to take τῶν μαχομένων with both ἡλιξ and νεώτερος. If the bystander is older than the senior of the two combatants, he cannot be expected to intervene as a combatant himself; on the other hand if he is younger than the youngest, he cannot expect to have any weight as a verbal mediator, and, besides that, it will be his duty, as explained in the following words, to intervene as a combatant on the senior man's side. (The scribe or corrector of O mentions a would-be correction of the first μὴ into μέν. Ritter (p. 291) thinks that τῶν μαχομένων here, and τοῦ πληγέντος in b 4, have changed places by a mistake; we gain nothing by this transposition, and lose the suggestion that a younger man than the aggressor would have no weight as a verbal dissuader.)

b 3. διεργέτω: the contrasted ἀμυνέτω in b 5 shows that this means "let him do his best to part them (by adjuration and persuasion)."

b 6. δίκην ὑπεχέτω: cp. 872 c 5; "he must be put on his trial." Below at c 6 the δίκη seems to be spoken of as the act of the bystander—so apparently it was the bystander's duty to prosecute.

c 7. σύνοικος is evidently here used as another word for μέτοικος.—ταύτην αὐτὴν τὴν δίκην MSS.: I think we ought to read αὐτὸν for αὐτὴν—"this sentence he must work out by going to prison for two years."

d 6. After ταξίαρχοι A and O have καί, as Bast, Stallb., and Fels inform us; I have seen the καί in A myself. Burnet omits it.

d 8. ὥς ἔοικεν is put in here, as above at 878 b 4, at the beginning of a philosophic generalization. Laws, he says, fall into two classes: (1) those that serve to bind together in society men of

good will, and (2) those that are made to repress intractable and obstinate wrongdoers.—The φιλοφρόνως recalls the ἐαυτῇ φίλην of 693 b 4.

e 2. Cp. 853 d 2 ὅς ἀτεράμων εἰς τοσοῦτον φύσει γίγνεται ἂν ὥστε μὴ τήκεσθαι.

e 3. For the μὴ of the MSS. all texts but Burnet's have adopted the μὴ οὐκ of the corrector of O. For the absence of οὐκ in similar sentences cp. *Tim.* 20 c οὔτε ἔστιν οὐδεμία πρόφασις ἡμῖν τοῦ μὴ δρᾶν ταῦτα, *Thuc.* iii. 39. 3 οὔτε ἡ παρούσα εὐδαιμονία παρέσχεν ὄκνον μὴ ἐλθεῖν ἐς τὰ δεινά, and *Soph. O.T.* 1387. Kühner-Gerth ii. 2 (p. 216) calls ὥστε μὴ οὐ a rare construction, though he quotes five passages, besides this one, in which it occurs. I cannot see what difference the ὥστε makes to the decision between μὴ οὐ and μὴ. The MS. reading is supported here by one MS. of Stobaeus.

e 4. πεποιηκότες ἂν εἶεν : i.e. "must be held responsible for."

e 5. ἐξ ἀνάγκης : cp. above, 872 c 8 μὴ νομοθετεῖν δὲ ἀδύνατον. The "compulsion" is in both cases the same. The fear of the vengeance of Heaven or of the retribution promised after death is *not enough* to keep men from crime, and therefore the human legislator is bound to be ready with a penalty.—βουλόμενος here is almost "while hoping all the time."

e 7. ἔτι is just our "before them."

881 a 1. Both Winckelmann and Ritter would prefer to read τιμωρῶν, so as to form a better counterpart to θεῶν ; τιμωριῶν, however, suits λεγομένων better.—ὡς εἰδὼς ἂ μὴδαμὼς οἶδεν : so at 701 a 6 it is the σοφίας δόξα which leads to παρανομία ; there we are told that the transgressors against musical taste ἄφοβοι ἐγίγνοντο ὡς εἰδότες.

a 2. τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων εἰρημένων : cp. 872 e 1 ἐκ παλαιῶν ἱερέων εἴρηται.

a 5 ff. ἔτι τε . . . εἰς . . . καὶ . . . οὐδὲν ἀνύτουσιν : an extraordinary *adversative* use of τε and καί. Cp. 885 b 1.—τούτων seems to stand here for τῶν ἐνθάδε πόνων—the troubles and pains of this life, of which death is generally supposed to be the worst. (Ast put a full stop after πόνοι ; he thought that the subject to εἰςί was the criminals—who were said to be "wickedder than Hell"—"so excessively bad that no penalties could deter them." This interpretation involves a change of subject when we come to ἀνύτουσιν, besides straining the meaning of μάλλον ἐν ἐσχάτοις.—Stallb. says τούτων means "death's pains.")—The λέγοντες in a 6 suddenly and boldly transforms the λεγόμενοι πόνοι into threaten-

ing personalities (cp. above 859 a 5). We may translate: "although the troubles which are said to be reserved for these men in Hades are yet more excessive than those of this life, their most veracious promises have no deterrent effect on souls such as these."

**a 8.** *πληγῶν τόλμαι* counts as a sort of compound noun, meaning "flagrant assaults."—*ἐνθάδε*, as often in Plato, means "on earth"—cp. *Gorg.* 525 b *καὶ ἐνθάδε καὶ ἐν Ἀίδου*, *Rep.* 496 e *τὸν ἐνθάδε βίον*; this is further indicated by the following *τὰς ἐν τῷ ζῆν*.

**b 1.** *τούτοισι* bears the same relation to the noun *κολάσεις* that the *τούτοισι* in a 4 does to *πόνοι*; they are both genitival datives, while *περί c. acc.* stands for an objective genitive.

**b 2.** *κατὰ δύναμιν* is equivalent to "if we can."

**b 5.** *καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν* refers to the directions given at 880 b as to the methods of interference which various ages were to adopt.

**b 6.** I think the *ῆ* is certainly the mistaken addition of a scribe, and I understand Schneider to hold this view, as he brackets the *vel* in his translation. Wagner bracketed *ῆ ξένος*, but the slighter alteration gives an even better sense; with *ὁ μέτοικος ξένος* is contrasted at c 1 *ὁ μὴ μέτοικος*—*ξένος* being supplied from the former expression. There would be not much point in condemning a non-resident alien to perpetual exile; nor would the addition of "blame" make much difference to him, if so condemned.

**c 5.** *τὸν ἐπιδημοῦντα*: this phrase—"the *ἀστυνόμος* in residence"—implies that a single official of the kind was, for judicial purposes, enough, at a time, either for the whole city, or for a district.

**d 1.** *τὸν ἀνόσιον*: as in *τὴν γείτονα πόλιν* at 877 b 1, the article gives the adjective almost the force of a superlative. Its use is common with terms of disapprobation; Stallb. cps. Eur. *Heracl.* 978 *πρὸς ταῦτα τὴν θρασεῖαν . . . λέξει*. Cp. also 870 a 4 and 6, and 882 a 2.

**d 2.** *Διὸς ὁμογνίου καὶ πατρῶος*: i.e. the God who watches over the sanctities of family relationships. Ruhnken, *Tim.* s.v. *ὁμόγνιος* quotes as follows from Musonius Rufus (in Stobaeus): *ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ περὶ ξένους ἄδικος εἰς τὸν ξένιον ἁμαρτάνει Δία, καὶ ὁ περὶ φίλους εἰς τὸν φίλιον, οὕτως ὅστις εἰς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ γένος ἄδικος εἰς τοὺς πατρώους ἁμαρτάνει θεοὺς καὶ εἰς τὸν ὁμόγνιον Δία τὸν ἐπόπτην τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων τῶν περὶ τὰ γένη*. So *πατρῶος* is not the patron of the race, as at *Euthyd.* 302 b 5 ff., though, as Porson says in his note on Eur. *Med.* 1314, Socrates's



denial of this title for the patron god of *Athens* does not concern our *Cretan* colony. Cp. above ὁμογνίων θεῶν at 729 c 5.

**d 7.** κατελθών: i.e. from the country into the ἄστυ.

**e 3.** μήτ' εἰς πόλιν ὅλως, "or into the city at all." Like πάνν, ὅλως can intensify a preceding negative; cp. *Eph.* vii. 347 e πρὸς ἐμὲ δὲ οὐδὲν ὅλως ἐφθέγγετο περὶ αὐτῶν, Aristotle, *Cat.* 13 b 18 οὔτε γὰρ τὸ νοσεῖν Σωκράτην οὔτε τὸ ὑγιαίνειν ἐστὶν ἀληθὲς αὐτοῦ μὴ ὄντος ὅλως τοῦ Σωκράτους, *St. Matth.* v. 34 ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν μὴ ὁμόσαι ὅλως.—πρότερον ἢ καθήρηται: for this rare construction cf. Goodwin, *M. and T.* § 653, who from Attic Greek cites only Thuc. vii. 63 and Antiphon, *Tetr.* i. 1. 2.

**e 4.** νομίζων κεκοινωνηκέναι ἀλιτηριώδους τύχης, "for he must be conscious of an accursed contagion with crime." τύχη is, like συμφορά at 854 d 2 and elsewhere, used by μείωσις for crime.

**e 6.** In the case of a judicial magistrate ἐπάγειν δίκην τινί seems to mean "to summon a man to appear before him."

**882 a 1.** All editors since Bekker have adopted his beautiful emendation of the MS. ἐν τούτῳ το ἔν τουτο; it brings a dark place at once into a brilliant light: the ἔν gives additional emphasis to the superlative, and τουτο furnishes a subject to ἔστω. Fic. passes over the words. Ast translates ἐν τούτῳ αὐτῷ, "hanc ipsam ob causam."—τὸν ἐλεύθερον: the same emphasizing article as at 881 d 1 and 877 b 1; cp. also 870 a 4 and 6 τῆς ἀπλήστου and τὴν κακὴν.

**a 3.** τὴν εἰρημένην, "the prescribed"; cp. 880 d.

**a 4.** συνδῆσαντες . . . μετὰ τοῦ πληγέντος, "shall help the beaten man to bind (the aggressor)." (Jowett ed. 2 takes μετὰ τ. πλ. with οἱ προστυγχάνοντες, "the companions of the wounded man.")

**b 2.** μηδὲν βλάπτων τὸν δεσπότην, "so far as respect for his owner's interests will allow"; i.e. he must not so injure the slave as to make him useless.—ἐκείνῳ is of course the slave's master.

## BOOK X

**884 a 1.** περὶ παντὸς ἔν, "quite universal"; i.e. of universal application. ἔν strengthens the περὶ παντός just as εἰς does a superlative. The three words are almost equivalent to συλλήβδην.—τοιόνδε τι νόμιμον βιαιῶν πέρι, "the following established

principle in respect of violence." This general law about theft is in effect a proclamation of the sanctity of other people's property, rights, and beliefs. It follows the laws on *αἰκία*, and deals, like them, with acts of violence, but the *νόμιμον* here proclaimed is not, as Jowett and others suppose, "a single law which sums up all acts of violence." We are told below that disregard for a neighbour's rights of property leads to and involves all other kinds of violence, but the sanctity of a neighbour's property and rights is not the leading principle of laws against violence.

**a 4.** ἐκ γὰρ δὴ τοῦ τοιούτου: i.e. from the contempt of one's neighbour's rights.

**a 5.** τὰ τε εἰρημένα: some early scribe rejected this τε, and he is followed by Zürr. and Herm. Ficinus and the earliest editions put a comma after ἡρτημένα, making τε connect ἡρτημένα (ἐστὶ) with τὰ εἰρημένα κακὰ γέγονε. Heindorf (on *Crat.* 406 c) changed the full stop after ἔσται to a comma, and claimed this passage as a case of δέ standing for τε (cp. *Soph. Phil.* 1312). Ast substituted a quite meaningless γε for the τε. The text is probably sound, only the τε has been used out of its proper place; it belongs after γέγονε.

**a 6.** αἱ τῶν νέων ἀκολασίαι τε καὶ ὕβρεις: it is the respect for something outside oneself to which the law against theft and all other violations of personal and civic rights appeals. It is the absence of this respect, especially common in unbridled and overbearing youth, which is the greatest danger.

**a 7.** εἰς μέγιστα δέ, ὅταν εἰς ἱερὰ γίνωνται: i.e. that danger attacks the most vital part of the body politic when religion is attacked, and sacred places and sacred things are outraged. εἰς is the usual preposition for against with ὑβρίζειν. (Ast takes εἰς μέγιστα to be an adverbial phrase meaning "in the highest degree." Matthiae thought εἰς was an error, due to the repetition of the preceding syllable.)

**a 8 f.** κατὰ μέρη κοινὰ φυλετῶν . . . κεκοινωνηκότων, "ἅγια which are separately venerated by members of a φυλή who share them"; the δημόσια καὶ ἅγια being venerated by all citizens alike.

**885 a 2.** χωρὶς τῶν ἔμπροσθεν εἰρημένων, "in other ways than those specified in the last book"; these words go closely with ὑβρίζειν, and it is best to remove the comma before ὅταν.

**a 5.** τὸ πολιτικὸν . . . ἐκάστου τῶν πολιτῶν ὑβρισθέν: the previous reference in ἄγῃ ἢ φέρῃ ἢ χρήται to the property of magistrates indicates that the "civic right of individual citizens" here referred to is their right to private property.

**a 6.** δίκην ἐπικαλούμενον, "which calls for legal vindication" (not "retaliation" as Jowett). These five grades of offences depend for their heinousness on the dignity of the owners whose rights have been outraged.

**a 7.** εἰς κοινόν: an adverbial phrase meaning, "so as to be applicable to them all." (Stallb. proposes to reject εἰς.)—εἴρηται συλλήβδην: a general statement has been made in the previous book of the penalties awaiting all kinds of sacrilege, but a special "prelude" is needed, we are told, which will impress upon men the importance of the spirit which would restrain them from *any* act of impiety.

**b 1.** τε καί, "whether . . . or"; cp. 881 a 5.

**b 3.** τὸ παραμύθιον ὑποθεμένῳ κτλ.: the participle is, as often, the most significant word in the sentence; "and, before the law-giver ordains penalties, he must introduce our usual admonition." At 880 a 7 παραμύθιον was used as a descriptive synonym for προοίμιον, and at 923 c 2 both words are applied to the same thing.

**b 4.** ἔστω δὴ τόδε, "huiusmodi vero prohoemium sit" Fic.—θεοὺς εἶναι κατὰ νόμους: the mere belief in the existence of gods is not enough; it must be held, we are told in 887 b 7, ὡς θεοί τ' εἰσὶν καὶ ἀγαθοί, δίκην τιμῶντες διαφερόντως ἀνθρώπων, and this is what is meant here by the addition κατὰ νόμους. This idea is further emphasized by the almost synonymous use in the immediate context of the words ἄνομον and ἀσεβές. We should have expected ἄνομον to be applied to ἔργον and ἀσεβῆτι λόγον; their reverse use helps us to realize their interchangeability—"such as laws declare them to be." Cp. below 890 a 6 and b 7, and *Rep.* 365 e 2.

**b 6.** ἀλλά is equivalent to "if he does, it is because . . ." The order is οὐ(δεῖς) θεοὺς ἡγούμενος ἔργον ἀσεβὲς ἡργάσατο, ἀλλὰ ἐν δὴ τι τῶν τριῶν πάσχω. This threefold attitude of mind among the ἀσεβεῖς is described again at 888 c, and often elsewhere in this book; also at 948 c.

**b 8.** Cp. *Rep.* 365 e οἶοι θυσίαις τε καὶ εὐχολαῖς . . . παραέσθαι ἀναπειθόμενοι.—παραγομένους is in a subordinate causal relation to εὐπαραμυθίτους εἶναι.

**c 2.** ἐπακούσωμεν κτλ.: i.e. "let us first get to hear how, as I imagine, our scornful opponents state their case."

**c 3.** H. Richards would read λέξειν for λέγειν.

**c 5.** L and O<sup>2</sup> and A<sup>3</sup> preserve the correct εἴποιεν as against the εἴπομεν of A and O.—ἐρροχολοῦντες: the sceptics are satirical;

their demand for proof is ironical—merely their way of saying “you can’t *prove*: you only rely on *authority*.”

**c 7, 8.** Fic. adopted the alternative *νομίζουσιν* of the corrector of O and A for the *νομίζομεν* of AO.—In the following line Fic., in translating οἱ δὲ οἴους ὑμεῖς λέγετε which stands in the MSS., and in the first four editions, expands it into “alii nihil nostri curare, alii muneribus facile placari existiment.” He thought, probably, that these two classes of ἀσεβεῖς were not specified enough by οἴους ὑμεῖς λέγετε. Cornarius professed to have found in a MS. the Greek of these words in the form οἱ δὲ μηδὲν ἡμῶν φροντίζειν, οἱ δὲ εὐχαῖς παράγεσθαι, and these words were introduced into Steph.’s and some subsequent texts; these texts however still preserve the οἴους ὑμεῖς λέγετε, of which they are a manifest expansion. No known MS. has Cornarius’s addition.—καθάπερ ὑμεῖς ἡξιώκατε: i.e. above at 719 e 9 ff. and 857 c 4 ff.

**d 3.** λέγοντες: nom. κατὰ τὸ νοούμενον; cp. below, 908 a 4 and Heindorf and Stallb. on *Phaedr.* 241 d. Zürr., Herm., and Schneider put the comma after ὑμᾶς instead of before it. Steph. and Ast alter it to ἡμᾶς.

**e 1.** ἐξακείσθαι: sc. τὴν βλάβην or τὸ ἀδίκημα; cp. the use of ἐξιάσθαι with βλάβην at 879 a 5. Steph. says ἐξιάσθαι is a *var. lect.* here. Cp. the scholiast’s ἐξακείσθαι· ἐξιάσθαι, θεραπεύειν.

**e 2.** μὴ ἀγρίων ἀλλὰ ἡμέρων: a further reference to the two kinds of physicians of 719 e ff.

**e 4.** ἀλλ’ οὖν βελτίω πρὸς ἀληθείαν: i.e. “we do not ask you to excel the poets and orators in magnificence of language, only to convince us of the truth of what you say.” Fic. translates “ita doceatis ut etiam si non multo sublimiora quam alii, tamen veriora loquamini.”

**e 7.** ἀληθεύοντας; Cleinias catches at the πρὸς ἀλήθειαν; his ἀληθεύοντας is the most significant word in the sentence: “is it not the easiest thing in the world to speak the truth when you are saying that gods exist?” in other worlds “what truer thing could possibly be said?”

**886 a 1.** πῶς; “how (would you say so)?”

**a 2.** The καί before τὰ σύμπαντα, which the earlier texts reject, has the authority of Fic. and all the MSS. τὰ σύμπαντα here corresponds to the πάσης τῆς περιφορᾶς in the similar passage at *Phil.* 28 e 4.—Cleinias’s argument is: “there are all these marvellous and perfect celestial arrangements; they are not *men’s* work. Besides, there is the fact that all the world believes in gods.”—γῆ κτλ. are exclamatory nominatives.



**a 7.** αἰδοῦμαι: he will not use this word, as it would imply *respect* for the evil-doers.

**a 9.** Cornarius's emendation διαφθοράς for διαφορᾶς gives a possible sense—"the cause of their downfall." The MS. reading is equivalent to "the ground of their objection (to our belief)."—ἀλλ' ἡγείσθε κτλ.: in other words "you think that their impiety is nothing but a cloak for their licentious life, and that the *only* thing which makes them atheists is their longing for the unbridled indulgence of their passions."

**b 3.** τὸ δὲ τί: the τὸ δέ must be taken adverbially, as an alternative for ἀλλά. Cp. on 630 d 8. (Apelt, *Progr.* 1901, would read τί δ' ἔτι).

**b 4.** παντάπασιν probably qualifies οὐκ, and not ἔξω (as Schn. and Wagn.).

**b 7.** ἀμαθία . . . φρόνησις, "a very dangerous kind of folly which is counted the highest kind of wisdom."

**b 10 f.** οἱ παρ' ὑμῖν οὐκ εἰσὶν δι' ἀρετὴν πολιτείας, ὡς ἐγὼ μανθάνω, "which are not, I am told, to be found among you, thanks to the excellence of your civic life."

**c 2.** οἱ μὲν παλαιότατοι: the two chief hindrances to a true theology are (1) the old mythology, and (2) the new philosophy.—ὡς γέγονεν ἡ πρώτη φύσις, "how the first substance (of heaven and all else) came into being."

**c 4.** γενόμενοι τε ὡς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὠμίλησαν: the subject is α θεοί which is supplied in thought from θεογονίαν.

**c 4 ff.** ἃ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν . . . παλαιοῖς οὖσιν: many commentators have followed Heindorf in comparing this passage with the curiously similar passage at *Soph.* 243 a (where Plato is talking of what Aristotle, *Met.* 1000 a 18 calls τὰ μυθικῶς σοφίζόμενα—the fanciful descriptions of ἡ πρώτη φύσις and its method of working): ταῦτα δὲ πάντα εἰ μὲν ἀληθῶς τις ἢ μὴ τούτων εἴρηκε, χαλεπὸν καὶ πλημμελὲς οὕτω μεγάλα κλεινοῖς καὶ παλαιοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐπιτιμᾶν (where Heindorf must be right in taking μεγάλα to be an adverbial qualification of κλεινοῖς). We may translate our present passage: "as to whether these descriptions do any other sort of good or harm to their hearers, it is not easy to pass judgement, in the case of men of such antiquity." παλαιοῖς probably belongs to the mythologizers, not to their hearers.

**c 6.** εἰς γονέων . . . τιμᾶς: cp. *Rep.* 378 a 1.

**c 8.** οὔτε ὡς τὸ παράπαν ὄντως εἴρηται: it is difficult to decide whether τὸ παράπαν qualifies οὐ(τε) or ὄντως, i.e. whether he means to say distinctly that the descriptions are *not in any respect*

true (entirely untrue), or to say that they are not entirely true. The former suits the passage better; the nearest English to it in that case would be "nor that they are at all true."

d 2. τὰ δὲ τῶν νέων ἡμῖν καὶ σοφῶν αἰτιαθήτω ὅπη κακῶν αἰτία, "but our men of modern times and their philosophers must be brought to book for the mischief they do." Schneider alone among translators rightly takes ὅπη to be the dependent interrogative.

d 4. ἐμοῦ γὰρ καὶ σοῦ, ὅταν . . . λέγωμεν: a bold-faced anacoluthon for ἐμοῦ κ. σ. λεγόντων.

d 6. ἡλιόν τε . . . καὶ γῆν ὡς θεοὺς καὶ θεῖα ὄντα: Stallb. is wrong in putting a comma after γῆν; the construction is the same as that at d 8 and 643 d 8; the one side say that the sun, etc., are *divine*, the other that they are earth and stones.

d 7. The subject of λέγοιεν is οἱ νέοι (from τῶν νέων at d 2).

e 2. περιπεπεμμένα: see Starkie's note on Ar. *Vesp.* 668, where he cps. Hamlet's "with devotion's visage And pious action we do sugar o'er The devil himself."

e 4 f. νῦν δὲ ὄντες πάμπολλοι τυγχάνουσιν ἔτι χαλεπώτερον ἂν εἶη: this is the reading of A and O, and of the corrector of L. All texts but Schneider's adopt L's ὅτε for ὄντες—probably rightly. The account given of ὄντες is that some scribe thought that τυγχάνουσιν demanded ὄντες, and put it in; that subsequently it ousted ὅτε. Cleinias's πάμπολλοι instead of a simple πολλοί seems to be a little bit of pettish exaggeration. He has only just learnt the existence of such λόγοι, and nothing in the Athenian's words has hinted that they are *very* numerous. (Fic. translates by *plures*.)—ἔτι χαλεπώτερον ἂν εἶη, "it will be a more troublesome business still." (Ritter, keeping ὄντες, would read <ὁ> ἔτι χαλ. ἂν εἶη.)

e 7. Ast rightly takes ἐν to be the usual ἐν (*apud*) of the court which judges. Stallb. apparently thinks τινος ἐν ἀσ. ἀνθ. means "one of the impious ones."

e 8. φεύγουσι περὶ τῆς νομοθεσίας λέγουσιν: the text is doubtless sound (as against Winckelmann's ψέγουσι or Orelli's περιττάς), but is not to be defended either in Ast's way (who translates φεύγουσι by "qui nos aversantur") or Stallb.'s (who translates "qui effugere student"). Schneider was the first to see that φεύγουσι does not agree with ἀσεβέσιν, but is dat. after λέγουσιν—"men who tell those who are on their defence against the Law that we have no right to lay it down that gods exist."

887 a 1. ὡς ὄντων θεῶν: doubts have arisen about this con-

struction. Ast takes it as we must undoubtedly take λέγεις ὥς . . . φοιτῶντος at 624a 7, i.e. as = θεοὺς εἶναι. Schneider translates: "quod ita leges feramus quasi dii sint" (and so Stallb.). Here I think Ast right.

a 4. ἐκταθείς: Stallb. says this is equivalent to εἰ ἐκταθείη; in that case the following εἰ clause is an (informal) expansion or explanation of ἐκταθείς. Schneider more correctly treats ἐκταθείς γίγνοιτο as equivalent to ἐκταθείη.

a 4-8. εἰ τοῖσιν . . . νομοθετοῖμεν, "if we were, to begin with (τὰ μὲν), duly to expound in argument to the would-be impious the points on which they said we ought to speak—and were (so) to put the fear of God into my accuser—and then only after making the accuser shrink (from impiety) were to start making the necessary enactments" (reading τὸν δέ in a 6). Ast, Bekker, Schneid., Zürr., Wagn., and Stallb. retain Steph.'s τὰ δέ for the MS. τὸν δέ which Burnet alone, of editors since Steph., preserves. If the MSS. are right, we must suppose that τὸν δέ refers to the κατηγορήσαντός τινος of e 7 above; but Winckelmann's τῶν δέ (i.e. τῶν νόμων), while it comes much nearer the MSS. than Steph.'s τὰ δέ, is otherwise attractive; for it gets rid of the necessity for distinguishing between the accuser and τοῖσιν ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἄσεβειν. We should then translate: "and converted them to the fear of the laws, and only after making them shrink from what they had wanted to do, etc." I would certainly accept τῶν, as Herm. has done.

a 7. Fic., Corn., Steph., Ast, Stallb., and Burnet are doubtless right in taking ὅσα πρέπει with νομοθετοῖμεν; the earliest texts, and Schneider and Wagner take it with δυσχεραίνειν; Herm. leaves the comma out altogether.

b 3. τὸ λεγόμενον: we may conjecture that οὐδεὶς σε ἐπείγων διώκει was a proverbial saying in the general sense of "there's no hurry."

b 5. διαφέρει δ' οὐ σμικρόν, "it is of great importance."

b 8. ὑπέρ, "for," "in the interest of." To put it another way: "Not only are the gods κατὰ νόμον, but the laws are κατὰ τοὺς θεούς."

c 2. μηδὲν δυσχεράναντες μηδὲ ἐπειχθέντες: two things they must avoid—repugnance to work, and impatience.

c 3. μηδὲν ἀποθέμενοι, "unreservedly" (Jowett); i.e. devoting our whole energies to the task.

c 5 ff. εὐχὴν μοι . . . λέγειν, "as you are so enthusiastic about it, we had better ask a blessing and fall to without delay." Stallb.

cites *Phil.* 61 b 11 and *Tim.* 27 c as instances of the practice of invoking divine aid at the beginning of any undertaking. Cp. also 893 b 1 ff.

c 7. *θυμῶ*: the reference is to the *προθύμως* in the preceding sentence, though the speaker knowingly uses the expression with a change of meaning.—From here on to 888 a 2 he is saying: “how can we speak politely to those who contemptuously (and irrationally) reject the heartily cherished beliefs of all the world around them, of which beliefs they are perfectly conscious?”

d 2. *νῦν οὖν* is the reading of all extant MSS., and of the first printed editions. Steph. says he found somewhere (probably in Cornarius) the reading *νῦν οὖν οὐ*. This opened his eyes to the fact that *νῦν* belongs to *γίγνονται*, and that *οὖν* is a mistake for *οὐ*. Fic. and others, who began the fresh sentence with *νῦν οὖν*, had of course to put in “*at vero*” before their translation of *τούτων δὴ . . . καταφρονήσαντες κτλ.* at e 7, and translate *πειθόμενοι* by “*inducere animum potuerunt.*” (Stallb. puts a colon instead of a comma after *νῦν*, holding that *οὐ πειθόμενοι* does not furnish a qualification of the action described in the words *αἴτιοι γέγνηνται*, but puts a fresh point. This, however, does not fit in well with the resumption of the main sentence at *τούτων δὴ* (e 7).)

d 4. *οἷον ἐν ἐπιδαῖς μετὰ τε παιδιᾶς καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς λεγομένων*, “when they were as good as chanted over them, sometimes in sportive, sometimes in serious mood.” Apparently for variety’s sake, the speaker abandons the grammatical construction, and instead of the regular *οὓς ἤκουον λεγομένους* substitutes a one-sided gen. abs., like the *θρόντων* (“when sacrifice is being offered”) in d 7. (Steph. alters it into the more regular *λεγομένους*.)

d 6 f. *ᾧψεις . . . ἐπομένας αὐτοῖς*: as Stallb. says, these words describe the scenic or mystic representations often accompanying sacrifices. He refers to the ceremonial eating of honey and a fig at the festival of Hermes, described by Plut. *De Is. et Os.* ch. 68 (p. 378 b), where he talks of the *δρώμενα* as well as of the *λεγόμενα* accompanying sacrifices, and the mystic sacrifice of the pig described at *Rep.* 378 a.—*πραττομένας θρόντων*, “acted during the sacrifice.” (Stallb., Schneider, and Wagner take *θρόντων* to be a possessive genitive depending on *σπουδῇ*.)

d 7 f. W. R. Paton conjectures, with great probability, that *τε* has been lost before *τῇ*, and Ast would insert *καί* before *ὥς*. Both omissions are palaeographically explicable, and the conjunctions—especially the *τε*—would make it easier for us to feel that the



accusatives γονέας, ἔσπουδακώτας and προσδιαλεγόμενους are governed by the previous ἀκούοντες and ὀρῶντες. Correcting hands in L and O changed these accusatives into genitives (and so Steph. and Bekker). The scholiast's note directs us to suppose these accusatives to be governed by the repeated ἀκούοντές τε καὶ ὀρῶντες at e 3. (Herm. brackets ἔσπουδακώτας, invoking the analogy of the spurious ὀρῶς at 900 a 5. Schneider brackets ἀκούοντές τε καὶ ὀρῶντες at e 3.)—ἐν σπουδῇ <τε> τῇ μεγίστῃ . . . ἔσπουδακώτας is an intensification of the μετὰ σπουδῆς of d 4—"in a mood of entire seriousness."

e 2. ἀνατέλλοντός τε ἡλίου: Stallb., besides comparing Hes. *O. et D.* 339, reminds us how Socrates, on emerging from his twenty-four hours' meditation at Potidaea, said his prayers to the rising sun.

e 9. Cobet would read νοῦν for νοῦ.

888 a 3. τοὺς μέν: i.e. the οἱ ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἀσεβεῖν of 887 a 4. It was mainly, though not solely, the ἀκρατεία ἡδονῶν τε καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν (886 a 9) which drove them to impiety.

a 4. There is nothing wrong about ἡμῶν, to which Corn., Steph., Ast, and Winckelmann object. It pleases the Ath. to represent his hostile audience, and his partizans, as forming one body, actuated by two kinds of infatuation. Wagner cps. the similar ἡμῶν of 917 b 5 and 959 a 7 and b 1. (Jowett translates ἡμῶν by "mankind"; Ast changes it to ἡμᾶς, omitting the following τοὺς; Winckelmann changes ἡμῶν to ἡττωμένους.)

a 5. πρόρρησις: like παραμύθιον at 885 b 3, a variant for προοίμιον.

b 1. μεταβαλόντα τίθεσθαι is more expressive than a simple μεταβαλεῖν, or μετατίθεσθαι.

b 2. εἰς τότε: i.e. "till you are a good deal older." This meaning of εἰς τότε is derived from the words ὁ προῖὼν χρόνος; cp. 830 b 2.

b 4. The ἢ μή, which Fic. and Jowett omit in translation, we may suppose to have been spoken after a slight pause, and in an ominous tone. It is short for "or, if your mind is *not* right on the subject, *ill*."

b 6. πρῶτοι καὶ πρῶτον: a pleonasm like the ὕστερον and ὑστέραν of 889 c 7, and the common ταύτη καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα of 889 c 2.

b 7. ταύτην δόξαν . . . ἔσχετε: Cod. Ric. and Ast would read ταύτην τὴν δ. as at c 2 below; Stallb. rightly protests. The omission of the article makes δόξαν predicative: "to come to this

as your opinion"; cp. *Rep.* 338 e θέμεναι δὲ ἀπέφηναν τοῦτο δίκαιον τοῖς ἀρχομένοις εἶναι, τὸ σφίσι ξυμφέρων.

**b 9.** An early mistake of παραγεγονός for παραγεγονός caused confusion here. The early editions—as late as Ast—altered τόδε to τὸ δέ. According to the margin of O some MSS. wrote παραγεγονός, leaving αὐτῶν πολλοῖς to take care of itself. Fic., and other early interpreters, translate "quod vero plurimis illorum contigit tibi narrabo." Bekker first restored the MS. παραγεγονός. Even Stallb., in his early edd., preserves παραγεγονός.

**c 1.** Burnet prints πολλοῖσι. Bekker says he found the final ι in A, but it is not there; the last letter of the word is written σ.

**c 4.** τὰ δύο . . . πάθη, "those two other states of mind"; τὰ is strongly demonstrative. Fic. translates πάθη by morbi.

**c 6.** τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο: μετὰ is next to, or besides, and the whole phrase is equivalent to "thirdly."

**c 8 f.** κατὰ δύναμιν goes closely with σαφές. The δόγμα is going to become "as clear as possible" to him.

**c 9.** Burnet's comma between περιμενεῖς and ἀνασκοπῶν would be better away. The time of waiting for enlightenment (during which no impiety can be committed) is to be spent in investigation.

**d 1.** πυνθανόμενος is subordinate to ἀνασκοπῶν, and explains the process in detail.—The mention of the legislator in d 2 and 3 regularizes the position now to be assumed by the Ath. of a lecturer on the philosophy of religion.

**d 8.** λελήθαμεν δ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοῖς: the first person is "rhetorically" used. The Ath. had not really forgotten the following infidel argument. A less polite controversialist would have said "you don't see, etc."—εἰς θαυμαστὸν λόγον ἐμπεπτωκότες: ἐμπίπτειν εἰς is much like the familiar modern English "to be up against," i.e. "to find ourselves confronted by."

**e 4 ff.** γιγνόμενα and γενόμενα and γενησόμενα are not merely (as Jowett) adjectival qualifications of πάντα ("past, present, and future"). ἐστὶ γιγνόμενα stands for γίγνεται, and so with the other participles.—At the similar passage above at 709 b 7 ff. θεός takes the place occupied by φύσις here, and more than that; for τύχη and καιρός on the one hand, and τέχνη on the other, are there declared to be auxiliary subordinates of the divine power.—τέχνη is design, and we may represent the main subject of the following disquisition to be "is design in the universe confined to man?" If so, all products of τέχνη, including law and religion, take a very low position in the universe. Cp. *Sophistes* 265 c.

**e 6.** Eusebius and O<sup>2</sup> have τύχη where the MSS. have τέχνη,

and *τέχνην* where they have *τύχην*. This squares better with the following arrangement, but it is probably a scribe's correction.

**889 a 1.** τοὺς ἐκείθεν : Stallb. cps. τῶν ἐκείθεν at *Orat.* 403 d 8, but perhaps there is more than a mere "on that side" in ἐκείθεν. Wagner translates "jene die von dieser Ansicht ausgehen."

**a 6.** παρὰ φύσεως λαμβάνουσιν : Anaxagoras's Νοῦς has no place in the philosophical system here combated. Φύσις is as ἄψυχος—as blind in its working—as τύχη.

**a 8.** Eusebius's σμικρότατα (for the MS. σμικρότερα) makes the statement too strong. (Fic. "minora omnia.")

**b 3.** τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα σώματα are the composite bodies made out of the original physical elements—still by the same blind soulless agencies.—περί with γῆς κτλ. is only a variety for the simple genitive. Stallb. cps. *Tim.* 35 a 4 τῆς τε ταύτου φύσεως αὐτὸ περί, where Archer-Hind and Burnet reject αὐτὸ περί. In both passages the simple genitive would be a quite possible reading, but the two περί's support each other.

**b 4.** Probably διὰ τούτων stands for διὰ φύσεως καὶ τύχης, though Stallb., like all other interpreters apparently, says διὰ τούτων refers to the primary elements—fire, water, earth, and air. Fic. even translates by "ex istis."—The mention of the four elements suggests that it was not the Atomistic system, of either Leucippus or Democritus, against which the Ath.'s arguments are specially directed. It is against any system which denies ψυχὴ or νοῦς to have had any share in creation that he is fighting, and though the arguments put into the mouths of his opponents remind us now of one school, now of another, he probably had no particular school in mind.

**b 5 ff.** τύχη . . . τῇ τῆς δυνάμεως : these words include all the chance circumstances under which the natural vigour or impulse of the separate elements—or secondary bodies—might act or react on each other. The state of motion (φερόμενα) is assumed. It is also assumed, in the οἰκείως πως, that each individual is looking for and needing its opposite. Cp. Hippocrates, *De flatibus* 1 (iv. 92) ἐνὶ δὲ συντόμῳ λόγῳ τὰ ἐναντία τῶν ἐναντίων ἐστὶν ἰήματα. The juxtaposition of ἕκαστα and ἐκάστων suggests the *interplay* of forces and affinities. A further assumption is made, perhaps unconsciously, in the ἐξ ἀνάγκης of c 1.—ἡ is *as*, and its antecedent is ταύτη in c 2. (Wagner makes τύχη its antecedent.)

**c 2.** Schneider and Burnet alone print οὕτως—the reading of AL and Eus. All other texts give οὕτω—presumably the reading of O.

c 3. οὐρανόν, "universe."—τὸν οὐρανὸν κτλ. "resumes" the ἕκαστα of b 5.

c 5. οὐ διὰ νοῦν, "no thanks to mind." διὰ c. acc. here comes very near in meaning to διὰ c. gen.—Eusebius's simple οὐ seems far more in place than the MS. οὐδέ, and is even preferable to the οὐ δέ printed by Stallb. and Burnet. Fic. "non per intellectum."

c 7. ὕστερον . . . ὑστέραν: cp. πρῶτοι καὶ πρῶτον 888 b 6.—θνητὴν ἐκ θνητῶν: a common locution, as Ast remarks, comparing Andoc. *De myst.* § 109 ἀγαθοὶ ἐξ ἀγαθῶν ὄντες, and Hom. *Ξ* 472 οὐ κακὸς . . . οὐδὲ κακῶν ἐξ; cp. also Soph. *Phil.* 384 and 874, and St. Paul's ἐκ γῆς χοϊκός 1 *Cor.* xv. 47.

d 1. The adverbial ὕστερα does not seem to occur elsewhere in Plato, and is rare elsewhere (*Od.* π 319). It seems to be used here so as to avoid the repetition of the ὕστερον of the preceding line.—Eusebius avoided the common mistake of transcribers of writing—as did the MSS. here—παιδείας for παιδιάς.—οὐ σφόδρα: Fic. translates "non penitus," Schneider "non admodum"; Wagner sees that this is not strong enough, and renders by "gar nicht sehr." If Wagner had left out the "sehr," he would, I think, have been quite right. As at *Phaedo* 100 a 9, οὐ σφόδρα means "very much not," "not at all." There is absolutely no reality about these productions of art, if considered as the things they represent; there is no φύσις in them.

d 2. συγγενῇ ἑαυτῶν: Schneider and Jowett take ἑαυτῶν to be equivalent to ἀλλήλων—"having an affinity to one another"—but clearly ἑαυτῶν refers to τεχνῶν. The Ath. forgets that he has only spoken of "Art," in the singular, and has in his mind the separate "arts," which he is just going to mention. The productions of Art are akin to the arts which produce them, in being θνητὰ ἐκ θνητῶν, and not φύσει. It is not relevant to the present argument to say that the productions of the different arts are "akin to each other."

d 4 f. συνέριθοι: the other arts, such as the dramatic, and the descriptive, are "fellow-labourers" with painting and music, inasmuch as, like them, they aim at representing, or imitating something in a sportive humour—to amuse, that is, either the artist or his public. The artist is not making anything, he is only copying. This notion is further emphasized here by the contrasted σπονδαῖον, which denotes a real, serious, business-like something done.—αἱ δὲ . . . γυμναστική: Ast was the first to see that we ought to read αἱ and not αἰ. "But it is only those arts which



help Nature with their power—such as the arts of medicine, agriculture, and gymnastic—which *do* (ἄρα) produce some real result.” αἷ τι κ. σπ. γεν. τ. τ. is predicate, = σπουδαίας, and ταύτας (as Ritter says) is subject; the comma after τεχνῶν should be removed.—ἄρα is equivalent to “as they certainly do.”—ἐκοίνωσαν is a gnomic aorist. The same three arts are classified together at *Symp.* 186 e 4.—Probably the εἴ (before τι) of O<sup>2</sup> and Eus. was inserted by a scribe who did not see that αἷ was a relative.

d 7. Nobody but H. Richards has challenged the impossible τὴν πολιτικὴν. He would read τῆς πολιτικῆς. This provides a perfectly natural construction for both σμικρόν τι μέρος, and τὸ πολὺ.—σμικρόν τι μέρος: men's bodies and minds are φύσει, and statecraft concerns itself with these, but the school whose arguments the Ath. is here giving represent most of the statesman's system as a mere ποικίλμα of human life. Cp. *Eur. Oycl.* 338 οἷ δὲ τοὺς νόμους | ἔθεντο ποικίλλοντες ἀνθρώπων βίον | κλαίειν ἄνωγα.

e 1. *pāsan* is not “in the main” (as Wagner), but “altogether.” Whatever branch of πολιτικὴ had a “natural” foundation—on that point cp. above, 690 b 8, where *the rule of the stronger* is emphatically pronounced to be κατὰ φύσιν—νομοθεσία, the statement that certain things are *right* and certain things *wrong*, has none at all.—θέσις is probably not used in its *legal* sense of *enactment*, but (as at *Rep.* 335 a 2) in the philosophical sense of *affirmation, definition, assumption*.

e 3. *πρῶτόν φασιν*, “begin by asserting.” It is just this νομοθεσία which, the Ath. feels, needs the divine sanction (cp. 885 b 4 ff.), and the *first* step taken by the opponents of law is the removal of the belief in the divine.

e 4. ἄλλη: Fic. and all texts, except those of Schneider, Herm., Wagn., Zür., and Burnet, have adopted the reading of the first hand of L, which is ἄλλοις, whereas ἄλλη is supported by the authority of AO, Eus. and the second hand of L. Cod. Ric. has ἄλλοις.—καὶ τούτους ἄλλους ἄλλη, “and that these gods are different in different places.” (Jowett makes τούτους refer to νόμοις, so turning the statement into an empty truism.)

e 5. Another ill-attested variant is the ἐκάστοις of the margin of L and O, for ἐαυτοῖσι. The Zür. editors actually print this. As Herm. says, there is no question of an agreement between the various *states*, but only of one between the lawgivers of each single state; ἐαυτοῖσι is equivalent to ἀλλήλοισι.—The man-made

Justice, the sceptics said, was provided with an equally man-made Divine Protector.

e 6. φύσει μὲν ἄλλα εἶναι: *physical* beauty is assumed to be φύσει, but when καλός is used in a *moral* sense, it is a matter of θέσις.

e 7. The δῆ, which all texts print except those of Schneider and Herm., has the support of Eus. and the second hand of O. It is significant, as calling special attention to the sceptics' claim that δικαιοσύνη is θέσει, not φύσει, and is more likely to have been omitted by mistake than inserted.—οὐδὲ τὸ παράπαν seems to be a strengthened form of οὐ τὸ παράπαν. Cp. οὔποτε and οὐδέποτε.—ἀμφισβητοῦντας supposes the previous construction to have been τοὺς νομοθετούμενους φασὶ τίθεσθαι, "are disputing together and changing their opinions all the time."

890 a 1. τότε κύρια εἶναι: i.e. the laws of morality have no authority whatever until such time as they happen to be decided upon by this quarrelsome and vacillating crew of legislators. (Cp. *Theaet.* 172 b 5.)

a 2 f. νόμοις ἀλλ' οὐ δῆ τινι φύσει: Diogenes Laertius ii. 16 tells us that Archelaus ἔλεγε . . . τὸ δίκαιον εἶναι καὶ τὸ αἰσχρὸν οὐ φύσει ἀλλὰ νόμῳ. While accepting many of the doctrines of his master Anaxagoras, Archelaus made νοῦς not an external power but an energy inherent in nature. (Ritter and Preller, §§ 169–171, Gomperz, *Griech. Denker*, vol. i. ed. 1, p. 304.)—ταῦτ' ἐστίν, . . . ἅπαντα ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν παρὰ νέοις ἀνθρώποις: if this reading is sound (and I believe it is), we ought to take σοφῶν closely with παρὰ νέοις ἀνθρ.; "all these pronouncements come from men whom the young think and call wise." For this use of παρὰ ("in the judgement of") cp. *Prot.* 337 b 5 εὐδοκιμεῖν μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν παρὰ ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν ἀκουόντων ἄνευ ἀπάτης, Aristoph. *Lys.* 10 ὅτι παρὰ μὲν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν νενομισμεθα εἶναι πανοῦργοι, and Isocr. *Eueg.* § 74 παρ' οἷς κρεῖττόν ἐστιν ἢ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν εὐδοκιμεῖν. Wagner, however, and Stallb. and Ritter much prefer Schneider's emendation ταῦτ' ἐστίν, . . . ἅ ἀπαντῶ, ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν πάρα (so Schneid. and Stallb.), νέοις ἀνθρώποις. (The anastrophe is doubtful; Ritter reads παρὰ.)

a 4. ἰδιωτῶν: as at *Phaedr.* 258 d and *Symp.* 178 b, ἰδιώτης means a *prose-writer*.

a 5. ὅτι τις ἄν: J. Wackernagel (*Über einige antike Anredeformen*, reviewed *Berl. Ph. W.*, 6 Sept. 1913, p. 1140) establishes it that the order of the words εἴ τις ἄν, ὅν τις ἄν, ὅτι τις ἄν,

for *ἐάν τις, ὃν ἂν τις οἶ ὅτι ἂν τις* is a Dorism (*αἶ τις κα*), to be found however in late Greek—e.g. Plut. *Tib. Gracch.* 15 *εἴ τις ἂν ἀμάρτη αὐτῶν, ζῶσα κατορύσσεται*. It occurs at Arist. *Rhet.* 1358 a 23 *ὅσῳ τις ἂν βέλτιον ἐκλέγεται*; cp. above, 862 d 1, below, 920 d 1, and 933 e 6. Possibly Plato owes this temporary lapse to his residence in Syracuse.—*ὅτι τις ἂν νικᾷ βιαζόμενος*: *ὅτι* is very general; “any claim that violence can enforce.” It may be a possession won (though Fic. is wrong to take that to be the definite meaning of the words) or it may be a position of command over others, or an arbitrary demand of any kind. It is, in other words, the *τὸ τοῦ κρείττονος συμφέρον* of *Rep.* 338 c ff. The Ath. evidently has in mind the Pindaric passage already twice referred to by him—690 b, and 715 a—where he tells that Pindar legalized club-law, and declared it to be *κατὰ φύσιν*.—*ὅθεν*, as Stallb. says, is “as the result of this teaching.”

a 6. *ἐμπίπτειν* is the regular word for the incidence of a disease.—*οἷους . . . δεῖν*, and *οἷους φησὶν ὁ νόμος* at b 7 are expansions of the *κατὰ νόμους* of 885 b 4.

a 7. *στάσεις τε διὰ ταῦτα ἐλκόντων*: all texts but Burnet's put a comma before *ἐλκόντων* (Winck. would put it before *διὰ*); i.e. they treat *ἐλκόντων* as a gen. abs. with which *τούτων* (i.e. *τῶν σοφῶν*) has to be supplied. It is simpler, with B., to regard it as depending on *στάσεις*—“factious oppositions (to the laws) of men who on this ground tempt (the young) etc.”—The *δέ* (for *τε*) in L and O was probably due to the following syllable.

a 8. *ὅς ἐστιν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ*, “*quae revera . . . sit*” (Schneider); the subj. elegantly replaces quotation marks.

b 2. *δημοσίᾳ πόλεσιν*, “to cities as communities.” *δημοσίᾳ* and *ἰδίῳ* are parallel in idea, but not in grammatical construction.—*τε* has been attracted out of its natural position by the *καί*.

b 4. *πάλαι*: the fact that this condition was already of long standing made it the more dangerous to neglect.

b 5. L's *πάντα* for *στάντα* is a curious mistake; if it was written intentionally, why did not the writer reject the *ὡς* in the next line?

b 6. *διανοηθήσονται δοξάζοντες* is a notable pleonasm.

b 7. *τοιούτους οἷους φησὶν ὁ νόμος*: cp. 885 b 4 and 890 a 6.

b 8. *ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος*: for variety's sake he says in a parenthesis (from *καὶ περὶ* to *γράφων*, as Burnet makes it) that “the case is the same” with the great questions of aesthetics, philosophy, and conduct. This arrangement, however, seems to necessitate agreement with Steph. that Plato wrote *ὅσα τε*, and not, as all the

MSS. have it, ὅσα δέ. This last reading seems to have sprung from the idea that the great philosophical questions, which were spoken of in b 6 f. as questions of διάνοια or δόξα, are put into a different class from questions of *right and wrong*, which are questions of *conduct* (πράττειν c 2). Conformably to this idea Schneider (the only editor besides Burnet who has failed to adopt Steph.'s emendation of δέ to τε) puts only a comma after νόμος, and a colon after λόγος. With Burnet's arrangement the δέ is inconsistent. (F.H.D. prefers γε.)

c 1. ὅσα τε stands for καὶ περὶ πάντων ὅσα.—οὕτω, the antecedent to ὁππῆρ, qualifies διανοομένους, not πράττειν (ταῦτα); men are to act from a conception which accords with that of the lawgiver.

c 3. ὅς δ' αὖν . . . δεῖν resumes, in an irregular form, the sentence begun at b 6.

c 7. ἔχειν προσάπτοντα : a periphrasis for προσάπτειν (? reject ἔχειν).

c 8. ἡμεροῦν stands for ὥστε ἡμεροῦν; cp. 756 e 3 and 917 e 6 ἐν στήλῃ γράψαντες νόμους εἶναι . . . μηνυτὰς σαφεῖς.

d 2. κάμνειν, "to faint."

d 3. τόν γε ἄξιον καὶ σμικροῦ νομοθέτην : for the phrase cp. 630 c, 647 a, and 663 d.—For πᾶσαν φωνὴν ἰέναι cp. *Euthydem.* 293 a, Demosth. *De cor.* 301 οἷας τότε ἡφίει φωνὰς ὁ Φίλιππος, and for an imitation of it *Lysis* 222 b ὁ δὲ Ἰπποθάλης ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς παντοδαπὰ ἡφίει χρώματα.

d 4 ff. τῷ παλαιῷ νόμῳ ἐπικουρον γίνεσθαι λόγῳ ὥς εἰσὶν θεοὶ . . . καὶ δὴ καὶ νόμῳ αὐτῷ βοηθηῆσαι καὶ τέχνῃ, ὥς ἐστὸν φύσει : Winckelmann must be right in rejecting νόμῳ in d 4. Is it possible that, after saying (τὸν νομοθέτην δεῖ) τῷ παλαιῷ νόμῳ ἐπικουρον γίνεσθαι, he could immediately add καὶ δὴ καὶ νόμῳ αὐτῷ βοηθηῆσαι? The sceptics have attacked (1) *the gods*, and said that they do not exist, and (2) *Law*, and the *τέχνη* which produces Law, and said that they are both inferior to φύσις. Cleinias says that what the νομοθέτης has to do is (1) to prove that the "old traditional gods" exist, and (2) that νόμος and τέχνη spring from φύσις, or something not inferior to φύσις.—αὐτῷ in d 6 is added to mark νόμος as the special protégé of the νομοθέτης who makes it. (O. Apelt, *Progr.* 1901, would for παλαιῷ νόμῳ read παλαιονμένῳ "antiquated," "suffering from old age."—Stallb., Jowett, and Wagner make the ὥς clause depend on νόμῳ—for which Orelli would read νομίμῳ—Fic. and Schneider make it depend on λόγῳ.)

d 6. ὥς ἐστὸν φύσει ἢ φύσεως οὐχ ἥττον MSS.; the neut. sing. is a strange predicate to ἐστόν. Hermann's ἥττονι for ἥττον not



only mends the grammar, but improves the sense, as providing a better alternative to the statement that νόμος and τέχνη are φύσει.

d 8. I am strongly inclined to accept Stallb.'s ὥς for ὅν; it suits πιστεύω better, and brings this passage exactly into line with the two similar passages which he quotes—*Rep.* 424 c 6, 530 d 8.—φαίνη: Cleinias seems to be referring to the οὐ διὰ νοῦν of 889 c 5, which suggests a view antagonistic to that of the sceptics.

e 1. ᾧ . . . Κλεινία, τί δ'; to the instances given by Stallb. on *Theages* 127 c of a δέ coming after a voc. may be added Aesch. *P.V.* 3 "Ἡφαιστε, σοὶ δὲ χρὴ μέλειν ἐπιστολάς.—The οὐ belongs to both clauses; he gives two objections: (1) it is difficult to make a mere popular statement the basis of a philosophical argument, and (2) such an argument must needs extend to a great length.—The dependence of συνακολουθεῖν on χαλεπά is peculiar, inasmuch as it is an intransitive verb, and it has an instrumental dat. accompanying it. (In the interpretation of συνακολουθεῖν λόγοις I follow Fic. and Wagn.—"prosequi rationibus," "mit Gründen zu begleiten." Other interpreters take συνακολουθεῖν to be used as at *Phil.* 25 c 2 in the sense of follow, grasp an argument. They, none of them, however, give a satisfactory account of λόγοις—Stallb. "difficiliora quam ut omnes assequantur et intelligant disputationem.")

e 2. πρὸς πλῆθι occurs at *Soph.* 268 b in the same sense as εἰς πλῆθι here.

e 4. All the old texts, and all the new ones except Zür., Wagn., and Stallb., prefer A's δέ to the δαί of LO and A<sup>2</sup>.

e 6 ff. The usual chiasmic arrangement: Cleinias's first remark, down to ὑπομενοῦμεν, answers the second of the Ath.'s objections, that of the excessive length of speech demanded. He then turns to the former objection. "Such a philosophical argument," he says, "would be of the greatest assistance to the wise lawgiver. When once the ordinances of Law are put on record in writing, they stay written (ἡρεμεῖ). Never mind if a man misunderstands them at first sight, he can study them till he does understand them; and however long the sermon on this text, if it does good, everybody is bound to help to provide it."—A's δὴν for μὴν must be due to familiarity with καὶ δῆ.

e 7. Jowett takes διότι to stand for ὅτι "the fact that"; the only Platonic (?) instance of such use is *Ep.* i. 309 d 5.

891 a 2. Ast, Wagn., and Stallb. understand ἡρεμεῖ to state a circumstance which is a disadvantage to the λόγοι, and translate by "silent."—"they can't answer questions"; Stallb. quotes *Prot.*

329 a, and *Phaedr.* 275 c to that effect. Ritter points out that Cleinias evidently mentions the trait, whatever it is, as an *advantage*: "they are always there, and always the same." The general sense of the passage is: "neither *difficulty* nor *length* ought to deter us; difficulty may be overcome, in the case of what is written, by re-perusal, length ought not to be urged in the face of the importance of the subject." Hence neither can *Phaedr.* 275 c be regarded as a forerunner of this passage, nor *Ep.* vii. 344 c as a re-echo of it. (Cp. Shorey, *Class. Phil.* vol. ix. p. 270.) Also it is not Plato, but Cleinias who is speaking.

b 2. οἱ τοιοῦτοι λόγοι are the sceptical arguments detailed above.

b 3. L and O<sup>2</sup> have preserved the correct reading in οὐδέν ἄν as against the οὐδένα of A and O.—L has the less expressive pres. part. ἐπαμνόντων.

b 8. For Eusebius's ἀλλά γε δὴ ought we not to read ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ?

c 2 ff. The important words in this preliminary statement of the sceptics' view are πρῶτα and ὕστερον. They lead up to the definite charge of error made at e 4–9.

c 3. τὴν φύσιν ὀνομάζειν ταῦτα αὐτά: Burnet (*Early Gk. Ph.*<sup>2</sup> p. 12) says "it has never been clearly laid down that the early cosmologists by φύσις meant 'a permanent primary substance.'" In support of this proposition he refers to this passage, and to *Arist. Phys.* 193 a 9 ff., where we read διόπερ οἱ μὲν γῆν, οἱ δὲ πῦρ, οἱ δὲ ἀέρα φασίν, οἱ δὲ ὕδωρ, οἱ δὲ ἔνια τούτων, οἱ δὲ πάντα ταῦτα τὴν φύσιν εἶναι τῶν ὄντων, also to *Met.* 1014 b 26 ff. At 892 c 2 below, however, Plato shows that he at all events credits his opponents with a more extended use of the term—implying *generative power*.

c 4. οὐ κινδυνεύειν: he here corrects his former κινδυνεύει . . . ἡγείσθαι at c 1 f.

c 7 ff. ἀρ' οὖν . . . ζητημάτων, "have we really found what you may call the fountain of error on the part of all the men who have ever investigated the origin of matter?"

c 9 f. οὐ γὰρ δὴ σμικρόν γε τὸ διαφέρον, "it would make a great difference."

d 2 f. μηδὲ εἶ τοῖς λόγοις ἀλλ' ἐξημαρτημένως χρώμενοι, "not only did not argue well, but argued badly." Cp. above on 876 b 3 μηδὲ σιγῶντα ἀλλὰ θορύβον μεστά.—Eusebius has fortunately preserved for us the right reading εἶ as against the senseless αἶ of the MSS. Fic. and all printed editions made the correction, either independently or on Eusebius's authority.

d 5. Eusebius, who left out the  $\delta\eta$  in d 1, here puts  $\delta\eta$  in after ὅπῃ; it improves the sentence.

d 6. ἀνηθεστέρων: not "singular," as Jowett, but "unfamiliar," "foreign to our subject"; cp. οὐκ εἰωθότα at e 4. He hints also that perhaps his interlocutors are not used to such discussions.

e 1 f. εἰ δὲ . . . ἢ ταύτῃ: it is not surprising that doubts should early have been felt, as the scribe of O tells us, as to the genuineness of the word θεοῖς, for the word presents difficulties. Perhaps, however, the objectors to θεοῖς hardly paid proper attention to the νῦν, which seems to mean "in our present discourse." "It is only by so doing that we can accept as rightly described the gods whom we now pronounce to be in accordance with Law."—συμφωνῆσαι too is hard. It is strained rather to mean "to agree to," rather than, as usual, "to agree with." (Stallb. would substitute συμβοηθῆσαι for it.)—ὡς ὀρθῶς ἔχουσιν (participle) helps us to understand συμφωνῆσαι—"as correctly so described"; i.e. "to agree that it is correct to describe the gods as what we see Law declares them to be." Fic.'s translation is "recte se habere quae de diis secundum legem modo dicuntur." (Herm. takes ἔχουσι to be indic. and derives from it an argument in favour of θεοῖς—if λεγομένοις had been neut., he says, we should have had ἔχει. Zürr. and Wagn. reject θεοῖς, and so F.H.D.; Ast emends it to λόγοις, Orelli to θεσμοῖς.)—A and O read ἐτέρῳ, corrected by the second hands to ἐτέρως.

e 4. οὐκ εἰωθότα, "out of the way," i.e. "not of the nature of the arguments you are in the way of hearing." He says below (892 a 3) that nearly everybody is unfamiliar with the subject he is going to treat.

e 6. ἀπεφάναντο is probably a gnomic aorist.

e 7. There is a lurking irony in his choice of the word ἀπεργασάμενοι to govern ψυχὴν; he thereby calls attention to the absurdity of regarding ψυχὴ as a "production" of dead φύσις. We may perhaps translate "the philosophy of which the soul of the ungodly is the finished product."

e 8. ὅθεν, "that is how it is that . . ."; i.e. if these men can believe that ψυχὴ is such a "product," they will believe that the gods also are, as it were, an afterthought—a product of human τέχνη.

892 a 1–7. The two points here insisted on are (1) the *pre-existence*, and (2) the *superior authority* of Soul as compared with Body. The two points are again stated at b 7—ὅστερα καὶ ἀρχόμενα.

**a 8.** In using the words τὰ ψυχῆς συγγενῇ he postulates an "order of things," as we should say—a kind of incorporeal, supra-sensual existences and phenomena, which would include *soul* and *God*, and all belonging thereto.

**b 1.** Burnet rightly deduces from Eusebius's γε αὐτῆς that the initial of the MS. ταύτης is a mistake for γ. Ast alone of former editors had the taste to prefer Eus. γε αὐτῆς to the vulgate ταύτης.

**b 5.** τὰ μεγάλα καὶ πρῶτα ἔργα: "non tantum parva, sicuti volunt adversarii v. p. 889 a" Stallb.

**b 6.** τέχνης ἂν γίγνοιτο, ὄντα ἐν πρώτοις, "must be those of *design* just because they are of the primal order."

**b 7.** Eus. has preserved the reading φύσις, for the φύσεις of the MSS.—an ordinary scribe's error.

**c 1.** The first five editions make οὐκ ὀρθῶς begin the following speech of the Athenian. Fic.'s "cur non recte?" shows that he had a rightly divided text. (One of Grynaeus's "corrections" of Fic.'s translation was to alter it to "Cur?" Ath. "Non recte etc.")

**c 2.** φύσιν βούλονται λέγειν γένεσιν τὴν περὶ τὰ πρῶτα, "when they use the term φύσις they mean to describe the way the first things come into being." The Ath. is here speaking of the use of the word in the term φύσει, not of its use to denote the primeval substance (891 c 3 καὶ τὴν φύσιν ὀνομάζειν ταῦτα αὐτά); he is here concerned to prove that ψυχή is *more* φύσει than any kind of bodily substance. (Cp. c 5 διαφερόντως φύσει.) This, he admits, depends on his power of proving that ψυχή is ἐν πρώτοις, and consequently πρεσβυτέρα σώματος.

**c 5.** The ὅτι inserted before φύσει by the corrector of O, to the ruin of sense and construction, survived in printed editions till Ast (1814) ejected it, and put a full stop after φύσει. Even then it survived in Bekker (1817), and Stallb. 1st ed. (1824). (Ritter would read φύσις for φύσει here, as if Plato had meant to say "ψυχή is your real φύσις.")

**c 9.** στελλώμεθα, "address ourselves to"; cp. *Phil.* 50 e τὰ νῦν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ λοιπὰ βούλομαι στέλλεσθαι.

**d 2.** φυλάττωμεν δὴ παντάπασιν ἀπατηλὸν λόγον, "we must be on our guard; we have to meet an argument of desperate deceitfulness."

**d 3.** νεοπρεπῆς ὢν, "notwithstanding its immaturity." [A.M.A. "because of its youthful vigour."]

**d 6.** I follow Burnet in putting a full stop after οὖν in d 5, and only a comma after λέγειν in e 5. That is, I take εἰ . . . ἂν



ἔδόκουν as a protasis to which the real apodosis is δοκεῖ . . . ἐμέ in 893 a 2 f. This involves the assumption that καθάπερ in d 6 does duty for καθάπερ εἰ. A second εἰ would have sounded harsh here, while the emphatic position of the εἰ that begins the sentence enables it to count twice. (Schneider takes καθάπερ to be put in, with no strict grammatical justification, to show that the case is an imaginary one—like an interjected “suppose” in English; Steph. would change εἰ καθάπερ to καθάπερ εἰ—Stallb. agrees; Ast would read εἰ, καθάπερ εἰ.)

d 7. νεώτατος δ' ἐγὼ τυγχάνων: another instance of τυγχάνω for τυγχάνω ὦν; cp. 918 c 4 and Adam on *Rep.* 369 b.—It is not necessary to suppose that the Ath. was really younger than his two companions; the νεώτατος is part of the imaginary case.—The ἡμῶν of the early edd. has no MS. authority; Fic. has “junior vobis.”

d 8. The superfluous ὅτι is another loose conversationalism.—Probably πειραθῆναι is used absolutely, as at *Euthyphro* 3 d 4—“to make the experiment by myself.” Though σκέψασθαι might be read as dependent on πειραθῆναι, it is better, with Fic., to take σκέψασθαι as a quasi-asyndeton = ὥστε σκέψασθαι. The three following infinitives, of course, depend on χρῆναι. (κατ' ἐμαυτόν goes better with πειραθῆναι than with σκέψασθαι; also a mere σκέψασθαι does not clearly involve κίνδυνος.)

e 4. ἄβατος ὡς ὑμῖν, “out of your depth” (Jowett).

e 7. μὴ δῆ: the two asyndetons—here and at εἴτ' in 893 a 2—give animation to the style.

893 a 1. καὶ ἐρωτῶν: the Ath. talks as if the personified Logos were responsible for the difficulties he foresees, and conceals the fact that it is he himself who would have been the questioner of the other two.

a 6. διαπεράνασθαι is here used absolutely as in *Tim.* 89 e.

b 1. θεὸν κτλ.: this curious fancy seems to represent the gods as threatened by the sceptics with annihilation.

b 2. ἀπόδειξιν ὡς εἰσὶν τὴν αὐτῶν: “their own demonstration of existence” stands for “demonstration of their own existence.” (Herm. prefers the vulgate αὐτῶν; Eus. puts τὴν αὐτῶν before ὡς εἰσίν.)

b 4. In πείσματος and ἐπεισβαίνωμεν he still glances at the metaphor of the river; the latter word, as given in all MSS. and Eus., loses point in the ἐπιβαίνωμεν of all texts down to Bekker. It is by *fording*, not on a raft (as Ast who quotes Cic. *Tusc. disp.* i. 30), that the river is to be crossed; the rope would keep the

ford from being swept away by the current. Though Steph. mentioned the correct reading, no text before Stallb. ventured to print it. The *πέισμα* is the invocation.

**b 6.** Eus. has preserved the correct reading in *κατὰ τάδε*, which corresponds to Fic's "*sic securissime respondere videor.*" The MSS. have *κᾶτα* at the end of one line, and *δὲ* at the beginning of the next. Ast first corrected the vulgate *κᾶτα τάδε ὃ ξένε*.

**c 3.** *τοῦτο ἂν δρῶη*: i.e. move.

**c 4.** *τὰ τὴν τῶν ἐστῶτων ἐν μέσῳ λαμβάνοντα δύναμιν*, "those which have the gift of immobility at their centre"; i.e. their centre never changes its position in space.

**c 6.** *ἐστάναι λεγομένων*: a spinning top, or a revolving wheel with fixed axle, is not at rest in itself, but it may be said to be at rest with regard to surrounding objects.

**c 7.** "We are told that, in the case of this circular motion, this kind of movement carries round the largest and the smallest circle at the same time, distributing itself proportionally to both small and great, and is less and greater in (that) proportion. This it is which has made it the source of all kinds of marvels, for it imparts at once to small and great, slowness and swiftness proportioned to their size, and that one would have thought an impossible process." Plato must have had some special reason for enlarging on this peculiarity of circular motion. It is clear from 897 c ff. that he has the motions of the heavenly bodies in mind. In that passage he first says that *νοῦ κίνησις* is the cause of the motion of the heavenly bodies, and then finds an analogy between *νοῦ κίνησις* and the *ἐν ἐνὶ κίνησις* there described. Cp. also above, 822 a 6 *τὴν αὐτὴν γὰρ αὐτῶν ὁδὸν ἕκαστον καὶ οὐ πολλὰς ἀλλὰ μίαν αἰὲ κύκλῳ διεξέρχεται*.—The chiasmic arrangement of the various words for great and small, slow and quick, is twice noticeable in this passage.

**d 6—e 1.** *τὰ δέ γε κινούμενα ἐν πολλοῖς κτλ.*: in the kind of motion just described the moving body occupied the same space all the time; in the second kind of motion the body moving is all the time occupying fresh spaces, and this kind is of two sorts: either (1) the body *glides*, while preserving the same position in itself, or (2) the body *revolves* at the same time that it occupies a fresh space.

**d 8.** *τοτὲ μὲν ἔστιν ὅτε*: the *ἔστιν ὅτε* must be taken to be a conversational superfluity. Schneider translates "nunc . . . interdum."

**e 1.** *κέντρον*: the subsequent *πλείονα* must stand for *πλείονα*

κέντρα; this forbids us to understand κέντρου to mean *centre* (of a circle). κέντρον seems here to be used in the sense of *point*—the point, namely, at which a body touches the ground on which it rests; βάσις κέντρου then is “the point of support.” Possibly the former kind of movement is that of a spinning top.—Cobet holds that the by-form κυλινδέω for κυλίνδω is a copyist’s error.

e 3. τοῖς δ’ ἄλλοις: Wagn., Stallb., Herm., and Burnet rightly prefer the variant ἄλλοις of L and the margin of O to the ἀλλήλοις of A and O, which all other editors adopt. The dative goes with εἰς ἓν γιγνόμενα. (Schneider and Wagn. take εἰς ἓν with φερομένοις.) τοῖς ἄλλοις means such as are *not* stationary. With these, if they are moving in the opposite direction, they coalesce.

e 4. μέσα τε καὶ μεταξὺ τῶν τοιούτων συγκρίνεται: the subject to συγκρίνεται is no longer the original τὰ ἐν πολλοῖς κινούμενα of d 6, but the new formations resulting from the process of σύγκρισις, and τῶν τοιούτων are (1) the original κινούμενα and (2) the κινούμενα which meet them—“betwixt and between” which the new formation arises. *Disruption*, then of single bodies, and the *conglomeration* of two (or more) bodies into one, are here regarded as *modes of motion*. We are reminded that at *Theaet.* 181 d ἀλλοίωσις is mentioned as ἕτερον εἶδος κινήσεως, and one which is consistent with “remaining in the same place.”

e 7. ἡ καθεστηκυῖα ἐκάστων ἕξις is a very obscure expression. It seems to denote some condition or internal power of a body which preserves it from dissolution when subject to the shocks of colliding bodies—whether these shocks result in σύγκρισις of mutually approaching bodies, or in the διάκρισις of a moving body which strikes a stationary one. The words δι’ ἀμφοτέρα διόλλυται must mean that (under certain circumstances) both σύγκρισις and διάκρισις can be causes of dissolution or destruction. Decrease in size, then, or division into smaller pieces, may go on indefinitely without destruction, while increase in size is no guarantee against it. The most likely guess about ἕξις is that it describes such a condition as solidity, liquidity, or evaporation.

894 a 1 ff. Plato here attacks the main difficulty attending his doctrine that the essence of soul is *the power to move itself*. The difficulty is to prove that the soul can in any sense be said to *move*. Aristotle, as Plato no doubt knew, boldly denied that the soul *moved* in space. It might move, he said, κατὰ συμβεβηκός; i.e. when the body which contained it moved. It might even *move itself* κατὰ συμβεβηκός by causing its body to move with itself



inside it (*De an.* 408 a 30 ff.). Plato cannot be contradicted when he says that the impulse which gives rise to bodily movement in space comes from the soul. His next step is to declare that movement of any kind must originate either in the body moved or outside it. The next is to deduce from this that the source of motion *must be motion*. Therefore the soul must move. All he can supply as to the nature of the movement of the soul (898 a), and the obscure process or processes by which the soul's impulse (which he calls an ἀρχή) is transmitted to the moving physically discernible body (894 a 1 ff.), are images (εἰκόνες) which may more or less convey some actual truth.

It seems to be generally assumed that *destruction* is another form of *motion*. With the introduction of its opposite, γένεσις, the obscurity deepens. ἔξις was hard, but ἀρχή is harder. Is the ἀρχή something or nothing? This description of γένεσις is not meant to be a historical account, but a logical deduction from Plato's doctrine of space. It is a kind of geometrical allegory. Geometry postulates a thing "without parts or magnitude" (*Arist. Met.* A 992 a 21 ἀλλ' ἐκάλει (Πλάτων στιγμὴν) ἀρχὴν γραμμῆς). The *first* transformation by which this grows (λαβούσα αὔξην) is its elongation into a (still imaginary) line; the second (ὁπότεν εἰς τὴν δευτέραν ἔλθῃ μετάβασιν) is the extension flatwise of the imaginary line into the imaginary surface. With the third transformation (εἰς τὴν πλησίον μετάβασιν) we pass into the region of sensible objects, for now *thickness* is added to length and breadth; the transformed ἀρχή "furnishes perceivers with perception"—αἰσθησιν σχῆ τοῖς αἰσθανομένοις. The ἀρχή, then, would seem to be thought of as an invisible point, and, at the same time, as *movement*, which in its first two stages or directions is *insubstantial*. How an intangible, invisible movement of an intangible invisible being could by any changes of direction give rise to sensations remains as mysterious as ever. In the following passage of Aristotle, *De an.* 404 b 18, the allegory becomes arithmetical and psychological as well as geometrical; ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς περὶ φιλοσοφίας λεγομένοις διωρίσθη, αὐτὸ μὲν τὸ ζῶον ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς τοῦ ἐνὸς ιδέας καὶ τοῦ πρώτου μήκους καὶ πλάτους καὶ βάθους, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὁμοιοτρόπως. ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἄλλως νοῦν μὲν τὸ ἐν, ἐπιστήμην δὲ τὰ δύο· μοναχῶς γὰρ ἐφ' ἐν· τὸν δὲ τοῦ ἐπιπέδου ἀριθμὸν δόξαν, αἰσθησιν δὲ τὸν τοῦ στερεοῦ· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀριθμοὶ τὰ εἶδη αὐτὰ καὶ αἱ ἀρχαὶ ἐλέγοντο, εἰσὶ δ' ἐκ τῶν στοιχείων. κρίνεται δὲ τὰ πράγματα τὰ μὲν νῶ, τὰ δ' ἐπιστήμη, τὰ δὲ δόξη, τὰ δ' αἰσθήσει· εἶδη δ' οἱ ἀριθμοὶ οἷοι τῶν πραγμάτων. The Neo-



Platonic commentators on this passage of Aristotle associate the numbers 1, 2, 3, and 4 (which added together make the sacred 10) with the *point*, the *straight line*, the plane surface (the simplest plane surface is the *triangle*—suggesting the number 3) and the solid respectively, and further regard these as representatives respectively of the activities of νοῦς, ἐπιστήμη, διάνοια (the straight line, they observe, may move *either way* to make a plane surface), and αἴσθησις. Hicks on *De anima* 404 b 22 says: “the world of objects which the soul knows having been derived from ideal numbers, it remained to show that the faculties which soul is assumed to employ for apprehending these objects admit of a similar deduction, in other words that soul has νοῦς in it from the idea of Unity, ἐπιστήμη from the idea-number Two, δόξα from Three, Sense-perception from Four.”

As F.H.D. points out, light is thrown on this account of γένεσις by *Timaeus* 52 a b. We are there told that all γιγνόμενα (and ἀπολλύμενα) come into (or pass out of) being in a ὑποδοχή or *substratum*, i.e. τὸ τῆς χώρας αἰεὶ, φθορὰν οὐ προσδεχόμενον, ἔδραν δὲ παρέχον ὅσα ἔχει γένεσιν πᾶσιν. This ὑποδοχή is not perceptible by the bodily senses but only λογισμῷ τινὶ νόθῳ, which last word “the compiler of the *Timaeus* Locrus (94 b) seeks to explain by the words τῷ μῆπῳ κατ’ εὐθυωρίαν νοῆσθαι ὅλλὰ κατ’ ἀναλογίαν” (Archer-Hind’s note). Our minds, then, cannot fathom the mystery of γένεσις in all its aspects, but what we know of *space* enables us to form an *image* of one aspect of the process at least, i.e. the *spatial* one. This account is not produced by such a λόγος (reasoning) as that by which νοῦς (*mind*) arrives at beliefs about *absolute existences*, but it is a mental process—νόθος τις λογισμός (“a sort of bastard reasoning”).

(Ritter, pp. 298 ff., will have nothing to do with the geometrical explanation. He holds that the key to the problem is to be found in the right interpretation of 896 e ff. The ἀρχή in the γένεσις passage (894 a 1 ff.) is the ψυχή—ψυχὴ . . . ἀρχὴ κινήσεως 896 b 2.—First it gets under way (αὔξην λαβοῦσα) in the form of a βούλησις; the second μετάβασις is (say) the movement of an arm of the body inhabited by the ψυχή; the third μετάβασις (μέχρι τριῶν ἐλθοῦσα) is the impulse given by that arm to an external body. A serious objection to this view is that Ritter’s second μετάβασις is no longer *invisible*; the arm can be seen moving, whereas we may surely conclude that it is not till Plato’s third μετάβασις occurs that the senses can be in any way affected. What is still more important is that it is no more clear on Ritter’s

hypothesis, than on the geometrical one, how any *γένεσις* comes about, or, in other words, *what is produced*. It may be conceded to Ritter, however, that the notion that an unseen action in the mind is the necessary preliminary to bodily activity gives a *pattern* for Plato's description of cosmic *γένεσις*.)

a 2. A and O had *ἀν τι πάθος ἦ*; this was so far corrected that down to Ed. Bipont. the reading was *ἀν τι πάθος ἦ*. To Ast we owe the further correction of *ἀν τι* into *ἀν τί*, and the note of interrogation after *ἦ*.

a 6. *γίγνεται*: it is not clear whether the actual *γένεσις* is supposed to take place during all these three *μεταβάσεις* or *μεταβολαί*, or only on occasion of the third. In the latter case *γένεσις* and *φθορά* do not denote absolute coming into and passing out of being, but only the becoming or ceasing to be subject to human perception.

a 7. *εἰς ἄλλην ἕξιν*: as conjectured on 893 e 7, this may possibly refer to a process of liquefaction or evaporation.

a 8. *ὡς ἐν εἶδεν λαβεῖν μετ' ἀριθμοῦ*, "duly classified and numbered"; cp. *διαριθμήσασθαι* . . . *δηλοῦντα* 633 a 7-9, where the *μέρη ἀρετῆς* are enumerated, with a view to clearness.

b 8. As at 892 b 7 A and O have *-eis* for *-is*; O<sup>2</sup> gives the correct *κίνησις*.

b 9. The comma in Burnet's text after *ἀδυνατοῦσα* apparently means that the *αἰί* goes with *δυναμένη* as well as with *ἀδυνατοῦσα*; that this is so is made more likely by a comparison of the *αἰκίνητον* in the *Phaedrus* passage quoted below; there is no *παῦλα κινήσεως* in the case of the *ἀρχὴ κινήσεως*.

b 10. An important point here is whether the words *κατά τε συγκρίσεις* . . . *φθοραῖς* apply equally to both the two kinds of motion. The parallel *ἐναρμόττονσαν κτλ.* below at c 5 suggests that it belongs only to the latter. The added words, that is, indicate that the direct action of *ψυχή* is to be seen in *ἀλλοιώσις* as well as in *φθορά*.—Cp. *Phaedrus* 245 c *ψυχὴ πάντα ἀθάνατος. τὸ γὰρ αἰκίνητον ἀθάνατον. τὸ δ' ἄλλο κινεῖν καὶ δι' ἄλλου κινούμενον, παῦλαν ἔχον κινήσεως, παῦλαν ἔχει ζωῆς. μόνον δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ κινεῖν, ἅτε οὐκ ἀπολείπον ἑαυτό, οὐποτε λήγει κινούμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσα κινεῖται τοῦτο πηγὴ καὶ ἀρχὴ κινήσεως ἀρχὴ δὲ ἀγένητον.* Cp. also Macrobius, *Comm. in Somn. Scip.* ii. 15 "illa igitur magis probanda est in decimo de legibus motuum prolata divisio. Omnis motus, inquit, aut se movet, et alia, aut ab alio movetur et alia movet; et prior ad animam, ad omnia vero corpora secundus refertur. Hi ergo duo motus et differentia

separantur et societate iunguntur; commune hoc habent, quod et prior et secundus movent alia, hoc autem differunt, quod ille a se, hic ab alio movetur."

c 4-7. Stallb., Herm., and Zürr. rightly follow Cod. Ric. (and Steph.'s conjecture) in reading δὲ for τε. (Ast is surely wrong in saying that the τε corresponds to the following καί.)—Burnet is to be followed in reading ἕτερον for the MS. ἐτέραν. ἐτέραν is more likely to be a scribe's mistake for ἕτερον than for the vulgate ἕτερα. (Schneider alone preserves the MS. ἐτέραν—i.e. ἐτέραν κίνησιν.)—ἐναρμόττονσαν is a metaphorical expression, meaning that the power of ψυχή manifests itself—is active—in all kinds of material movements and transformations.—May we not further conjecture that the δέ after καλουμένην in c 6 ought to be τε, and that the δέ before δεκάτην should be rejected as being a mistaken dittography of the following syllable?

c 10. δέκα μάλιστα: it will be seen that, if to the six kinds of motion mentioned at b 10 f. there be added (1) motion ἐν μιᾷ ἔδρα (893 c 3), (2) gliding motion ἐν πολλοῖς (d 8), (3) rolling motion ἐν πολλοῖς (e 1), and then the two kinds of motion now under discussion, we have, not ten kinds, but eleven. Either then we must suppose the μάλιστα to mean that ten is only a "round number"—the precise ἐνάτην and δεκάτην of c 4 and c 7 are against this—or we shall have to suppose that one of the eleven has been wrongly included. The above-mentioned eleven are not parallel homogeneous classes or kinds, but a set of dichotomies, such as Plato loves, some of which include all the others. If I understand Ast's note, he omits the dichotomy of τὰ ἐν πολλοῖς into (1) gliding, and (2) rolling, and counts τὰ ἐν μιᾷ ἔδρα and τὰ ἐν πολλοῖς as the first two members of the series. This is probably right. (Schulthess and Wagner leave out γένεσις and φθορά, and substitute for them "the change into another ἕξις" (894 a 7). Stallb. leaves out γένεσις, but—as against both these views—Plato expressly includes this at b 11 as one of the six.)—Zürr., Stallb., Herm., and Burnet adopt Ast's τίν' ἂν for the τίνα of the MSS.

d 3. The αὐτήν of the MSS. was omitted in all edd. before Bekker. So below at 895 b 1 all MSS. dropped the αὐτήν which was preserved by Eusebius.

d 8. τὸ τῆς δεκάτης ῥηθέν, "when I spoke of the tenth" (Jowett). τὸ τῆς δεκάτης is a periphrasis for ἡ δεκάτη. (Not "quod de motu decimo diximus" Fic.)

d 10. γενέσει τε καὶ ῥώμῃ: γενέσει is not merely the γένεσις of



894 a; in connexion with *ῥώμη* it suggests the kindred *γένει*—cp. e.g. *Tim.* 20 a οὐσία καὶ γένει οὐδενὸς ὕστερος ὢν τῶν ἐκεί. Both in *origin* and *distinction of birth* the self-moving motion must come before the movement it causes.—κατὰ λόγον, “demonstrably.”—τὸ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔχομεν τούτου δεύτερον, ἄρτι ῥηθὲν ἀτόπως ἕνατον, “while we hold the next movement to be inferior in order to that one—and yet it was just now absurdly called the ninth.” τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο is probably not an adverbial “then” (Jow.), or “hienächst” (Wagn.), but “the (properly speaking) next kind of motion”; “alteram” (Schn.); in gender it follows the τὸ τῆς δεκάτης of d 8, as do πρῶτον, and δεύτερον, and ἕνατον.

**e 4 ff.** The argument here begun and developed in 896 is quoted at length and treated with great respect by J. S. Mill at p. 146 of his *Autobiography*.

**e 4.** ἕτερον ἄλλο: as below at 896 b 4, these two words refer to different things—one being object, the other subject of μεταβάλλῃ; but in the ἄλλο ἕτερον in the following line, and in e 8, both refer to the same thing, and are *objects*—being instances of the pleonastic expression explained above on 780 d 8.—μεταβάλλῃ—so A for the μεταβάλλῃ of L and O—is used to express any kind of κίνησις, whether transporting or transforming.

**e 6.** I feel sure that Apelt is right (*Eisenach Progr.* 1901) in substituting ὃ γ' ἄν for the MS. ὅταν. The previous ὅταν, and the subsequent ὅταν no doubt contributed to the error.—Editors have properly refused to adopt Ast's suggestion that καὶ πῶς . . . ἀδύνατον γάρ should be given to Cleinias, though only Wagn. and Burnet have accepted Hermann's restoration at 895 b 1 of τὴν αὐτὴν . . . μεταπτώσεως, which the MSS. give to Cleinias, to the Ath. as a “second” instance—πάλιν at 895 a 5—of his answering his own question. Fic. also gives τὴν . . . μεταπτώσεως to Ath., but he also gives him the ἀληθέστατα λέγεις at 895 b 8.

**e 8.** τὸ δέ is demonstrative and, like the τοῦτο of e 4, is the subject of the (supplied) verb, ἕτερον ἄλλο being again the *object*.

**895 a 6.** εἰ σταίῃ πως τὰ πάντα ὁμοῦ γεινόμενα, “if the universe were somehow brought to a uniform standstill.” Cp. *Theaetetus* 153 d εἰ δὲ σταίῃ τοῦτο ὥσπερ δεθέν.

**a 7.** τῶν τοιούτων: the atheistical physical philosophers first referred to at 888 e; cp. *Theaet.* 180 e and 183 e Μέλισσον μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οἱ ἐν ἐστὸς λέγουσι τὸ πᾶν, also *Soph.* 248 e 6 τί δὲ πρὸς Διός; ὡς ἀληθῶς κίνησιν καὶ ζωὴν καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ φρόνησιν ἢ ῥαδίως πεισθησόμεθα τῷ παντελῶς ὄντι μὴ παρεῖναι



μηδὲ ζῆν αὐτὸ μηδὲ φρονεῖν, ἀλλὰ σεμνὸν καὶ ἅγιον, νοῦν οὐκ ἔχον ἀκίνητον ἐστὸς εἶναι, and *I'haedr.* 245 d 8 οὕτω δὴ κινήσεως μὲν ἀρχὴ τὸ αὐτὸ αὐτὸ κινεῖν. τοῦτο δὲ οὐτ' ἀπόλλυσθαι οὔτε γίνεσθαι δυνατόν, ἢ πάντα τε οὐρανὸν πᾶσαν τε γένεσιν συμπεσοῦσαν στήναι καὶ μήποτε αὖθις ἔχειν ὅθεν κινηθεῖσα γενήσεται. συμπεσοῦσαν here corresponds to our ὁμοῦ γεγόμενα.

**b 1.** See above on e 6 for the attribution of this answer to the Ath. himself.—Burnet alone prints Eusebius's τὴν αὐτὴν ἐαυτὴν, which is better than the τὴν αὐτὴν of the MSS. and previous editions. Ed. Lov. has τὴν αὐτὴν δῆπου.—ὑπ' ἄλλου γὰρ . . . μεταπτώσεως: in other words, you cannot have an *imparted* motion unless there is something to impart it; therefore the *first* motion must be an *original* one.

**b 2.** The subj. to μεταπέσῃ is the αὐτά (αὐτοῖς) of a 8, and that is τὰ πάντα (a 6).

**b 3 ff.** ἀρχὴν . . . μεταβολῶν πασῶν, "as therefore the beginning of movements" (this was settled in the previous paragraph, e 4—a 3), "and the first to rise among stationary bodies, and the first in rank among moving ones, we will assert the movement which sets itself in motion to be of necessity the *oldest* and the *most powerful* of all movements." (Fic. and Wagner wrongly make ἀρχὴν . . . καὶ πρώτην predicate.)

**b 4.** πρώτην ἔν τε ἐστῶσιν γενομένην καὶ ἐν κινουμένοις οὔσαι: πρώτην with γενομένην has a different meaning from that which it has with οὔσαν; it is *the first to come into being*, and when in being (οὔσαν) it *ranks highest*. These two expressions correspond to the following πρεσβυτάτην and κρατίστην respectively (cp. 892 a b).

**b 6.** It is probable that Eus. was right in reading μεταβολῶν where all MSS. and editions have μεταβολήν.

**b 7.** Ast is probably right in printing τε for the MS. δέ: Fic. translates it by *et*.

**c 4.** ταύτην is of course τὴν ἐαυτὴν κινεῖσαν κίνησιν.—It is perhaps worth suggesting that we ought to read ἔν τῳ for ἐν τῷ.

**c 6.** Eusebius's ἐνεῖναι for the MS. εἶναι is a very likely reading.

**c 10.** The edd. before Ast (but not Fic.) altered the attribution of this ζῆν, and added it to the Ath.'s ναί.

**c 11.** A fresh examination of A has led to the conclusion that Burnet is right, as against Fels, in assigning the reading δαί to A<sup>2</sup>. —ψυχὴν: it will be remembered that we started at 892 a to prove that ψυχὴ was (1) *σωμάτων πάντων ἔμπροσθεν γενομένη*, and (2) held supreme command over change of every description

—was, in the words of 895 b 5 f., *πρεσβυτάτη καὶ κρατίστη πασῶν μεταβολῶν*.

c 11 f. *μῶν ἄλλο ἢ ταῦτόν τούτῳ; ζῆν ὁμολογητέον*; Stallb. restored the MS. reading to its own by inserting a ; after *τούτῳ*. (All previous interpreters had somehow made the previous words go with *ζῆν*.) “Must we not admit that the same thing happens as in the case of that thing? (Must we not say) that they are alive?” (Schneider and Wagner, like Herm., preserve the MS. reading and the old punctuation—taking *ταῦτόν* adverbially, and making *ζῆν ταῦτόν τούτῳ* mean “live just as much as that does.” Zürr. and Burnet follow Stallb.—I would suggest that perhaps the sense would be better given by a different punctuation still, i.e. *μῶν ἄλλο ἢ, ταῦτόν τούτῳ, ζῆν ὁμολογητέον*.)

d 4. *τὴν οὐσίαν*: *οὐσία*—the *τὸ ὄν* of the next line—is “the thing itself,” “the reality.” Ritter translates it (*Darst.* p. 98) by “Erscheinung oder Thatsache.” Thompson (on *Phaedr.* 245 e), in commenting on this passage, says *οὐσία* is “the objective counterpart of (the *λόγος* or *ὁρισμός*).” The word “essence” (Jowett) will not help us. Most likely Cicero, in inventing the extraordinary *essentia*, meant it to stand for the “metaphysical” sense of *οὐσία*, and the word has always retained something of that sense. Cp. Burnet on *Phaedo* 65 d 13. The ordinary Athenian only knew the word in the sense of *property*. The Pythagoreans gave it the philosophical meaning of “reality,” or “existence”; Plato further used the word sometimes (metaphysically) of the eternal and changeless *being* of the world of *ideas*. Cp. also *Ep.* vii. 342 a ff., with Prof. A. E. Taylor’s exposition in *Mind* of July 1913.—*τὸν λόγον*: for an explanation of the “definition” of a word, of its use, and of its relation to *ὀνόματα* cp. *Theaet.* 201 e—202 c. Cp. also below, 964 a 6 ff.

d 5. *ἐν δὲ ὄνομα*: Eus. (very likely rightly) has *τὸ ὄνομα*; we must supply *τῆς οὐσίας* from the preceding line.

d 10 ff. Schneider rightly assigns *ἀρά γε . . . λέγειν*, and *ἔστιν πον . . . μέρη* to Cleinias, making the Ath. then answer *Ναί· τὸ τοιοῦτον φράζω*, “Yes, that is what I mean.” In itself this division is quite possible, and it has further the external support of the MSS. in one point; for they mark no change of person before *τὸ τοιοῦτον*—only before *Ναί* and before *Μῶν*. I think them right as regards *Ναί*, but wrong about *μῶν*. Further, the *οὖν* which comes after the *μῶν* is, on Schneider’s hypothesis, quite intelligible, but not if the Ath.’s *τοιοῦτον* looks forward. (Stallb. would reject *οὖν*.)

**e 1.** The context shows that *δίχα διαιρούμενον* means divided into *two equal parts*. Such a loose expression is more likely in Cl.'s mouth than in the Ath.'s. Eus. adds *εἰς ἴσα (δύο) μέρη*.

**e 2.** *τούτῳ*—which all edd. before Ast wrongly joined to *ἀριθμῷ*—stands for *τῷ δίχα διαιρουμένῳ*, and the whole expression = *τῷ κατ' ἀριθμὸν δίχα διαιρουμένῳ*.

**e 4.** *ταῦτόν*: i.e. *τὴν οὐσίαν* or *τὸ ὄν*, "the thing itself." We may, he says, indifferently use the *name* or the *definition* in speaking of the *thing*, i.e. the name and the definition are identical. The argument is of the nature of Euclid's "things which are equal to the same thing are equal to each other."

**e 6 f.** *ἄρτιον ὀνόματι* and *λόγῳ δίχα δι. ἄρ.* are in apposition to *ἐκατέρως*; "we may designate one and the same thing *either* by its name *ἄρτιον*, or by its definition *δίχα διαιρούμενον ἀριθμὸν*."

**896 a 3.** All MSS. have *τοῦτον κινεῖν*; a late hand in A gives *τὸ ἑαυτὸ* as a variant for *τοῦτον*. Eus. also has *τὸ ἑαυτὸ*, and so all edd. except Herm. who reads *τὸ αὐτὴν*, both because it is nearer to *τοῦτον*, and because it maintains the Ath.'s reference to *κίνησιν*.—The question asked is rather in the same strain as that which Schneider at d 9 ff. (probably rightly) assigned to Cleinias. Its object is, by repetition, to emphasize the fact that *ψυχὴ* means "that which moves itself." Cleinias's "that which moves itself" is vaguer than the Ath.'s "the *motion* which moves itself."

**a 4.** Herm. would reject *ὅ*, taking *τοῦνομα* to be used adverbially. This certainly gives *προσαγορεύομεν* a more natural and usual meaning. In the usual text we have to supply *φῆς ἔχειν* between *ἦνπερ* and *τοῦνομα*; the *δή*, however, comes more naturally after *ὅ* than after *τοῦνομα*, and the *sense* of the *difficilior lectio* suits the context rather better—"that the same thing has so-and-so as definition as has the name which we call soul" fits better than "that the same thing has so-and-so as definition which we call soul by name."

**a 6.** *ταῦτόν ὃν καί*, "is the same thing as"—*ὃν* being attracted into the gender of *ταῦτόν*.

**a 8.** *καὶ πάντων αὖ τῶν ἐναντίων τούτοις*: Ritter is probably right in saying that the *ἐναντία* are *τὰ μὴ ὄντα καὶ διεφθαρμένα καὶ διαφθαρσόμενα*, i.e. he means that the Ath. says that the reduction of a particular thing to a state of non-existence is as much the work of *ψυχὴ* as the calling it into being. In that case *πρώτην* goes both with *γένεσιν* and *κίνησιν*. Cp. *Phaedo* 95 e 9 *ὅλως γὰρ δεῖ περὶ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς τὴν αἰτίαν διαπραγματεύσασθαι*. (It is hardly likely that the idea suggested is the

same as that expressed more clearly below at d 6 ff.—i.e. that every character and quality has its opposite, and that there is a bad member as well as a good to each pair.)

**b 3.** The τε, which survived, in all edd. down to Bekker's, in the place of the MS. γε, may have been a deliberate correction made by Aldus, though there are traces of the same correction in the MSS. of Eusebius. Fic. knows nothing of it.—Zürr. and Herm. have adopted L and O's marginal variant *φανείσα* for *γενομένη*. The former looks more like a correction than the latter.—Schneider alone has adopted A's (and Cod. Voss.'s) *ἀρχική* for the *ἀρχή* of LO and Eus.

**b 5.** αὐτὸ . . . μηδέν, "but never gives anything the power to move of itself."

**b 7.** πολλοστήν: i.e. however many kinds of motion you may reckon, this comes last in order, so that πολλοστή τοσούτων means "last on the list."—ὄντως ἀψύχου: ὄντως claims a special propriety in the use of the adj. ἀψύχου; its use is an indirect argument in favour of the contention that ψυχή is itself the self-moving motion. Ritter (p. 304) raises the question whether, under the term ἄψυχος, Plato would include the bodily part of a living man. In one sense this would not be ἄψυχος, because it is animated by a soul of its own; on the other hand, if ἄψυχον σῶμα be understood of inanimate matter only, this δευτέρα κίνησις would not include the movement of one man who was pushed by another.

**b 10.** ὁρθῶς καὶ κυρίως ἀληθέστατά τε καὶ τελεώτατα reminds us of the similar emphatic agglomeration of adjectives—μέγιστος καὶ ἄριστος κάλλιστός τε καὶ τελεώτατος in the final paragraph of the *Timaeus*.

**c 2.** ἡμῖν: probably an ethic dat., "as our argument started to show." Eus. had ἡ μὴ for it.—ψυχῆς ἀρχούσης and the following words represent the κρατίστη of 895 b 6, as the προτέραν in c 1 does the πρεσβυτάτη.

**c 5.** ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν: i.e. at 892 a 7 ff.

**c 9.** τρόποι καὶ ἥθη, "temperament and character" ("temperament and habitual character" F.H.D.).

**d 5.** Here is introduced the question of the origin of evil. ψυχή is described as the αἰτία πάντων—good and bad alike. Prof. H. Jackson, in his paper on *Laws* 896 d (*Camb. Phil. Soc. Lent Term 1912*), compares with this aspect of ψυχή the description of the *πλανωμένη αἰτία* at *Tim.* 48 a—there identified with the *ἀνάγκη* which produces evil in the world of bodily existence—



what is called σώματος φύσις at *Pol.* 269 d. Having identified ψυχή with the αἰτία ἀγαθοῦ τε καὶ κακοῦ he is bound to talk of the αἰτία κακοῦ as a ψυχή; but there is no hint of such a name for the πλανωμένη αἰτία in the *Timaeus*. The question is also treated at *Theaet.* 176 a ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἀπολέσθαι τὰ κακὰ δυνατόν, ὦ Θεόδωρε—ὑπεναντίον γάρ τι τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἀεὶ εἶναι ἀνάγκη—οὐτ' ἐν θεοῖς αὐτὰ ἰδρῦσθαι, τὴν δὲ θνητὴν φύσιν καὶ τόνδε τὸν τόπον περιπολεῖ ἐξ ἀνάγκης (cp. *Phil.* 30 d 1–3). Here, as in the *Timaeus* passage, ἀνάγκη is named as the source of evil. This idea, that evil is confined to bodily existence, and our earth, is in agreement with all that is said about evil in the *Laws*. In the later work the peculiar mark of the αἰτία κακοῦ is said to be ἀνοία (897 b 3, 898 b 8), while that of its opposite is νοῦς and φρόνησις (897 b 1, c 5). Another distinguishing mark of evil is its opposition to the divine, and its god-forsaken nature. All godlike souls are ἀγαθαὶ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν (899 b 6).

e 1. καὶ τὸν οὐρανόν: the mention of τὰ πάντα κινούμενα naturally leads up to the mention of the heavenly bodies. Probably Plato, if pressed, would have included the earth in these (cp. below 897 b 7 f., and c 8), but the καί suggests that he was here thinking mainly of sun, moon, and stars; and was therefore not here using οὐρανός in the sense of *universe*, as at *Tim.* 28 b, and below at 897 c 4. This view is supported by the expression πάντα τὰ κατ' οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν at e 8.

e 4. μίαν ἢ πλείους; the question of the plurality of souls is raised below in the same words at 898 c 7, and in the words ψυχή μὲν ἢ ψυχαί at 899 b 5. The question is naturally suggested by the mention of the revolving heavenly bodies (cf. *Tim.* 41 d διείλε ψυχὰς ἰσαριθμούς τοῖς ἀστροῖς), though he does not discuss the nature of the various connexions of ψυχή with σῶμα, nor the extent to which these multiplied ψυχαί are separate existences. The following distinction between the soul which is the cause of good and that which is the cause of evil is more distinctly made at 898 c 4 in the words ἦτοι τὴν ἀρίστην ψυχὴν ἢ τὴν ἐναντίαν, and is implied at 897 b 3 and c 7, and at 899 b 5. As before said, the κακὴ ψυχή is κακή because it lacks the godlike character of νοῦς, and is ἀνοίας πάσης συγγενής (898 b 8). In the course of innumerable discussions to which this passage has given rise this αἰτία κακίας has been called a "world-soul," and has even been raised to the dignity of a full-blown Devil. Such titles are seriously misleading, and are at variance with the context and drift of the passage. The distinction is introduced as a somewhat

perfunctory proof of the plurality of *ψυχαί*. There is here no virtue in the number *two* except as it is inconsistent with *unity*. The Ath. reckons on ready assent to the proposition that good and bad cannot be the work of the same agency. Cp. Xen. *Cyr.* vi. 1. 41 δύο γὰρ σαφῶς ἔχω ψυχάς . . . οὐ γὰρ δὴ μία γε οὔσα ἅμα ἀγαθὴ τέ ἐστι καὶ κακὴ. All the instances given of the "bad soul's" activity are confined to the sphere of bodily existence, and we are told that it is akin to *ἀνοία*, and incompatible with the divine—*νοῦς* being the *divine* element in man. Further than that the question of its nature and origin is left untouched. ("Von zwei Weltseelen kann ich nichts in den Worten finden," Ritter, p. 307.)

e 8. *ψυχή*, "soul," "psychic force"—not "*a* soul."

e 9. *ταῖς αὐτῆς κινήσεσιν* : i.e. the movements which originated with itself—called below *primary* (897 a 4 *πρωτοῦργοι κινήσεις*).

897 a 5. *παραλαμβάνουσαι*, "bringing in their train."

b 1. To γλυκύ L and O<sup>2</sup> add *πικρόν*.—καὶ πᾶσιν οἷς *ψυχὴ* *χρωμένη* κτλ. : the dat. *πᾶσιν* is of the same kind as *κινήσεσιν* in e 9 above, and *πάσαις* in a 3. The word sums up all the secondary (mechanical) processes (physical, or chemical, we should call them) by which soul produces its effects. Even for these processes the guidance of *νοῦς* is needed. (Cornarius rejected *καὶ* and made *χρωμένη* govern *πᾶσιν οἷς*, perhaps rightly.)—The subj. *ψυχή* is repeated from e 8 because so much has intervened. He goes on to say that these effects are orderly and happy if *νοῦς* is *ψυχῆ's* guide, and quite the reverse if it allies itself with *ἀνοία*.—The words between *προσλαβοῦσα* and *ὀρθά* are uncertain. The first is always given as *αἰεί*, the second is given by A and O as *θεόν*, by L and Eus. and the margin of O as *θεῖον*. In the following *ὀρθῶς θεοῖς* it is hardly possible to find any sense. Fic. has "*recte cuncta diis recta feliciaque perducit.*" In A the *ὦς* is in an erasure; in the margin of O and A (probably) late hands wrote *θεὸς οὔσα ὀρθά*. The favourite modern emendation is Winckelmann's *ὀρθῶς θεούσα*. Herm. and Wagn. accept this reading, also *θεῖον* for *θεόν*; Stallb. (also reading *θεῖον*) would emend *ὀρθῶς θεὸς ὥς* (a Homeric use of *ὥς*); Schramm had previously proposed *ὀρθῶς, ὥς θεός*; Ast proposed *κατὰ* for *αἰεί* and *ιοῦσα* for *θεοῖς*, comparing *Phaedr.* 253 b *κατὰ τὸν θεὸν ἰόντες*. Stallb. appositely cites Proclus, *Theol. Plat.* i. 12, p. 30 *νοῦν γὰρ φησι θεῖον προσλαβοῦσαν τὴν ψυχὴν ὀρθά καὶ ἔμφρονα παιδαγωγεῖν*.—Is *ἔμφρονα* the true reading, instead of *εὐδαίμονα*?—Ritter sides with Schramm and Stallb.

**b 8.** τὸ φρόνιμον καὶ ἀρετῆς πλήρες : the connexion of νοῦς with the good and regular is assumed to be self-evident ; so, in the next paragraph, νοῦ κινήσει stands for the activity of the good soul. Cp. Wordsworth, *Prelude*, xiii. 26 ff. :

I had been taught to reverence a Power  
That is the visible quality and shape  
And image of right reason.

**c 8 f.** τὴν τοιαύτην : i.e. ὁμοίαν νοῦ κίνησει (Stallb. says it is i.q. ἀρίστην).—ἐκείνην, i.e. τὴν ἀρίστην ψυχὴν, is the subj. of ἄγειν. (Wagn. makes ἐκείνην agree with ὁδόν.)

**d 4.** ἐμφρόνως : the Ath. explains below that the might and dignity of νοῦς is such as to dazzle contemplation. All that mortal intelligence can contemplate is a reflexion, an image, which will give us a vague idea of the nature of νοῦ κίνησις. In other words, he cannot do more than show us points of resemblance between νοῦ κίνησις and κίνησις ἐν ἐνὶ τόπῳ. ἐμφρόνως εἰπεῖν on the other hand would be “to describe with complete understanding” or “with scientific accuracy.” Wagn. well translates ἐμφρόνως by “mit Einsicht.” (With Fic. and Schneid. it is merely “prudenter respondere.”)

**d 5.** προσλαμβάνειν, “to take a hand at (in addition).” Cp. Xen. *An.* ii. 3. 11 and 12 ; it is not elsewhere found with a genitive of the task undertaken, though with συλλαμβάνειν in that sense it is a common construction. (L. & S. “support me in finding an answer,” apparently making ἐμέ the object of προσλαμβάνειν.)

**d 9.** νύκτα ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ ἐπαγόμενοι : cp. *Rep.* 516 e ἀρ’ οὐ σκότους <ἀν> ἀνάπλεως σχοίη τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐξαίφνης ἡκὼν ἐκ τοῦ ἡλίου ; cp. also *Phaedo* 99 d διαφθείρονται γὰρ πού ἐνιοὶ τὰ ὄμματα ἐὰν μὴ ἐν ὕδατι ἢ ἐν τινι τοιοῦτῳ σκοπῶνται τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ (i.e. τοῦ ἡλίου).

**e 4 f.** ἢ . . . λάβωμεν, “let us take as our ‘image’ that one of those ten motions which νοῦς resembles.”

**e 8.** ἔτι, because the fact here recalled is in addition to the previously recalled statement about the ten motions.—The MSS. here give us the object of μεμνήμεθα twice over, first as γε τοσοῦτον (after τοίνυν), and next as τοῦτό γε (after ἔτι). Eus. and the margin of A and O give τό γε τοσοῦτον τῶν τότε, leaving out ἔτι τοῦτό γε. The vulgate accepted Eusebius’s reading and added ἔτι after τότε ; Schn., Herm., Stallb., Wagn., and Burnet rightly omit γε τοσοῦτον, but otherwise keep to the reading of the MSS.

**898 a 2.** Eus. has ταύτη, a less likely reading than the MS. ταῦτα.

**a 3.** The *ἐν* before *ἐνί*, which is established by L and Eus., was omitted by the first hands of A and O, and inserted in both by correcting hands—a good instance of a common scribe's error, the omission of one of two similar consecutive syllables.

**a 4.** The construction is changed from *ἔθμεν* to *ἀνάγκη* (*ἔστι*), and this suits the further *ὁμοίαν εἶναι τῇ τοῦ νοῦ περιόδῳ*.—The mistaken *οὐσῶν* of the MSS. and Eus. survived till Ed. Bipont., though Steph. preferred the correct *οὔσαν*, which was first printed by Ast. The early edd. also printed *τοῖν* for the MS. *τῇν* in a 3. Fic. made neither mistake.

**a 8 f.** For the *τὸ κατὰ ταῦτά* cp. note on 810 b 1.—*πρὸς τὰ αὐτά* means “in the same direction.”—For the MS. *ἕνα λόγον καὶ τάξιν μίαν* I think we ought to read *ἀνὰ λόγον καὶ τάξιν μίαν*—“on a uniform system and plan.” Cp. the *ἀνὰ λόγον* and *κατὰ λόγον* in the description of this kind of motion above at 893 d 1 f. Ast suggested that *καθ’* had fallen out before *ἕνα*.—The opposite of this motion is said below to be *μηδ’ ἐν κόσμῳ μηδ’ ἐν τάξει μηδὲ ἐν τινι λόγῳ*.—At *Timaeus* 34 a Plato says that to the spherical body of the universe its framer gave *κίνησιν* . . . *τὴν περὶ νοῦν καὶ φρόνησιν μάλιστα οὔσαν*. διὸ δὴ κατὰ ταῦτά ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν ἑαυτῷ περιαγαγὼν αὐτὸ ἐποίησε κύκλῳ κινεῖσθαι στρεφόμενον. Aristotle's criticisms of Plato's attempts to describe the mind's activity by the “image” of a stationary revolving sphere ignore the fact that it is an image and not an actual description. (*De an.* i. 3, 407 a.)

**b 2.** I think that *σφαίρας ἐντόρνου ἀπεικασμένα φοραῖς* is the addition of a commentator who failed to see that we have the *εἰκῶν* already in *τὴν ἐν ἐνὶ φερομένην κίνησιν*. The *ἀπεικασμένα* has only *ἄμφω* to agree with. It is as if after saying that B is an *εἰκῶν* of A one should say “both A and B have been likened to A.”

**b 5.** Eus. has *αὕτη γε ἡ* (for *αὗτὴ ἡ γε*), evidently a writer's mistake.

**c 1–5.** Either (1) the text of this passage has suffered mutilation or dislocation, or (2) the mind of the author was in a temporary confusion, or (3) we must suppose the sentence to have been suddenly interrupted by Cleinias's outburst at c 6. On the third supposition the verb, to which *ὥς* in c 1 was to be the introduction, was never uttered: *φατέον* (*ἔστί*) must be construed with *ἐπειδὴ*. For the following reasons I believe (3) to be the true view: (i) There is a suspicious pleonasm about “There is no longer any difficulty about expressly declaring that it must of



necessity be asserted that etc." (ii) Stallb.'s lame defence will not justify the μέν and δέ, if φατέον is construed with ὥς.—Ast does not mend matters by substituting γε for δέ. Fic., Schneid., Wagn., and Jowett ignore μέν and δέ. I would put a (—) instead of a full stop after ἐναντίαν. Probably the statement the Ath. was going on to make was just that which Cleinias makes for him, i.e. that the guiding ψυχὴ *must* in this case be the best one. The Ath.'s κάλλιστα ὑπήκουσας is equivalent to "just what I was going to say." Cp. the very similar sentence at 899 b 5 ff.—τὴν ἀρίστην ψυχὴν is "the best kind of soul."

c 7. μίαν ἢ πλείους: the repetition of these words in this connexion shows that at all events Cleinias did not understand the Ath. to mean that there was merely a *duality* of world-souls—one good and one bad.

d 1. προσυπάκουσον: Eus. has in this the support of L and the correctors of A and O, as against the προσάκουσον of A and O. Herm., Schn., and Wagn. prefer the reading of A and O. Herm. cps. *Euthyphro* 14 a where ἐργασίας (with a variant ἀπεργασίας) follows ἀπεργάζονται, and the (hardly parallel) case of *Laws* 810 c, where τάξει follows προστάξας. See also Adam's note on *Euthyphro* 1c.

d 8. Eus., Fic., and all editors but Schneider read τίνος; AL and O however have τίνας; Wagn. is so sure that τίνος; is right that he presumes Schneider's τίνας; to be a misprint. It is not an important point, but, on the face of it, τίνος; is not so far preferable as to discredit the MSS.

d 11. ἐλπίς πολλή, "there is every reason for believing." He does not claim to be positive, about disembodied spirits, and all spirits, that they are all, always, indiscernible by our bodily senses.—τὸ παράπαν goes with ἀναίσθητον. Schneider and Wagner take it with τὸ γένος—in the sense, I suppose, "in every case," "speaking generally"—Schn. translates "universum hoc genus." The use of (τὸ) παράπαν is against this. For τὸ παράπαν seems to have a natural affinity for a negative, or a negative expression.

e 2. περιπεφυκέναι: the word which he chooses to describe vaguely the attachment of soul to body means "to envelop, to cling to"; cp. *Rep.* 612 a where it is used of the earthly "incrustations" which the soul contracts on earth, as a ship does at sea. It shows how remarkably unfettered Plato's mind was by the letter of a metaphor, that he should in one place treat the soul as the enveloped, and in another as the enveloping element.

(Ast, seizing on the fact that Eus. has *μόνον* after *εἶναι*, would put commas after *τοῦτο* and *αἰσθήσεσι*, and a colon after *μόνον*, and give *περιπεφυκέναι* the meaning *superesse, relinqui*—a meaning not found for it elsewhere.) The main statement is contained in *τὸ παράπαν ἀναίσθητον ταῖς τοῦ σώματος αἰσθήσεσι*, as the contrasted *νοητὸν δ' εἶναι* shows; *ἡμῖν* is *dat. eth.*, and we must supply *τοῖς σώμασι* in thought with *περιπεφυκέναι*—"it adheres to bodies *without* being discernible by the bodily senses." (Stallb. takes *περιπεφ.* directly with the *dat. αἰσθήσεσι*.)—Eus. has *μόνον*  $\phi$  in the place of the asyndetic *νῶ μόνῳ* of the MSS. Zürr. and Herm. adopt Baiter's *νοητὸν δ' εἶναι νῶ μόνῳ*. <μόνῳ> δῆ, comparing *Phaedr.* 247 c (*ψυχῆς*) *κυβερνήτῃ μόνῳ θεατῇ νῶ*. Fic., though leaving out some points, gives the main sense of the passage clearly: "Idque genus cum nullo corporis sensu percipiat *sola mente* comprehenditur. Quare et nos de ipso hoc *sola intelligentia* capiamus."

e 5. That Eus. gives us *εἰ περιάγει* for the MS. *εἵπερ ἄγει* is disturbing. Ast, Zürr., Wagn., and Herm. follow Eus.

e 10. It is best to put a comma after *ἐξωθεν*, to show that it does not go with *πορρωμένῃ*, but with *ὠθεῖ*. (Jowett, on the other hand, translates "provides herself with an external body . . . and violently propels.")—Schneider is the only editor since Ast who has not followed him in adopting Eus.'s *αὐτῇ* for the MS. *αὐτῇ*.

899 a 1 f. *ὠθεῖ βία σώματι σῶμα*: Ritter well cps. *Critias* 109 b *θεοὶ . . . οἷον νομῆς ποίμνια . . . ἡμᾶς ἔτρεφον, πλὴν οὐ σώματι σώματα βιαζόμενοι*—the motive power being *persuasion*.

a 3. *ὑπερβαλλούσας θαύματι*, "miraculous," and so inexplicable. Plato's own hypothesis was clearly the first of the three.

a 4. *ποδηγεί*: Stallb. remarks that, though *Ep.* vii. 340 c 7 is the only other place where Plato uses this word, it and *ποδηγετεῖν* were great favourites with the Neoplatonists.

a 5. Herm. rightly gives *τοῦτο . . . διάγειν* to Cleinias. In so doing he follows Ficinus, and is followed by Wagn., Stallb. (1860), and Burnet.

a 7. Schneider rejects the otiose and barely intelligible *αὐτοῦ δὴ ἄμεινον*, and inserts a *δῆ* after *ταύτην*. Those who defend the words either take *ἄμεινον* to stand for *ἄμεινόν ἐστι* (so Fic.), thus rendering *χρεῶν* in a 9 superfluous, or take it to be equivalent to *ἄμεινον ὃν* (Wagn. and H. Richards suppose *ὃν* to have been lost) —"and this soul of the sun which is therefore better than the sun," Jowett. But what does this add to the sense of the passage?

I would offer the conjecture that the sentence possibly began, as Schneider has it, *ταύτην δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν*, and that a commentator, not liking the asyndeton, and wishing to substitute *αὖ* for *δὲ* (either here or at b 3), wrote at the side *αὖ τοῦ δὲ ἄμεινον*.

a 8. *ἐν ἄρμασιν ἔχουσα*: at *Tim.* 41 e the body of a star is represented as the *ὄχημα* into which its soul is placed. If Fic., Stallb., and Jowett are right, we have quite a different metaphor here, for they represent the soul of the sun as carrying about its body in a chariot. In that case the chariot is something exterior to both. But surely Ast, Schneider, and Wagn. are right in taking *ἐν ἄρμασιν ἔχουσα ἄγει* to mean "drives it *as it would a chariot*." This extension of the use of *ἐν* in the sense of *among* to that of *under the head of*, and so *like*, is supported here by the exigencies of the sense of the passage, but hardly by *ἐν οὐσίᾳ* at 913 b 8, to which Ast appeals; for there *ἐν οὐσίᾳ* is the counterpart of *ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ*. (Such a use is exactly that of the French *en* in the sense of *en qualité de*.)—*ἡμῖν* is the ethic dat. of the people whose point of view is being considered.

a 9. Stallb. proposes to read *καί* for the second *εἴθ'*; this change would bring the phrase into the form in which it occurs elsewhere, but it does not seem impossible that a repeated *εἴτε* should take the place of the usual *καί*—which occurs at b 8 below. The formula is of the same pleonastic kind as the *πάντως καὶ πάντα* of *Phil.* 60 c 2. See Burnet on *Phaedo* 100 d 6.

b 3. *ἄστρον δὲ*: the asyndeton suits the solemn enunciation of the conclusion of the whole matter. All editors, however, except Burnet have adopted O<sup>2</sup>'s insertion of a *δέ* before the simple *δὲ* of ALO.—*ἐνιαυτῶν κτλ.*: we need not fancy that Plato's poetic imagination carried him so far as to postulate souls for years, months, and seasons; they are only mentioned as being the form in which the heavenly bodies "arrange" (*κοσμοῦσιν*) our life for us; they are the *πάντα ταῦτα* of which the *ψυχαί* of the moon and stars are the *αἰτίαι*.

b 5. *τὸν αὐτόν*: i.e. the same as in the case of the sun.—*ψυχὴ μὲν ἢ ψυχαί*: again he leaves open the question whether it is *one* divine soul which moves the universe, or *several*.

b 7. *εἴτε ἐν σώμασιν ἐνοῦσαι κτλ.*, "whether, in their direction of the whole universe, they occupy bodies like ordinary animated beings, or however they do it." Fic. and Schn. translate *κοσμοῦσιν* by (*ex*)*orient*; i.e. they suppose Plato to be using *οὐρανός* in the sense of *sky*. (Fic.'s "tanquam animalia quaedam" suggests that he

was thinking of the constellations and signs of the zodiac with bodily forms.)

**b 8 f.** L and O<sup>2</sup> are clearly right in reading ὅπως for the ὅλως of A and O. Perhaps this ὅλως was the reason why Fic. interpolates an "Omnino" from Cleinias, as an answer to the Ath.'s question. —The MSS. have εἴθ' (ὅστις); further, A and O have ὁμολογῶν (and so the corrector of L), while L and O<sup>2</sup> have ὁμολογεῖ; all MSS. have for the next word ὑπομένει. The vulgate, till Steph., was εἴθ' ὅστις ταῦτα ὁμολογεῖ ὑπομένει . . .; Steph. saw that we ought to read ὑπομενεῖ. Boeckh wrote εἴθ' for εἴθ'. Then Ast, finding (from Cod. Voss.) that the MSS. probably had ὁμολογῶν, and not ὁμολογεῖ, divined what all subsequent editors except Bekker, Schn., and Wagn. hold to be the right reading, i.e. εἴθ' ὅστις ταῦτα ὁμολογῶν ὑπομενεῖ . . . (Schn. and Wagn. read εἴθ' . . . ὁμολογῶν, Schn. reads ὑπομένει and Wagn. ὑπομενεῖ. Fic.'s translation is "Ita ergo istis concessis poteritne aliquis negare?")

**b 9.** θεῶν εἶναι πλήρη πάντα: it is difficult to decide whether πάντα means πάντα τὰ ἄστροα, or "all the universe." It is generally taken in the latter sense, and compared with Aristotle's statement (*De an.* i. 411 a 8) καὶ Θαλῆς ὥηθη πάντα πλήρη θεῶν εἶναι. Cp. also Stob. *Ecl. Phys.* i. 3. 28 Θαλῆς νοῦν τοῦ κόσμου τὸν θεὸν τὸ δὲ πᾶν ἔμψυχον ἅμα καὶ θεῶν πλήρες.

**c 3.** εἰπόντες ὅρους ἀπαλλαττώμεθα, "these are the final terms which we will offer him."

**c 8.** τούτων συνεπόμενα: for the gen. with ἐπόμενος Stallb. cps. *Polit.* 271 e, *Rep.* 504 b (where see Adam's note). O<sup>2</sup> has τούτῳ for τούτων.

**c 9.** L and the corrector of O preserved the right reading ἡμῶν, ἡμῖν; A has ἡμῶν ἢ ὧν, with ἡμῖν in the marg.

**d 1 f.** ὁρώμεν οὖν εἴτε ἰκανῶς . . . εἴτε ἐπιδεῶς: this looks more like an alternative *clausula* to the *disputatio*, than a continuation of the remark about "final terms." Probably Plato did not mean both to stand.

**d 4.** τούτοις, "as far as these men are concerned."—ἡμῖν τὸ λόγων, "our argument." For the bare gen. with the article Stallb. cps. τὰ πολέμου at 628 d 8 and τό γε φίλων καὶ ἐταίρων at 729 c 8.

**d 6.** ὦ ἄριστε δὴ φῶμεν: for the hyperbaton of the δὴ cp. Stallb.'s note on *Phaedr.* 258 a ἔδοξέ ποῦ φησι, and Ast's on 715 e 7 ἄνδρες τοῖνυν φῶμεν πρὸς αὐτούς, where he cps. 772 e 7.

**d 7.** ὅτι μὲν ἡγῆ θεούς: not "because you believe in gods" (as Wagn.), but "as to your belief in gods."



d 8. *τιμᾶν καὶ νομίζειν εἶναι* stands for ὥστε *τιμᾶν κ. ν. εἶ*; *αὐτό* (i.e. τὸ σύμφυτον, i.e. τοὺς θεούς) is to be supplied in thought as the object of the infinitives. Fic. translates as if he had read *πρὸς τὸ τὸ σύμφυτον ἄγει τιμᾶν*—"ad rem tibi coniunctam affirmandam colendamque ducit."

e 2. O has preserved for us the right reading *εὐδαιμονιζόμεναι*, to which an ordinary scribe's error had in AL and O<sup>2</sup> added a *s*. The early edd. down to Steph. and Ed. Bipont. read *δόξαι δὲ εὐδαιμονιζόμεναι*. Ast gives from Theodor. *δόξῃ δὲ εὐδαιμονιζόμεναι*.

e 3 f. *ἐν μούσαις ὑμνούμεναι* κτλ. is subordinate to and explanatory of *δόξαις εὐδαιμονιζόμεναι*. The lot of these men is falsely reputed a happy one, and the reputation is expressed in, or springs from, the mistakes of poets and talkers of all sorts. (Wagn. brackets *ἐν τε . . . λόγοις* as spurious.)—Burnet puts a full stop after *λόγοις*, others only a colon.

e 4 ff. *ἡ καὶ . . . ἀφικομένους*: this passage has suffered many alterations from scribes and critics. Burnet has done better service to his author by printing the text which has the best authority, than have those editors who aimed more at intelligibility and style. A late hand in A prefixed *ἀνοσίους* to *ἀνθρώπων* (in the margin), but though it occurs in no other MS. Burnet alone of all editors rejects it. Eus. and the margin of O insert *ὅταν*, Burnet says before, others after *τὸ νῦν* in 900 a 2; *ὅταν* was first printed by Ast, but placed by him before *ιδῶν*; A seems to have at first written *αἰσθανόμενος* for *αἰσθόμενος*, and *πᾶσιν* for *παντάπασιν*, and to have omitted the *αὐτὸς* before *αὐτόπτης* (for which word Eus. has *αὐτῶν τινι*); the generally adopted *προστυχῶν* for the *προστυχῆς* of the MSS. and Eus. has only the authority of the corrector of O; finally the early editions introduced *ὀρᾶς*—to govern the acc. *ἀφικομένους*—before *ἐκ* in a 5. Other suggested alterations are *εἰδὼς* for *ιδῶν* in a 2 (Winckelmann); Ritter would reject *ιδῶν* and (reading *προστυχῶν*) change *ἀφικομένους* to *ἀφικομένοις* (to agree with the dat. instr. *τισίν*). The punctuation has also been variously arranged. Schneider's and Burnet's texts agree except that Schn. adopts the vulgate *ἀνοσίους* in e 5, and *αἰσθανόμενος* in a 2, and that Burnet inserts a comma after *αὐτόπτης* in a 3. Herm. rejects *αὐτός* in a 3 (as well as *ὅταν* and *ὀρᾶς*), but adopts *προστυχῶν* for *προστυχῆς*. The general sense of the passage as Burnet prints it is this: "You see old men ending their days in high honours, which pass to their descendants; and yet you are dismayed to find, either on the evidence of others, or may be by your personal experience of such crimes as you witness, that,

among these honoured names, some had used these very crimes to raise them from obscurity to the summit of power." τούτοις in a 2 is masc. ἰδών, which governs ἀφικομένους, is general—"finding"; the two alternative ways of "finding" are then parenthetically described. προστυχής goes directly with τωσίν.

900 a 6 f. δῆλος εἶ . . . διὰ συγγένειαν οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλων, "I can see that your kinship with them would make you unwilling to . . ."

a 8. ἀγόμενος ὑπό τε ἀλογίας ἅμα καὶ οὐ δυνάμενος δυσχεραίνειν θεούς: the τε and καί connect two logical but not grammatical equivalents; i.e. the two concurrent (ἅμα) motives by which the young half-sceptic ἄγεται—(1) he is the victim of his own short-sightedness, and (2) he cannot bring himself to find any fault in the gods. All editors but Schneider and Burnet adopt the τινος of L and A<sup>3</sup> for τε.—Stallb. prints ὑπό τέ τινος.—The ἀγόμενος of A<sup>2</sup> looks like a clever person's bad guess.

b 3. ἀμελεῖν: cp. the "careless of mankind" in Tennyson's *Lotos-Eaters*, and the picture there given of the gods of Epicurus.

b 4 f. εἰάν πως γενώμεθα δυνατοί is a very insufficient grammatical equivalent to ἵνα μὴ ἐπὶ μείζον ἔλθῃ σοι πάθος πρὸς ἀσέβειαν. Would it be best to accept O. Apelt's ἐναντίως for εἰάν πως? (*Eisenach Progr.* 1901). We get thereby an improved sense as well as an emended construction: "In order then that the belief you now hold may not make your state a worse one in the matter of impiety, but that we may fight it and be able by (our) arguments, as it were, to rid ourselves of its pollution when it approaches us." F.H.D., perhaps rightly, regards εἰάν πως as a parenthetical idiomatic "if possible," taking ἵνα with γενώμεθα as well as with ἔλθῃ. Cp. εἴπερ at e 6. προσιών, as at *Phaedo* 102 e and 103 d, has a suggestion of a hostile encounter (Ast, and Viger in Eus., conjectured the less apposite προῖόν for it).—(Wagn. regards πρὸς ἀσέβειαν as a "gloss.")

b 6. τὸν ἐξῆς λόγον is more than "the following argument"; ἐξῆς denotes an already existing connexion between the two topics—"deinceps dicenda" (Schn.).

c 2. ἀποκρινόμενοι διαδέχσθε, "take his place in answering"; cp. 758 b 1 φρουροῦντάς τε φρουροῦσιν διαδεχομένους.—Eus. and O<sup>2</sup> are clearly right in reading -όμενοι, as against the -άμενοι of A and O.

c 4. ἐγὼ σφῶν . . . δεξάμενος διαβιβῶ τὸν ποταμόν, "I will take over the task from you, and so get (you) across the river." (Cp. 892 d 6 ff.) Fic. translates as if he read σφῶ—the reading of

Steph., Ast, and Zür. The obj. of δεξάμενος is not "you," but "the task of answering"; it continues the idea of διαδέχεσθε in the previous line. For the dat. with δεξάμενος cp. Porson on Eur. *Hec.* 533, "Aristoph. *Lys.* 204 τὰ σφάγια δέξαι ταῖς γυναιξὶν εὐμενῆς; ubi ταῖς γυναιξὶν non minus regitur a δέξαι quam ab εὐμενῆς."

c 6. For the γε of A and O Eus. and the corrector of O have the more natural τε, which all modern editors but Schneider adopt. The vulgate, down to Ast, prints neither.

c 7. Ed. Lov., by a common error, omits εἰς.

c 9. τοῦτό γε MSS. Again Eus. and O<sup>2</sup> help the text by preserving the γε which A and O omit. Ed. Lov. makes here an emendation, which merits more attention than it has received, by reading τούτῳ γε. In view of the following ἦκουε it seems very likely that this is correct. τούτῳ is the τοῦ νέου of e 2.—οὐχ ἦττον, μάλλον δέ, ἢ τῶν μεγέθει διαφερόντων: Burnet alone ventures to print Eusebius's addition of μάλλον δέ; L's ἄλλων δέ before ἢ τῶν goes a long way to prove that the addition is not due to Eus. alone, but the context speaks against it. That the gods care for *all* things (d 3) is in no way a proof that they care for small things *more* than for great. Fic. apparently knew nothing of μάλλον δέ, though he translates ἢ τῶν μεγ. διαφ. I would suggest that certainly μάλλον δέ, and possibly all from οὐχ ἦττον to διαφερόντων, was the addition of some early Christian scribe. (F.H.D. would retain μάλλον δέ; he points out that the Ath. does not say that the gods *do* so care—only that it could be *argued* that they do.) (We may in this connexion recall Pasteur's salutary reminder of the importance of the "infiniment petits.")

d 1. ἦκουε: i.e. ὁ νέος. The vulgate down to Ast (including Ed. Lov.) adopted a foolish correction, of the correctors of A and O, to ἦκουον (and in d 4 to ἐπήκουον). Ast gives the whole speech, from ἀλλ' οὐδέν down to ἐπήκουον, to Megillus.

d 5. If συνεταζόντων, which is the sole reading of all MSS., and of Eus., is correct, we must suppose that Plato suddenly imagines himself confronted in argument by several opponents, in place of the single νέος. Steph. thought we should read συνεξετάζωμεν, and so Ast, Herm., and Wagn.; Fic. translates "communiter investigemus," but as "let them examine together with us" comes to the same thing as "let us examine together with them," this does not prove that he read συνεξετάζωμεν. He departs more than this from the Greek in the former part of the sentence.

e 6. εἴπερ is equivalent to "when they *do* belong to anyone."

e 10. ἀμέλεια: cp. "Don't-care came to the gallows."

901 a 2. L and O<sup>2</sup> give Cleinias's answer as εἰς τοῦναντίον; O and A<sup>2</sup> as τοῦναντίον; A and Eus. omit it.

a 4. κηφήσι κοθούροις: the passage of Hesiod to which Plato refers is *Op. et Di.* 303 τῷ δὲ θεοὶ νεμεσῶσι καὶ ἄνδρες ὃς κὲν ἀεργὸς ζῶη, κηφήνεσσι κοθούροις εἵκελος ὀρμήν.

a 5. [ὁ] τοιοῦτος: by the rejection of the ὁ Burnet reduces the sentence to order. The predicative τοιοῦτος is the antecedent to ὃν, just as τοιοῦτον in a 7 is antecedent to ὃ in a 8. I would further suggest that we ought to replace the (:) at the end by a full stop: "Every man who is *τρυφῶν* etc. must be pronounced such a one as the poet likened to drones." Burnet also takes his own line in preferring the πᾶς of Eus. and the correctors of A and O to the original and commonly printed πᾶσιν. (Stallb. also prints πᾶς, but he wants to change it to κακός.) Fic., Ast, Wagn., and Winckelmann believe that some word like ἐχθρός or μισητός has fallen out after πᾶσιν ἡμῖν. This view they support by recalling Hesiod's νεμεσῶσι, and pointing to the αὐτὸς μισεῖ at a 8. To say nothing of the violence of the supposition of the loss of so important a word, the ὁ τοιοῦτος is awkward and unnecessary: moreover Cleinias's answer—"and he was quite right to call him so"—by no means fits in with that question. (Herm. would read πᾶς ἐν ἡμῖν, and Wagn. follows him. Schneider boldly makes ὁ τοιοῦτος a predicate, "nonne omnium nostrum iudicio talis sit?" (where is the *nonne*?). Jowett's interpretation is very ingenious; he takes ὁ τοιοῦτος to mean "one who takes care of great and small," referring to 900 c 9. But who could be expected to go so far back for an explanation of ὁ τοιοῦτος?)

a 8. ὁ γέ τοι αὐτὸς μισεῖ: for the τοι we are indebted to L and the margin of O. The first hand of O wrote it τι, and A and Eus. omitted it. (Steph. conjectured that we ought to read τοι.) We must suppose that the Hesiodic quotation was so familiar that the Ath. could rely on his hearers remembering τῷ δὲ θεοὶ νεμεσῶσι.—Even if, with Winckelmann, we had read πᾶσι νεμεσητός at a 5, that does not amount to the statement that "God hates sloth."

b 1 f. ᾗ μὲν . . . ὁ δὲ τούτου γε νοῦς κτλ.: for the change in the construction cp. Stallb.'s note on *Polit.* 306 c 7, and *Gorg.* 454 b 10 ὁ δοκεῖ μὲν δῆλον εἶναι, ἐγὼ δ' ἐπαπερωτῶ.—The scribe of Eus., or Eus. himself, misread γε νοῦς into γένους, and prefixed τοῦ to it.



**b 3 f.** κατὰ τίνα ἐπαινοῦντες τὸν τοιοῦτον λόγον οὐκ ἂν παντά-  
 πασι πλημμελοῖμεν; "to praise such a man on any grounds would  
 be an inexcusable mistake." The hyperbaton of the λόγον is  
 noticeable.—As did A at 900 a 3, A and O first wrote πᾶσι for  
 παντάπασι.

**b 5.** ἄρ' οὐ κατὰ δύο εἶδη τὸ τοιοῦτον πράττει ὁ πράττων, εἴτε  
 θεὸς εἴτ' ἄνθρωπος; "are there not two sorts of such an action,  
 whether the doer is God or man?"

**c 1.** εἰ διαφέρει, ὁ δὲ ἀμελεῖ: we should say "if, notwith-  
 standing their importance, he still neglects them."

**c 4.** ὦν goes with δυνάμει; it is the same gen. that we have  
 with δύναμις at d 8, and with αἰσθήσεις and ἐπιστήμαι at d 5.  
 (Ast and Jowett govern ὦν by the following ἐπιμελεῖσθαι.)

**c 5.** δυνάμει . . . ἑλλιπής: another curious hyperbaton, which  
 marks the intervening words as a parenthesis; "whether he be a  
 god or some insignificant creature." Stallb. thought that ἄνθρωπος  
 must have fallen out before τις; but the words in the text, coming  
 so soon after the parallel εἴτε θεὸς εἴτε ἄνθρωπος of b 6, are surely  
 significant enough as they stand. So below at 903 a 2 ἀργὸν ἢ  
 δειλὸν τίνα is contrasted with τὸν θεόν.—The καί is explanatory,  
 μὴ δυνατὸς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι being an alternative expression for  
 δυνάμει ἑλλιπής.

**c 8.** Here begins a strict investigation of the questions (1) Do  
 the gods neglect men? and (2) are they παραιτητοί? The dis-  
 cussion of the first repeats and resumes some of what precedes.

**d 4.** Eus. omits αἱ, and so Matthiae and Herm. Stallb. says  
 it is "eae quas novimus." Is it not "our"?

**d 5.** A and O's λέγεται for λέγετε is an example of a very  
 ordinary scribe's blunder, corrected by O<sup>2</sup>. Eus.'s δέ γε for λέγετε  
 is less ordinary.

**e 1.** Cp. Tim. 29 e 1.

**e 5.** τὸ παράπαν goes with the negative in ἀδύνατον, "is it  
 not absolutely impossible?"—Eus. and L<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>2</sup> have a plausible  
 variant for ὁμολογοῦμεν in λέγομεν.

**e 6.** δειλίας ἔκγονος is predicate. F.H.D., comparing 903 a 2,  
 points out that δειλία denotes a feeling of *shrinking*, comparing  
 ἀργία to the American phrase "lying back."

**902 a 1.** οὐκοῦν τὸ λοιπόν is repeated in τί τὸ λοιπόν . . . ;  
 at a 3—"the conclusion then is . . . what is the conclusion?"—  
 καί is "or."

**a 2.** ἢ γινώσκοντες ὥς τὸ παράπαν οὐδενὸς τῶν τοιούτων  
 ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δεῖ, δρῶν ἂν τοῦτο, . . . τοῦναντίον; "either they

would do this *with a knowledge* that there was not a single one of such things which they were bound to care for, or—what is left (for us to suppose) except (that they have) the opposite of knowledge? i.e. “either they know that they have no such duty, or they do not know it.” Ritter (p. 310) says that Plato must have meant to say “either they know that they are bound to *neglect* nothing.” It is true that he does put it that way in what follows, for he goes on to say “do you say that they *do* know, or do *not* know that it is their duty to care?” Anyhow, Ritter is ill-advised in proposing to emend ἐπιμελεῖσθαι to ἀμελεῖσθαι (mid.), for there is no such word.—The author of the variant οὐδὲν δεῖ mentioned by O seems to have thought that the statement would be clearer if the negative were doubled.

a 4. τῷ γινώσκειν (taken by some as dat. instr. with δρῶν) is governed by τοῦναντίον.—The vulgate has τὸ γιγ.; Eus. has τοῦ γιγ., which Ast adopts. For such a gen. (which is unlikely) cp. *Laches* 188 e 3, *Rep.* 362 e 2.

a 9. ποιεῖν, which Herm. would reject (along with the comma after it) is only awkward if οὐ ποιεῖν, at the end of the sentence, is taken with λέγονται. The λέγονται clause finishes at πράττουσιν (as Burnet's comma indicates); οὐ ποιεῖν depends directly on λέγοντα in a 7. ὥς . . . γινώσκοντας will not (as Schn. and Jowett) make a sentence by itself; Jowett translates as if we had εἰδότας in a 9. (Schn. puts a colon after ποιεῖν in a 9.)—For βελτίῳ πράττειν cp. above, 863 c 3; Eus. has βέλτιον.

b 1. διὰ τινὰς ἥττας ἡδονῶν ἢ λυπῶν: cp. 869 e 7 δι’ ἥττας ἡδονῶν τε καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ φθόνων.—τινας, like the τινῶν below at d 8, is slightly contemptuous.

b 3. πῶς γὰρ ἄν; i.e. “it is equally impossible to say either (1) that the gods neglect what is their duty through *ignorance* (901 d 3), or (2) that they neglect it because they are too weak and self-indulgent to do it.” This is not (as Ritter 310 f. says it is) a repetition of what was said at 901 b 8. There the alternative to sloth was the belief “that small things do not matter”; here it is proved that, if they do matter, a god must *know* it.—Plato goes on to hint that perhaps man is not so small a matter after all; but even if he is—and *perhaps he is*—small things have a special dignity and usefulness of their own.

b 5. For the dignity of ἔμψυχος φύσις cp. above 896 c f.; for man's being “the very god-fearingest of creatures” cp. *Tim.* 41 e.

b 8. θεῶν κτήματα εἶναι: cp. *Phaedo* 62 b 8, and below 906 a 7, and *Critias* 109 b 6 f.

**b 9.** ὥνπερ: Burnet tells us that ἡ νοερά took the place of ὥνπερ in Eusebius's text—was this a scribe's misreading?—Wytttenbach (on *Phaedo* 62 b), Ast, and Stallb. assume it to have been inserted by Eus. between ζῶα and ὥνπερ. W. moreover, like Ast, would read ὥσπερ for ὥνπερ. ὥνπέρ (φαμεν) is equivalent to καὶ τούτων φαμέν.—τὸν οὐρανὸν ὅλον is "the universe." (Stallb., perversely comparing *Tim.* 69 c, where the universe is called a ζῶον, supposes ὥνπερ κτλ. to mean "one of which is the universe." This ignores the point that *we*, as well as the universe, are κτήματα.)

**b 11.** The ἡ which Eus. has before σμικρά does not alter the sense.—The doubtful form πεφάτω of L and O<sup>2</sup> seems to be meant as an active, corresponding to the passive πεφάσθω of *Tim.* 72 d.

**c 1.** The γάρ follows on an implied "it does not matter," or "I care not."

**c 2.** ἐπιμελεστάτοις: this suggests the analogy of the good farmer, and his care for his stock.

**c 3.** The γάρ to which Steph. and Ast object, and for which Eus. has δέ, is used in its literal sense: what follows gives a reason why the gods should be expected to care for the small things; i.e. the difficulty of perceiving small things adds dignity and importance to their discovery and comprehension.

**d 2-5.** "Take a physician who has to treat a patient as a whole: if he is willing and able to look after large members, but pays no attention to the small parts, will his subject as a whole fare well?" προστεταγμένον is an absolute, impersonal construction. Burnet's text follows the best authorities, and gives a good sense. All other texts adopt O<sup>2</sup>'s correction of the MS. ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοῦ ἐπιμελουμένου; both that, and the ἀμελεῖν of L and O<sup>2</sup> (for A and O's ἀμελοῦντι) were doubtless due to the desire to regularize the μέν and δέ clauses. The abnormally late position of the μέν was probably due to the author's desire to keep βουλομένῳ and δυναμένῳ together (cp. below, e 8). Possibly the τῶν and μέν have been accidentally transposed; probably τῶν should be rejected. In sense the μέν goes with βουλ. κ. δυν. (Eus. has δὴ for δέ in d 2, and has altered ἐπιμελεῖσθαι to ἐπιμελές ἔσται, and ἀμελοῦντι to ἀμελές; he also puts in εἴθ' before ἔξει. Fic., Ast, Wagn., and Jowett make θεραπεύειν depend on βουλ. κ. δυν., but then προστεταγμένον as a mere epithet of ὅλον τι is otiose, and so is αὐτῷ in d 4.)

**d 9.** πολλὰ ἡ μέγала are, of course, the subject to a mentally repeated καλῶς ἔξει.—οὐδέ: even such humble δημιουργοί as

"wallers" know the importance of the small stones—a singularly apt analogy.

**e 1 and 8.** We have here two curious examples of the omission by scribes of a passage owing to homoioteleuta; O left out *φασιν λιθολόγοι λίθους* here, and at e 8 both A and O omitted *τ' ἐπιμελείσθαι καὶ δυνάμενον*.

**903 a 1.** *ἦν* (which Eus. omits) is the "philosophic" imperf. Cp. 668 b 6.

**a 7.** "I believe we have now *reasoned* perfectly satisfactorily with the man who charged the gods with neglect." Cp. above, 885 c 8. — *μάλιστα μετρίως* is a strengthened form of *μάλα μετρίως*; more usually *μάλα* is strengthened in Plato by a prefixed *καί*, e.g. above at 648 a 8, *Phaedr.* 265 a *καὶ μάλ' ἀνδρικῶς*. Eus. has *καὶ μάλα μετρίως* here—a variant mentioned in O, and adopted by Zürr., Herm., and Wagn.

**a 10.** *τῷ γε βιάζεσθαι τοῖς λόγοις*, "yes, (we have done so) by forcing him by our arguments." To win him thoroughly over to our side we want more than argument; we must appeal to his soul as well as to his reason; we will use *ἐπωδοὶ μῦθοι*—put the case in such a way as to *charm* him into full agreement with us. Cp. above, 671 a 1 and other similar uses of *ἐπώδός* and *ἐπάδειν*. (Jowett translates *ἐπ. μύθ.* by "consolation.")—Herm. gives *δοκοῦμεν . . . θεῶν* to Cleinias, and begins the Ath.'s answer *Ναί, τῷ γε βιάζεσθαι*.—A unaccountably gives *ὀρθῶς* by itself to Cleinias; so too the vulg., but not Fic.

**b 4.** *πέιθωμεν τὸν νεανίαν τοῖς λόγοις*: i.e. "instead of *compelling* him by our words"—the *βιάζεσθαι τοῖς λόγοις* of a 10—"we will use our representations to win his voluntary assent."

**b 5.** All editors, including the correctors of A and O, accept Eus.'s *ὅλου* for the unintelligible *λόγου* of A and O.

**b 6.** The *συν-* in *συντεταγμένα* conveys the notion that all things are fitted into a consistent *system*.—*εἰς δύναμιν* implies that the perfection of the system is limited by the powers of individual creatures; so below, 904 c 2 it is implied that the formation of character depends on the nature of the individual's aspirations.—"And each single member of them all, as far as its powers allow, receives its proper experience, and produces its proper effect."

**b 7 ff.** *τούτοις δ' εἰσὶν ἄρχοντες προστεταγμένοι ἐκάστοις ἐπὶ τὸ σμικρότατον αἰὲ πάθης καὶ πράξεως, εἰς μερισμὸν τὸν ἔσχατον τέλος ἀπειργασμένοι*, "all of these arrangements have for every act or experience—even the most insignificant—their appointed



controllers who have achieved perfection in the minutest details." *ἄρχοντες* presents much difficulty. Probably the name includes, besides *man*, such creative powers or divine artificers as are imagined in the *Timaeus* (41 a ff.), to whom are entrusted by the supreme being the constitution of man and his environment. (Personified Laws of Nature.) Renan's words sound like an echo of this passage when he says (*Dial. phil.*), "Nous sommes tous des fonctions de l'univers. Le devoir consiste à ce que chacun remplisse bien sa fonction."—(Ritter p. 318 seems to take τέλος ἀπειργασμένοι to mean "having had arranged for them the end for which they must strive." Another idea is that τέλος is used in the sense of *authority*.)

c 1. ὁ σκέτλις, "stubborn man" (Jowett).—συντείνει βλέπον, "has its whole energy directed towards." The man himself does not realize this (σὲ δὲ λέληθε), but such is the inflexible fiat of his ἄρχοντες; such is his only *raison d'être*.

c 3. ὡς γένεσις ἕνεκα ἐκείνου γίγνεται πᾶσα, ὅπως ἦ τῷ τοῦ παντός βίῳ ὑπάρχουσα εὐδαίμων οὐσία: all MSS. have ὅπως ἦ τῷ, and so the first four printed editions. Eus. acc. to Burnet has ὅπως ἦ τῷ. Fic. and all editors but Burnet from Steph. onward accepted O<sup>2</sup>'s amalgamation of these two readings in the form, ὅπως ἦ ἢ τῷ. Burnet alone refuses to accept O<sup>2</sup>'s conjecture, and prints the text which Eusebius gives, and which the MS. reading partially confirms. With Eusebius's and Burnet's text the subject is εὐδαίμων οὐσία, a paraphrase for εὐδαιμονία; the verb is ὑπάρχουσα ἦ, which stands for ὑπάρχει (cp. 774 c 6), and the words mean, "in order that happiness may attend" (or "may be secured by") "the life of the universe." In c 3 ἐκείνου introduces the ὅπως clause, but probably in c 5 it stands for τοῦ παντός. γένεσις πᾶσα includes the birth, production, or creation of the individual man—i.e. it is "every single individual creation—even so insignificant a one as yourself." Probably γιγνομένη refers to γένεσις, not to εὐδαίμων οὐσία; "the act of creation does not take place in *your* interest; it is *you* who are created in the interest of the universe." . . . With this whole passage cp. *Philebus* 54 c 4 σύμπασαν δὲ γένεσιν οὐσίας ἕνεκα γίγνεσθαι συμπάσης.

c 6. παντός μὲν ἕνεκα πάντα ἐργάζεται: παντός is generally translated here as if it were τοῦ παντός, and the fact is ignored that the following μέρος μὴν ἕνεκα ὅλου is strongly contrasted by the μὴν (cp. 860 e 1 f.) with the previous μὲν clause. The πᾶς, παντός and πάντα, thus accumulated, sound like a proverbial phrase, the meaning of which seems to be: "all kinds of crafts-

men have all kinds of ends in view." He goes on to say that there is, however, *one* point in which they are all alike—you will never see a craftsman who makes a whole with a view to the advantage of a part: it is the other way round. For a similar line of thought cp. *Rep.* 420 b—421 c. (Ritter would read *τινὸς* for *παντὸς*, but this ignores the contrast indicated by *μὲν . . . μήν*.)

c 7. Eusebius and all MSS. have *συντεῖνον*, but all editors since Steph. (except Schneider and Burnet) have adopted Steph.'s *συντείνων* for it. *συντεῖνον πρὸς τὸ κοινῇ βέλτιστον* ("so as to serve the general good") agrees with *μέρος*. Burnet emphasizes this connexion by omitting the comma which other editors have placed after *βέλτιστον*.

d 1. *σὺ δὲ ἀγανακτεῖς . . . γενέσεως*, "whereas you are discontented—you don't see how that condition of your affairs which is best for the universe is a success for you too, in virtue of the power of your common origin." *συμβαίνει* probably has the fuller meaning which it bears above at 744 a 4 *εἰ μοι συμβαίνει τοῦτο*, but it *may* merely mean "is equally so (i.e. best) for you too." (Stallb. makes only *τὸ περὶ σὲ ἄριστον* the subject of the sentence: "quomodo quod habita tui ratione optimum est universo conveniat itemque tibi.")—The soul that recognizes this truth is more useful in the universe than one that does not; and so, Plato goes on to tell us, the Disposer of all things takes occasion, when souls change bodies, to promote the useful soul to a good place, and degrade the useless one.

d 5. *δι' ἐαυτὴν ἢ δι' ἑτέραν ψυχὴν*: he has here in mind the two kinds of physical motion described at 894 b c, and finds it applicable to *animi motus* as well. The influence of one soul upon another is again noticed below in the *διὰ τὴν . . . ὁμιλίαν* at 904 d 5.

e 3. All editors have adopted the *ἥπερ* of LO<sup>2</sup> and Eus. for the impossible *εἶπερ* of A and O.—The MSS. and Eus. have *ἂν ἔχοι ῥαστώνης*, and so apparently Fic. Aldus (?) inserted *λόγον* before *ἔχοι*, and Steph. further changed *ῥαστώνης* to *ῥαστώνη*. All editors but Schneider and Burnet reproduce Steph.'s text. Schneider goes half way back to the MSS. by recalling *ῥαστώνης* (while keeping *λόγον*), Burnet rightly goes back all the way. The vulgate makes Plato say: "I believe I can point out to you *how reasonable* is an easy supervision of all things by the gods"; the MSS. "I believe I can point out *how* the supervision of all things *by* the gods *is easy*." *ἥπερ ἂν ἔχοι ῥαστώνης* has the same idiomatic gen. as *πὼς ἔχεις δόξης*; at *Rep.* 456 d.

The "ease" had already been indicated by the words οὐδὲν ἄλλο . . . πλήν at d 5 f.

e 3 ff. The main idea of the two following paragraphs seems to be that ἡ εἰμαρμένη (cp. 904 c 8) has ordained that certain types are unalterable. On the one hand dead matter does not change arbitrarily from one kind to another, and on the other ψυχή cannot enter *any* kind of matter—it must be a certain kind of body. Some kinds of body have greater powers and opportunities than others of advancing the interests of the universe, and some souls have more inclination than others to advance those interests: in other words, some souls are better than others. At each fresh γένεσις the πεπτευτής has only to assign body to soul, and in so doing considers the inclination and character of the soul in question.

e 4. πρὸς τὸ ὅλον αἰὲ βλέπων, "in his constant endeavour to serve the whole." Stallb. and Ritter accept the correction of Cod. Laur. lxxxv. 9 which inserts a μή before πρὸς, thus making it "instead of keeping always in view the interests of the whole." Either reading would make sense, but one is as possible as the other. The important word is the part. μετασχηματίζων.

e 5. τις is some divine agency spoken of as a person.

e 6. ἔμψυχον, "with a soul in it." (Badham, *Phil.* p. vii., would read ἐκ πυρὸς ὕδωρ, ἔμψυχα καὶ μή. It must be admitted that the received text is very mysterious.)—καὶ μὴ σύμπολλα ἐξ ἑνὸς ἢ ἐκ πολλῶν ἔν: i.e. "instead of being confined to the increase or reduction of the numbers of fixed types." (Cornarius, followed by Ast, would read καὶ ἢ for καὶ μή—as if the change were a complication of those previously mentioned.)

904 a 1. The three γένεσις are not the same as the three transformations mentioned above at 894 a as steps in the process of γένεσις, but are generally assumed to be separate incarnations of an individual soul. (Cp. *Tim.* 42 b c.)

a 2. By removing the comma placed after μετεληφότα by other editors, Herm. and Burnet indicate that it goes closely with πλήθεσιν ἄπειρ' ἂν εἴη (so too Ritter). By the time that souls had reached their third incarnation the boundless multiplicity of kinds would render a purposeful rearrangement very difficult, if not impossible.—The ἄπορ' of A<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>2</sup> gets some slight support from Eus.'s ἂν ὁρᾶν, and the ῥαστώνη in the next line; but we want a stronger word here.—τῆς μετατιθεμένης (pass.) κοσμήσεως is a gen. denoting that in relation to which the adj. ἄπειρα is applied; the privative ἀ- helps the use of the gen. Cp.

*Rep.* 619 d πόνων ἀγυμνάστους, *Theaet.* 175 a ἄτοπα . . . τῆς σμικρολογίας. (Herm. and Ritter make τῆς μετ. κοσμ. depend on πλήθεσιν; Schneider and Wagn. give the participle an active, and Ritter a reflexive meaning.)—Eus. and the second hands in L and O rightly substitute μετατιθεμένης for the διατιθεμένης of A and O. Schneider keeps the latter, translating *adornantis dispositionis*.

a 6. ἐμψύχους οὔσας τὰς πράξεις ἀπάσας: no greater stretch of language is involved in talking of the *soul* of an action than in talking of its *virtue* or *vice*; the actions are the result of, or inspired by, the soul that started them.

a 8. ἀνώλεθρον δὲ ὃν γενόμενον, ἀλλ' οὐκ αἰώνιον, ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα: ἀνώλεθρον is predicate, the verb being not ὃν but ὃν γενόμενον, which takes the place of γενόμενον just as γιγνόμενόν ἐστι can stand for γίγνεται—and it is neut. sing. because when the two come together, the embodied soul makes a unity. (Herm. would insert τό before γενόμενον; he says, if ἀνώλεθρον were predicate to ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα, it would be in the plur.; but cp. above, 732 e ἔστιν δὴ φύσει ἀνθρώπειον μάλιστα ἡδοναὶ καὶ λύπαι καὶ ἐπιθυμίαι.)—The unity is indestructible in both its parts, but, as a composite unity, not indissoluble, and that appears to be the sense in which οὐκ αἰώνιον is used.

a 9. καθάπερ οἱ κατὰ νόμον ὄντες θεοί: it is simplest to understand these words as applying only to αἰώνιον. The gods of the established religion were, like men, souls with a bodily shape, but in their case no dissolution of the union was possible. Cp. *Tim.* 41 b οὐ τι μὲν δὴ λυθήσεσθαι γε οὐδὲ τεύξεσθε θανάτου μοίρας, and 43 a 2 οὐ τοῖς ἀλύτοις οἷς αὐτοὶ ξυνείχοντο δεσμοῖς.

b 1. By a kind of chiasmus, on the other hand, the parenthetical γένεσις . . . θατέρου is a comment on ἀνώλεθρον only. At *Tim.* 37 d Plato says, in his Creation Mythos, that it is impossible for τὸ γεννητόν to be altogether αἰώνιον.—Here, as at *Tim.* 40 e θεῶν παισιν . . . ἐπομένους τῷ νόμῳ πιστευτέον, the κατὰ νόμον θεοί are, as contrasted with ὁ βασιλεὺς (a 6)—ὁ τότε τὸ πᾶν γεννήσας (*Tim.* 41 a 5)—the numerous inferior gods of the Greek mythology. Above, however, at 885 b, 890 a b, and 891 e the “gods as by law established” seem to include the highest, as well as the lower ones. (Stallb. and Zeller would reject the words here as a commentator's gloss. Schulthess and Ast, comparing c 8 κατὰ τὴν τῆς εἰμαρμένης τάξιν καὶ νόμον, take νόμον here to mean the “destiny” or “law of fate” which conditions their existence. Ritter, while agreeing with Stallb. that the words are a gloss,



holds that the glossator meant by νόμον what Ast says it meant.)—Eus. and O<sup>2</sup> have preserved the correct ἦν for A's η and A<sup>2</sup>'s ἦ.

b 2. Eus. and the correctors of A and O have θατέρον; A and O had the scribe's blunder θατέροιν.—Eus. and the margin of L and O give ὃν ἀγαθόν for the ὅσον ἀγαθόν of all the MSS. It would be difficult, if we read ὃν, to justify the genitive ψυχῆς, which is natural after ὅσον; cp. *Theaet.* 157 e ὅσον ἐλλείπον αὐτοῦ.

b 3. διενόηθη resumes and repeats the κατείδεν of a 6, and συνιδών resumes them both.

b 4. ἐμχανήσατο . . . ἄριστα, "contrived where each individual portion of soul should be posted so as most thoroughly, easily, and triumphantly to further throughout the universe the victory of virtue and the defeat of vice."—With the use of μέρος for an individual soul cp. above, 903 b 6 and the subsequent phrases εἰς τὸν ἔσχατον μερισμόν, and τὸ σὸν μόριον. (Jowett makes τῶν μέρων depend on ποῦ.)

b 6. μεμηχάνηται δὴ κτλ., "he has devised in fact, in this general interest, what kind among the developments of character ought to occupy what kind of place, and in what regions." With πρὸς τὸ πᾶν τοῦτο—which is, in effect, "with a view to the universally salutary victory of virtue and defeat of vice"—cp. below, 923 b 5 ὅτι δὲ τῇ πόλει τε ἄριστον πάσῃ καὶ γένει, πρὸς πᾶν τοῦτο βλέπων νομοθετήσω. (Fic. separates τοῦτο from πρὸς πᾶν and makes it the obj. of μεμηχάνηται.)

b 8. Again Eus. has preserved the correct reading in τοῦ for the MS. τό.—τῆς δὲ γενέσεως τοῦ ποίου τινὸς . . . ὥς τὸ πολὺ: the plur. τὰς αἰτίας is significant; the second sentence makes its significance clearer: it is successive acts of volition, and repetition of the state of mind thus evolved, that gradually mould the character. (The αἰτία ἐλομένου in Lachesis's speech at *Rep.* 617 e would suggest that ἀφῆκε τὰς αἰτίας here may mean "threw upon us the responsibility"; but the plur. number is against that.)

c 2. ὅπη and ὁποῖός τις ὢν τὴν ψυχὴν are parallel complements of ἂν ἐπιθύμῃ. (Schneider and Wagn. translate as if ὢν were εἶναι, Fic. and Jow. as if ὢν were ἂν ᾗ. Fic. moreover curiously understands ὅπη in a local sense—"each man gets the habitation which he desires, and the state of mind which suits him." With the same idea Cornarius proposed to read οἰκίζεται for ἐκάστοτε.)—"He left it however to the wills of each one of us to provide the causes of the formation of character. For all of us, as a rule, develop in character, more or less in all cases, according to the tendency of our desires, and to our state of mind when so desiring."

—Plato does not think it necessary here—as he does above at 860 d ff., and at *Tim.* 86 d ff. —but *not* in Lachesis's αἰτία ἐλομένου speech referred to above—to reconcile this statement with his inflexible belief that the natural, enlightened, human will was incapable of preferring evil to good.

c 6. μεταβάλλει: the change here spoken of goes on all through the lifetime of the ζῶν, but the φέρεσθαι and μεταπορεύεσθαι, of which this change determines the direction, takes place, apparently, only after the separation of the ψυχὴ from the σῶμα, and at the reincarnation of the ψυχὴ. According to the present account this reincarnation *may* take place in Hades.

c 8. μεταβάλλοντα: for this Stallb. says Eus. has μεταβαλόντα—both here and in the following line. Fic.'s translation, the following μεταπεσόντα (d 1), and the sense of the context, all support this reading. Perhaps, however, the pres. part. is “as surely as they change.”—κατὰ τὴν τῆς εἰμαρμένης τάξιν καὶ νόμον: these words seem here to describe the decision and will of the supreme Deity. Elsewhere (ἡ) εἰμαρμένη denotes a “Fate” independent of the Deity—particularly e.g. at *Pol.* 272 e in the case of the εἰμαρμένη τε καὶ ξύμφυτος ἐπιθυμία.

c 9. σμικρότερα μὲν τῶν ἡθῶν μεταβάλλοντα ἐλάττω, “if they make lesser changes, in unimportant characteristics.” σμικρότερα τῶν ἡθῶν is an “acc. of inner object” with μεταβάλλοντα; ἐλάττω (adv.) μεταβάλλοντα is parallel to πλείω (adv.) μεταπεσόντα. (Fic. and Schneider make ἐλάττω qualify μεταπορεύεται; Ast, Herm., and Wagn. reject ἐλάττω as a “gloss” on the unusual form σμικρότερα.)—For the adverbial use of ἐλάττω and πλείω cp. *Crito* 53 a ἀλλ’ ἐλάττω ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀπεδημήσας ἢ οἱ χωλοὶ τε καὶ τυφλοὶ, and *Rep.* 417 b 4.—κατὰ τὸ τῆς χώρας ἐπίπεδον: i.e. the ψυχὴ obtains an incarnation, for its next period of bodily existence, in some body on earth.

d 3. διαλυθέντες τε τῶν σωμάτων: this seems to mean “when in sleep or trance”; ζῶντες, in that case, goes specially with φοβούνται.

d 4. μείζω δὲ δὴ ψυχὴ κακίας ἢ ἀρετῆς ὅποταν μεταλάβῃ: A and O left out δὴ, and L and Eus. left out δέ. No doubt Ald. and all subsequent editors are right in retaining both.—μείζω (adv.) is “to a larger extent.” The soul here imagined, being acted on by stronger forces (d 6 γεν. ἰσχυράν), excels both kinds previously mentioned, either in good or evil. (Steph. altered the μείζω of all the MSS. to μείζων.)—μεταλάβῃ, which governs the genitives, was written μεταβάλῃ in L and μεταβάλλῃ in Eus., and

the first four printed edd. (Herm., Zürr., and Wagn. read μεταβάλη. The chief objection to this reading is the construction of the two genitives, which Wagn. and Fic. make depend on ψυχῇ.)

d 5. διὰ τὴν αὐτῆς βούλησίν τε καὶ ὁμιλίαν γενομένην ἰσχυράν: ὁμιλίαν is the difficult word here. The confirmation of the will in the right direction is naturally conducive to virtue; but what is the ὁμιλία, which is also "confirmed"? Is it familiarity with virtue, or familiarity with the virtuous? Probably the latter. (Fic. translates—evidently reading μεταβάλη—"quando propria voluntate et assidua consuetudine vehementius permutata.")—Interpreters are also divided on the question whether γεν. ἰσχυράν goes with both βουλ. and ὁμιλίαν (Fic., Wagn., Jowett), or only with the latter (Schn. and—I think—Stallb.). Surely the latter are right.

d 6 ff. The ὁπόταν μὲν and ὅταν δέ clauses correspond respectively to the ἀρετῆς and κακίας of d 4; the arrangement, as usual, is chiasmic. "When, through close contact with divine virtue, it becomes in an exceptional degree divine, so surely (καί) does it pass to an exceptional region, one altogether holy, being transported to a better kind of region elsewhere." It is impossible quite to dismiss the suspicion, expressed by Winckelmann and Wagner, that ἄγιον ὄλον is the addition of a Christian commentator.—The μετακομισθεῖσα clause seems, as Stallb. says, to have been introduced as a parallel to the μεθιδρύσασα clause, which was already in his mind. The parallelism of these two clauses enables the writer to dispense with the full description of the lot of the exceptionally vicious; it is left to be supplied by analogy from the previous sentences. Eusebius's μεθιδρύσατο, which Ast has adopted, spoils this parallelism. (Badham, *Phil.* p. iii., would read διαφέροντα καὶ μετέλαβε τόπον, ἀγίαν ὁδὸν μετακομισθεῖσα, rejecting the following εἰς . . . ἕτερον.)

e 4. This Homeric quotation (τ 43) is strained to serve Plato's purpose. In the poem δίκη meant "way, wont," but he gives it here the meaning of "judgement, justice."

e 7. ἔν τε ζωῇ καὶ ἐν πᾶσι θανάτοις: the moral effect of ὁμιλία, described above at 728 b, is inevitable in all states of existence. Death, whatever its date, or whatever its sequel, makes no difference.

e 8. προσῆκον . . . ἐστὶ stands for προσήκει (cp. 774 c 6, and 903 c 3)—"things which like cannot help doing to like."—Unlike the other early editions Ed. Lov. puts καὶ ποιεῖν after προσφερεῖς; Steph., Ast, and Zürr. (like the early edd.) put it after πάσχειν τε; the former arrangement is that of the MSS.

**905 a 1.** οὔτε εἰ ἄλλος: Eusebius omits the εἰ, and so would Steph., Ast, Stallb., Herm., and Wagn. It seems more likely that εἰ ἄλλος is a conversational, elliptical variant of ἄλλος ὁσπισοῦν, than that the εἰ should have got in subsequently, either by accident or design.

**a 2.** ἀτυχῆς γενόμενος, "if he gets into trouble," i.e. falls into bad ways.—ἐπεύξεται περιγενέσθαι, "claim to have escaped."—δικῆς . . . θεῶν: a repetition of the δίκη θεῶν above. It is singular that, with θεῶν in this emphatic position, the following ἔταξαν should have had the subject οἱ τάξαντες provided for it. (Is it possible that Plato wrote θεῶν? Cp. *Apol.* 39 b 1 θάπτον γὰρ θανάτου θεῖ.)

**a 5.** The asyndeton adds solemnity to what follows.—οὔτω σμικρός is a conversational expression like our "ever so small."

**a 7.** αὐτῶν, for which Eus. had αὐτῷ, is the οἱ τάξαντες of a 3.

**b 1.** The "place that is still more forbidding than these" is that implied in the ἐπὶ τάναντία of e 2 above.—By a curious mistake, or misappreciation, ALO and Eus. have ἀγιώτερον instead of ἀγριώτερον. The corrector of A gives the right word in the margin. Cp. 908 a 6. O's margin has ἀπώτερον καὶ ἀγριώτερον, and L's ἀποπώτερον καὶ ἀγριώτερον. Fic. translates O's marginal version by "sive ad remotiorem aliquam inaccesibilemque locum translatus." The four first printed edd. read ἀγιώτερον. Wytttenbach compares Hdt. iv. 132, Eur. *Hipp.* 1290, *Med.* 1296. Eus. compares *Psalm* 139, vv. 7, 8, 9.

**b 2.** σοι is ethic dat., "you will find."

**b 4.** The participles ἀνοσιουργήσαντας and πράξαντας are subordinate to γεγονότας; it is these wicked deeds that have made them great.

**b 5.** ὥς ἐν κατόπτροις αὐτῶν ταῖς πράξεσιν: the ἐν is not repeated with ταῖς πράξεσιν, but it goes with both. In his note on a similar sentence at *Theaet.* 170 a 11, Heindorf says "Alterum πρὸς post ἔχειν omisum est constanti fere Graecorum more."—τὴν πάντων ἀμέλειαν θεῶν: πάντων is neut.; for the double gen. cp. on 648 e 4.

**b 7.** οὐκ εἰδὼς αὐτῶν τὴν συντέλειαν ὅπῃ ποτὲ τῷ παντὶ συμβάλλεται, "because you did not know how their contribution comes to the help of the universe" (i.e. did not know their (subordinate) place in the organism). The meaning, "joint action," which L. & S. and Badham give συντέλεια is foreign to the passage.

**c 1.** πῶς οὐ δεῖν δοκεῖς; "how can you possibly doubt the necessity of . . .?" Eus. has πρὸς οὐδὲν δοκεῖς, "you think



nothing of," which is weaker. πόσον δεῖν δοκεῖς; the version of the second hands in A and L, and the margin of O, is "How far do you think you are from?" (Badham, *Phil.* p. v., argues that this last yields the only admissible sense.)

c 2. ἦν τις μὴ γινώσκων, "why! if a man does not know it . . ."

c 3. λόγον συμβάλλεσθαι: some take this to mean "to say a word" (Fic., Stallb., Jow.); others "to form a notion" (Schneid., Wagn.). The latter goes better with τύπον ἴδοι, the former better suits the ordinary use of συμβάλλεσθαι, and makes the more forcible continuation here. (Zürr. adopt L and O's marginal variant οὐδ' ἂν λόγους.)—περὶ βίου εἰς εὐδαιμονίαν, "concerning life in respect of its happiness" is a periphrasis for "concerning the happiness of life." The main difference between the disputants is "ought we to call the successful villain happy or not?"

c 6. καλῶς ἂν σοι θεὸς αὐτὸς συλλάμβαναι, "thank God for it."

c 7. εἰ δ' ἐπιδειξ ἔτι λόγου τινὸς ἂν εἴης, "if, by any chance, you should want." Cp. Goodwin, *M. and T.* §§ 409, 506, and Thompson's note on *Meno* 79 c. (Badham, *Phil.* p. xiv. n., would read ἄλλον εἴ for ἂν εἴης.)

d 1. πρὸς τὸν τρίτον: the third opponent represents the class first spoken of at 888 c 6.

d 4. The reading αὖ θεούς has the authority of all three MSS., but L and O mention a variant αὐτούς for the two words, and Zürr. have adopted it. It is a quite unobjectionable reading, but the αὖ adds significance. For the vulgate αὖ τοὺς θεούς, which survived into Ast's text, there is no MS. authority.

d 5. L and O's τ' (following οὗτε) is evidently right, as against the δ' of AO and Stob. (Schneider, however, accepts δ', though translating it by a simple *et*.)

d 8. This recalls the semi-humorous appeal to Heaven's help made at 893 b.

e 3. Burnet refuses to accept L. & S.'s verdict that the MS. ἐντελεχῶς is here a *falsa lectio* for Stobaeus's ἐνδελεχῶς: "effectively" suits the passage much better than "perpetually."

e 6. ὦν δυνατὸν ἡμῖν ἀπεικάξουσιν τυγχάνειν μείζουσιν ἐλάττονας, "whom we can manage to compare, small (though they be) with great."

e 7. τοιοῦτοι is, in effect, προσφερεῖς τοῖς θεοῖς.

e 9. εἴη δ' ἂν καὶ . . . εἰκέναι, "it might even be possible for them to be like . . ." For the construction cf. Pind. *Pyth.* ii. 175 ἰδόντα δ' εἴη με τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ὁμιλεῖν. In the case of all these

functionaries to whom the gods are likened, the conflict with evil and danger is a prominent feature of their activity.

**906 a 1.** *γένεσιν*, as at *Polit.* 265 b, is used almost in the sense of *φύσις*; *φυτῶν γένεσιν* is merely a stylistic variant of *φυτά*, as contrasted with *σώματα*. (Schn., Wagn., and Jow. take *γένεσιν* to mean "growth"; Fic. translates "orientibus stirpibus.")—*διὰ φόβων*: Stobaeus and the first six editions have *διὰ φόβον*; Steph. knew of the reading *διὰ φόβων*—which is that of all three MSS.—and preferred it. Ast also saw that the genitive was needed, and read *διὰ φόβου*.

**a 5.** *τῶν μὴ* (sc. *ἀγαθῶν*): Stallb. is alone in thinking that he means *τῶν μὴ ἐναντίων*—i.e. *τῶν ἀγαθῶν*; the negating of an already negative expression would be clumsy. The things of *body* and *sense*, which exceed in number on earth, are always regarded as sources of error in Plato's philosophy.—*ἡ τοιαύτη μάχη*, "that kind of fight," is the conflict already suggested by the words *νόσων πόλεμον*, and the "being on one's guard against dangerous times." This conflict we now see to be part of the general war between good and evil referred to above at 904 b 2 f.—A and O originally had *ἔστι τοιαύτη*, but the erasure in A in which *ἔστι* stands is some evidence in favour of Eusebius's *ἔσθ' ἡ*; the corrector of O, and Stob., saw that the article was needed, and read *ἔστιν ἡ*.—The contest is "never dying" because the forces of evil are so numerous.

**a 7.** *ἡμεῖς δ' αὖ*: the *αὖ* marks a fresh aspect of the relation. The gods are not only our allies, they own us, as a farmer owns his stock, and so have a direct interest in our "condition" (cp. above 902 b 8). This consideration brings into special prominence the last of the comparisons made with human *ἄρχοντες*; the gods watch over us like shepherds.

**a 8.** *ἀδικία καὶ ὕβρις μετὰ ἀφροσύνης*, "wrongdoing and mad arrogance"—our own, as well as other people's. The word *φθείρει* suggests the ravages of disease—whether in human bodies, cattle, or crops; *σώζει* marks the efficacy of strengthening and curative treatment.

**b 1.** *ἐν ταῖς τῶν θεῶν ἐμψύχοις οἰκοῦσαι δυνάμεσιν*, "whose home is in the mighty minds of the gods."—They are attributes to god himself.

**b 3.** *σαφὲς ἂν ἴδοι*, "may distinctly see."—O<sup>2</sup>'s *δή* for the *δέ* of ALO appositely emphasizes the irony expressed in the *ἄρα* of b 5, but authority is against it, and the asyndeton is harsh. (Perhaps we ought to read *δὲ δή*.)

**b 4.** ἄδικον λῆμμα κεκτημένοι δῆλον ὅτι θηριώδεις: Ast's substitution of λῆμμα for the vulgate λήμμα has apparently the support of the first hand of A, and all modern editors except Herm., Wagn., and Burnet have followed him. But the better supported λήμμα makes better sense. These souls are "clearly shown to be *beasts of prey*" because they are "in the possession of something which rightfully belongs to someone else."

**b 5 f.** κυνῶν . . . νομέων . . . δεσποτῶν: a well-marked climax.

**b 6.** For this use of προσπίπτειν cp. *Ep.* vii. 349 a 7 προσπεσὼν δ' αὐτῷ ὁ Θεοδότης, λαβόμενος τῆς χειρός, ἐδάκρυσεν τε καὶ ἰκέτευεν.

**c 1.** ὥς αἱ φῆμαί φασιν αἱ τῶν κακῶν, "such is the story told by the wicked."

**c 2 ff.** φαμέν δ' εἶναι πον . . . νόσημα καλούμενον: if, with Ast and Stallb., we see in εἶναι καλούμενον a periphrasis for καλεῖσθαι, the statement that emerges is "we assert that *πλεονεξία* is called νόσημα." It seems better to translate εἶναι . . . νόσημα καλούμενον "is a thing called disease."—φαμέν . . . πον does not necessarily mean that Plato has himself discovered the analogy. It was probably part of current medical theory (1) that disease was due to the usurpation or encroachment of one part of the body on another—supported possibly by the observation of the phenomena of local swellings—and (2) that *epidemics* were due to the "encroachment" of warm or cold seasons.—πον is perhaps a parenthetic "don't we?" (Ritter p. 327 suspects the genuineness of this passage φαμέν . . . ἀδικίαν. He likens the identifications to the "thöricht ausgekramte Sophistenweisheit" of Protagoras.)

**c 4.** ἐν δὲ ὥραις ἐτῶν καὶ ἐνιαυτοῖς: the foolish variant ἐνιαυτῶν, which is found in all editions before Burnet's, has no MS. authority. It was defended by the statement that ἐνιαυτός is used for "a period of years."

**c 5.** τοῦτο αὐτό, ῥήματι μετεσχηματισμένον: here again we owe to Burnet the recovery of the MS. reading. All previous editions print ῥήμα (A<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>2</sup>) for the first-hand ῥήματι of A and O. The alteration of ῥήματι to ῥήμα was evidently the result of A and O's previous mistake of αὐ τό for αὐτό, corrected by Cod. Voss. The sentence means then, in effect, "presents itself under the changed name of ἀδικία."—If all he meant to say was that *πλεονεξία* was called ἀδικία, he need not have added that its name had been "refashioned."

c 8. τοῦτον τὸν λόγον does not refer (as Schneider and Jowett make it) to any previous assertion, but to that which follows (as Fic.). The Ath.'s final question (d 5) makes this clear.

d 2. καθάπερ κυσὶν λύκοι τῶν ἀρπασμάτων σμικρὰ ἀπονέμειν, οἱ δὲ . . . συγχωροῖεν: these optatives with καθάπερ are obscure. Ficinus doubtless gets the sense of the passage, which is that a man who holds the view that the gods are bribable by his gains is likening them to dogs who should consent to let wolves prey on the flock, provided that they got some of the mutton. But we cannot get "necesse est eum dicere . . . eos esse veluti canes, etc.," directly out of the Greek. Either, as Herm. supposes, an εἰ has been lost at the end of καθάπερ, or καθάπερ is used in the sense of καθάπερ εἰ. The suggestion of Ast and Stallb. that we should read σμίκρ' ἂν ἀπονέμειν does not meet the case, for it assumes that dogs would behave so; whereas the "ridiculousness" of the assumption lies in making out that *gods* are *more* immoral than *dogs*.

d 4. No parallel instance is given in the dictionaries of this use of συγχωρεῖν διαρπάζειν in the sense of "allow them to plunder," "agree to the plundering."

d 8 ff. τίσιν οὖν δὴ κτλ.: it is implied, clearly, that by θεοὺς in this question we are to understand the gods as they are represented in the φῆμαι τῶν κακῶν (c 1)—bribable gods, that is.

d 9. φύλακας here takes the place of ἄρχοντας; the title is justified above at a 6 f.

e 1. λοιβῇ τε: the two τε's reproduce the phraseology of the Homeric λοιβῇ τε κνίσῃ τε of *Il.* ix. 500. The corrector of O altered the first τε to γε, and all editors down to Bekker followed him.

e 2. The αὐτοῖς directs attention to the paronomasia in παρα- and ἀνατρέπω.

e 11. οὐδὲ νομεῦσιν μῆν: Ast, Stallb., Zürr., Herm., and Wagn. adopt Steph.'s suggestion to read οὐδὲ νομεῦσιν· οὐ μῆν (οὐδέ κτλ.). One or two inferior MSS. had the same idea. But what is wrong with οὐδὲ νομεῦσιν μῆν, the reading of ALO and Stob.? Cp. Eur. *Or.* 1117 ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐγὼ μῆν. No doubt οὐ μῆν οὐδέ is common; but Plato was not likely to use it twice in two lines.

907 a 5. διαφέροντας φυλακῇ πρὸς ἀρετὴν, "who excel in skilful guarding."

a 6 f. κυνῶν . . . καὶ ἀνθρώπων μέσων: it is a valuable testimonial to the average Greek of that day that Plato believed that he could not be bribed to connive at wrongdoing, but the coupling



of κύνες with μέσοι ἄνθρωποι gives a cynical flavour to it.—The μέσον of A<sup>2</sup> and Stob. must be a scribe's error.

**b 1.** οὐτε ἀνεκτὸς λόγων: λόγων is the same gen. as that used with superlative adjectives, and in the Homeric δία γυναικῶν; a similar use of this gen. with a positive adj. occurs above at 716 d 1 ὁ μὲν σὺφρων ἡμῶν θεῶ φίλος. Again the corrector has been at work, and all edd. from Aldus downwards altered λόγων to ὁ λόγος. Burnet has had the courage to print the MS. reading for the first time.—τῶν τε περὶ πᾶσαν ἀσέβειαν ὄντων . . ., "and out of all kinds of transgressors . . ." The repetition πᾶσαν . . . πᾶς . . . πάντων is a frequent feature of Plato's emphatic style; cp. 903 c 5 πᾶς . . . πᾶς . . . παντὸς . . . πάντα, and above at a 3 f. But here again comes the corrector. In all printed editions but those of Zür. and Burnet πᾶς (in b 2) has been altered, on no MS. authority, to πῶς.

**b 6.** παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον goes, of course, only with the positive element in ἀ-παραίτητοι.

**b 10 f.** καὶ μὴν εἴρηνται γέ πως σφοδρότερον διὰ φιλονικίαν τῶν κακῶν ἀνθρώπων, "I confess that they have been spoken in a tone of rather violent hostility against wrongdoers." For διὰ c. acc. expressing the intent cp. Thuc. iv. 40. 2 δι' ἀχθηδόνα.—It is very strange that A should have left out σφοδρότερον.

**c 1.** Again the corrector suggests, in the margin of O, that we ought to read τοῦδε for τούτου.

**c 3.** ἃ δὲ καὶ ὅσα καὶ οἷα περὶ θεοὺς διανοοῦνται, "since they cherish so many strange views about the gods." For the relative clauses cp. *Phaedo* 117 c 9 ἀπέκλειον . . . τὴν ἐμυτοῦ τύχην, οἷον ἀνδρὸς ἐταίρου ἐστρημένος εἶην. (Fic. puts in an "and" to connect ἃ δὲ etc. with ἃ βούλονται, making both the obj. of πράττειν, and translating περὶ by "adversus"; Wagner takes ἃ δὲ etc. to be in apposition to ἃ βούλονται; Stallb. virtually does the same.)

**c 5.** νεωτέρως, "vigorously," is a milder term than the νεανικῶς of *Theaet.* 168 c 6, but is used in much the same sense. It re-echoes the σφοδρότερον of b 10.

**c 6.** τοὺς ἄνδρας: i.e. τοὺς κακοὺς ἀνθρώπους of c 1.

**d 1.** τὸ προοίμιον ἀσεβείας πέρι νόμων, "our prelude to laws about impiety"—a curious instance of the way in which Greek can leave it to common sense to sort out a tangle of genitives.

**d 2.** L and O had from the first what every editor has recognized as the right reading, i.e. εἰ δὲ μή; A has ἡ δ' ἐμή; L and O mention this reading in the margin; A<sup>2</sup> altered ἡ to ἦ, and

wrote ἡ δ' ἐ in the margin. All this looks as if neither L nor O were here copied from A.—οὐκ αἰτιάσεται is “will not discredit” (Jowett), but τὸ τοῦ λόγου γένος is more likely to have meant “the nature of the subject” than “the style of the argument” (Wagn and Jow.).—“Anyhow it is a cause which the lawgiver may be proud to have defended.” (Ast takes the words to mean that the weight of the argument has been such that, even if it failed, no fault could be found with the lawgiver who used it; the fault would lie with the depravity of the unconvinced transgressor.)

d 4. λόγος οἷος ἂν τῶν νόμων ἑρμηνεύς ὀρθῶς γίγνοιτο ἡμῖν, “(there follows) a speech of such a kind as to be the (fitting) mouthpiece of our laws.” L. & S. (s.v. ἑρμηνεύς) take λόγος here to mean *reason*, and the meaning to be that “reason is the interpreter or expounder of (the) law.” Reasoning and arguing, however, is the function of the προοίμιον. This λόγος is of the nature of a dignified authoritative public proclamation. (Perhaps L. & S. adopt L’s ὁ λόγος for λόγος—a reading adopted nowhere else.)

d 6. εἰς τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς: sc. τρόπους—not ἀνθρώπους as most interpreters have it.

d 7. ἀσεβείας ὅδε ἔστω πέρι νόμος: a remarkable instance of the separation of an anastrophized preposition from its case.—As Stallb. says, ὅδε is the subject; he cps. 874 b οὗτος δὴ νόμος εἰς ἡμῖν ἔστω περὶ φόνου κείμενος.

e 1. ἀμυνέτω: i.e. τῷ νομῷ. (Fic. says τοῖς θεοῖς.)

e 3. τὸ περὶ τούτων ἀποδεδειγμένον κρίνειν δικαστήριον: a comparison of 754 e 4 ff. with 855 c 6 ff. suggests that the court described in the latter passage is the one meant here.

e 6. τιμωρεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων: cp. 692 d 5 ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀμύναι.

e 7. ἐν ἐκάστῳ τῶν καθ’ ἐν ἀσεβούντων τίμημα: before Ast all editors were content with the MS. ἐν ἐκάστῳ, though Fic. seems to have divined the correct reading, for he translates “iudices hunc pro singulis impie commissis singulis quibusque afficiant” (afficiatur is a misprint) “suppliciiis.” It is an amplification of a simple ἐν καθ’ ἐν;—lit. “to each of the sacrilegious offenders who offend in a particular way, a particular penalty.” Ast proposed to write ἐν ἑκάστῳ, taking τῶν ἀσεβούντων as a neuter, but Schneider and Herm. saw that all that was needed was the one change of ἐν to ἕν.

908 a 2. This first prison is said to be κοινὸς τοῖς πλείστοις—“for the general use of the large majority (of offenders)”—and to

subserve merely the safe-keeping of the persons of *large numbers* (τοῖς πολλοῖς)—or is τοῖς πολλοῖς only a repetition in a less emphatic form of τοῖς πλείστοις? The public prison at Athens was sometimes called τὸ δημόσιον, and the above description amounts to giving it such a name, and it so corresponds to the more or less definite naming of the second and third prisons.

a 3. περὶ τὸν . . . σύλλογον: it is not necessary to give this περί the same local significance as in περὶ ἀγοράν. The σωφρονιστήριον would be *connected with*, and under the command of the νυκτερινὸς σύλλογος, but need not be close to the place of its meeting.—For the constitution of this assembly, mentioned here for the first time in a curiously offhand manner, cp. below 951 d and 961 a ff. It is also casually mentioned at 909 a.

a 4. σωφρονιστήριον ἐπονομαζόμενον: a careless anacoluthon. For a nom. participle thus added κατὰ τὸ νοούμενον cp. above 885 d 3 λέγοντες, and Stallb.'s note on *Phaedr.* 241 d 6. (Ast and Schneider think ἐπονομαζόμενον agrees with σύλλογον.) A great laxity of construction is allowed to participles.

a 6 f. τιμωρίας ἔχων ἐπωνυμίαν φήμην τινά: φήμη τις τιμωρίας is "a word suggestive of punishment"—one of those words spoken of above at 904 d 2—"Αἰδὼν τε καὶ τὰ τούτων ἔχόμενα τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπονομάζοντες.

a 7. περὶ ἀσέβειαν δὲ ὄντων αἰτίαις μὲν τρισίν, "seeing that people are guilty of impiety from three causes." The subject of the gen. abs. is left unexpressed, and περὶ ἀσέβειαν is made conversationally to stand for ἀσεβῶν. For the dat. αἰτίαις cp. *Ep.* vii. 345 a 6.

b 1. δύο δὲ . . . γενομένων: it is not clear whether we are meant to supply γενῶν or αἰτιῶν with δύο; in either case the effect is the same.

b 3. As Stallb. remarks, ἄξιος is one of the adjectives with which ἐστί is frequently omitted.

b 5. τὸ παράπαν goes with the preceding μή, "completely disbelieving in."—μισοῦντες γίγν.: another anacoluthon.

c 2. τῇ θεῶν ἔρημα εἶναι πάντα: the insertion of a τοῦ after τῇ would make an awkward conglomeration of articles; its omission is a bold tribute to the (occasional) superiority of rhythm to grammar.

c 3. μνημαὶ τε ἰσχυραὶ καὶ μαθήσεις ὀξεῖαι παρῶσι: for these men to work the λώβη of their fellows, it is necessary, not only that their morals should be weak, but that their intellects should be strong.

c 5. ἀμφοῖν: sc. τοῖν γενοῖν.—O made here the converse of the blunder at e 7 above, writing ἐν ὑπάρχοι for ἐνυπάρχοι.

c 8. O<sup>2</sup> has rescued for us the τε after θυσίας omitted in A and O.—ὡς τῶν ἄλλων καταγελῶν, “by his attitude of ridicule for the other side.” (Winckelmann would read ἴσως for ὡς; Wagner brackets ὡς.)

d 1. δίκης μὴ τυγχάνων, “as long as he is not punished for it.” It is implied that the danger would cease as soon as punishment was applied.

d 2. εὐφυνὴς δὲ ἐπικαλούμενος, “but (along with his mistaken view) having the reputation of being very clever.” One consequence of his aiming at pleasure and shunning pain at all costs is the need for concealing his theoretic atheism. He *must* have the public approval. This, being δόλου καὶ ἐνέδρας πλήρης, he is able to do. ALO read εὐτυχής, for which L<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>2</sup> in the margin give εὐφυνής. This Fic. and all editors after the first four have adopted. (Ast, Wagn., and Herm., perhaps rightly, reject the δέ after δόλου.) In the following passage Plato “lets himself go.”

d 3. ἐξ ὧν: another ἀνακόλουθον; “that is the class of men from whom etc.”

d 4. περὶ πᾶσαν τὴν μαγανείαν κεκινημένοι: this strange phrase seems to mean “expert in all kinds of trickery.” Fic. translates κεκ. by “*prompti ad*,” Schneider by “*furiosi ad*”—“madly devoted to.” It is best taken as an attribute of the men who are μάντεις, and not (as in most translations) a designation of a separate class (like the ἐπιβεβουλευκότες below).

d 5. We may conclude from the ἔστιν ὅτε as compared with the preceding πολλοί that Plato thought that there were more hypocrites among μάντεις than among τύραννοι καὶ δημηγόροι καὶ στρατηγοί.

d 6. καὶ τελεταῖς δὲ ἰδίαις ἐπιβεβουλευκότες, “and moreover plotters of hole-and-corner ‘mysteries.’” ἰδίαις denotes the schismatic nature of such ceremonies.

d 7. σοφιστῶν τε ἐπικαλουμένων μηχαναί, “and the arts and resources of so-styled ‘wisdom-men.’”

e 2. τὸ εἰρωνικὸν (εἶδος), “the hypocritical variety,” that, namely, which conceals its own impious thoughts. (Ast would make εἰρωνικόν predicate. Stallb. absurdly explains it by “quod omnem ridet et aspernatur religionis pietatem.”)—ἀμαρτάνων, like the following δεόμενον, is predicate (with ἔστι understood).

e 3. A’s reading δεομένων provides a quite reasonable construction, but is probably a scribe’s error.



e 4. Again *εἶδος* must be supplied with τὸ . . . νομίζον.—A variant *γεννᾶν* for *γεννᾶ* occurs in O and (by a late hand) in A.

e 6. *ἀνευ κάκης ὀργῆς τε καὶ ἡθους*, “sine voluntatis morumque malitia” Schn. The *κακῆς* of A and O is a natural mistake, corrected by O<sup>2</sup>.

909 a 2. νόμῳ probably goes with *τιθέσθω*, not with *τιθέμενος*.

a 7. *ἐὰν δὲ μή*: with this we are probably meant to supply *σωφρονῇ*, not *δοκῇ σωφρονεῖν*; i.e. if a man, who has apparently been brought to his senses in the *σωφρονιστήριον*, and been accordingly released, proves to be really impenitent, and is then duly convicted of impiety, he is not to have a further chance; he must die. By implication this explanation supposes that, if a man after five years is *not* thought to be cured, his imprisonment continues.

a 8. *θηριώδεις*: the notion of this epithet seems to be the same as when the word was used above at 906 b 4—i.e. that of a *beast of prey*. These creatures “*despise mankind*” (b 2), and “bring men, families, and states to utter ruin for the sake of their own monetary gain.”

b 1. *πρὸς τῷ θεοῦς μὴ νομίζειν*: on the ground that the first of the three classes of atheists have already been “done with,” Stallb.—with Herm.’s and Wagn.’s approval—deletes the *μὴ*. But the previous treatment of class 1 at 908 c d was only with a view to subdivide it—like the others—into two *classes*, and e 5 ff. deals with *penalties* for both sorts.

b 2. *ψυχαγωγῶσι* is first used in its sense of *inveigle*, and in the following line in that of “calling spirits from the vasty deep,” i.e. this particular class of *μάντις* are *νεκρομάντις*. (Ficinus translates “*necnon defunctos se trahere consolarique dicunt*.” Was he thinking of masses for the dead?)

b 4 f. *ὥς . . . γοητεύοντες*, “pretending to bewitch them” (i.e. the gods).

b 6. *κατ’ ἄκρας ἐξαιρεῖν*: this strong epic phrase for “root-and-branch” destruction marks Plato’s view of the deadly influence of impiety, especially that of the so-called religious kind.—A and O had an inexplicable *ἐξευρεῖν* for *ἐξαιρεῖν*, a blunder not shared by L. A<sup>3</sup> corrected it in the margin.

b 7. *δέ*, “I say.”

c 1. *μεσογέων* is recognized by O, L. & S., Bekker, and Burnet as the correct form, as against the *μεσογαίων* of A (“sed *ai* in *ras*.”), and the *μεσογείων* of O<sup>2</sup> and all other texts.

c 2. *αὐτοῖς* is the reading of ALO, and Schneider and Burnet

have the courage to print it. Fic. and all others adopt O<sup>2</sup>'s facile correction αὐτῷ; ὅς ἄν (b 7) is quasi-plural; ἀποθανόντα in c 4 is not conclusive—"when one of them dies." This implies that the imprisonment is for life.

c 5. συνθάπτῃ, "has a hand in burying."—δίκας . . . ὑπεχέτω, "he must stand his trial on a charge of impiety, at the hands of anyone who is willing to take proceedings." The plur. δίκας (of a single suit) is unusual in Plato; cp. Thuc. i. 28 (and elsewhere) δίκας δοῦναι. Possibly it is a mistake for δίκην, due to the attraction of the following word-ending. (Not, as Jowett, "let him pay the penalty . . . to" etc.).

c 6. The τυγχάνειν of A for λαγχάνειν was a mistake of the eye, not of the mind.

c 7. τῇ πόλει ἱκανούς, "fit to be citizens."

d 1. L has in ὡς ὄντων preserved the right reading, as against the ὡς ἄν τῶν of A and O, and this was recognized by the correctors of A and O.

d 3. κοινὸν . . . ἐπὶ τούτοις πᾶσι, "extending to all these alike." πᾶσι is masc.; they are the αὐτῶν of d 4, and αὐτῶν depends, not on θεούς, as Stallb., but on τοὺς πολλούς.—L has preserved the right reading in πᾶσι νόμον, as against the senseless πᾶσιν ὁμοιον of A and O.

d 5. ἀνοήτους ἦττον: i.e. men and women would be less tempted to superstitious excesses if there were no opportunities for private ceremonies.—For the apparent contradiction between this passage and 717 b 4 ff., and 885 a 1 see Stallb.'s note on 884 a 6. There is no intention of banishing the ancestral household gods. Ast quotes the old Decemvir's law given by Cicero, *Legg.* ii. 8 "Separatim nemo habessit deos neve novos, sed ne advenas nisi publice adscitos privatim colunto." The subsequent context suggests that what is here forbidden is the erection of shrines in private houses at which public, state-established deities could be worshipped. Stallb., referring to Wachsmuth, *Antiq. Hell.* ii. p. 210, says the Athenian law only forbade private worship (1) when the deities were unauthorized or foreign, and (2) when it was to further nefarious projects.

d 8. The corrector of O is manifestly right in altering the impossible εἶη of A and O to ἔη.

e 1. οἷς ἀγνεῖαι τούτων ἐπιμελεῖς: A and O had ἀγνεῖα and ἐπιμελεῖς; L's ἀγνεῖαι shows where the fault was, and O<sup>2</sup> followed him (but also suggested a correction of ἐπιμελεῖς to ἐπιμελεῖν); A<sup>2</sup> suggested ἐπιμελές as a way out of the difficulty. Winckelmann

would read οἷς ἀγνείας τούτων ἐπιμελές — cp. 763 e 2, 824 a 9. All other editors before Burnet print οἷς ἀγνεία τούτων ἐπιμελής. Burnet restores the MSS. to their rights.—The impossible συνενξέσθω of A and O looks as if some MSS. had read συνενχέσθω, and some συνενξάσθω.

e 2. Again all previous editors adopted O<sup>2</sup>'s facile correction of the ὄν of ALO to ὅς, and again Burnet restores the MS. reading. The worshipper may very likely "wish" for a companion in his prayer, but what interest can the general public have in it?

e 3. γιγνόμενα ἔστω = γιγνέσθω.

e 4. μεγάλης διανοίας τινός: there is no need, with Winckelmann, to insert δεῖ before διανοίας; "is a matter for somewhat deep thought"—such, i.e., as an ordinary man could not give to it.

e 6. ὅπη τις ἄν: cp. above on 890 a 5.

e 8. καθιεροῦν . . . τὸ παρὸν αἰεί, "to dedicate the first thing to hand."—A's mistaken καθιεροῦνται for καθιεροῦν τε is a striking instance of the common confusion of the similarly pronounced ε and αι, inasmuch as the result is quite unintelligible.

910 a 1. ἐν, here and in the following line, denotes the exciting, or inciting, medium in which the φόβοι spring up (cp. Xen. Cyr. viii. 7. 3 ὅτι ἐσημήνατέ μοι καὶ ἐν ἱεροῖς καὶ ἐν οὐρανίοις σημείοις καὶ ἐν οἰωνοῖς καὶ ἐν φήμαις); "prompted by fears born of portents seen when waking or by dreams." The construction is ἔθος τε (ἔστιν) . . . ἐγρηγορότας . . . ὥς δ' αὐτως . . . ἀπομνημονεύοντας . . . ἐμπιπλάναι. The change from the dat. to the acc. is almost normal in this style.

a 2. ὥς δ' αὐτως κτλ., "and similarly affected when they recall many (such) visions."

a 3. For the fem. ἐκάσταισι of A and O, O<sup>2</sup> suggested the neut. so as to include φάσματα and ὄνειροι as well as ὄψεις.

a 4. βωμοὺς καὶ ἱερά are probably in apposition to ἄκη. If so, the comma which Burnet puts after ποιουμένους ought to stand after ἱερά; with B.'s punctuation the two sets of accusatives get sadly in each other's way.

a 5. ἐν τε καθαροῖς ἰδρυόμενος . . . καὶ ὅπη τις ἔτυχε τῶν τοιούτων, "by setting them up (not only in their houses but) also on open spaces, or wherever a man in that state of mind (τις τῶν τοιούτων) happens to 'do so.'" (Stallb. inclines to the view that καθαροῖς means "free from pollution." Fic. leaves the clause out.)

a 6. ποιεῖν κατὰ τὸν . . . νόμον, "to act upon the law." Fic. either neglects the κατὰ or had a MS. from which it was absent. His version is "lex ista ponenda est."

**b 1.** ταῦτα is difficult; it probably stands for τὰ ἀσεβήματα (implied in ἀσεβούντων) in the sense the word bears below at c 7, that i.e. of *crime* in general, "that they may not keep their crimes too in private by their contrivances, and . . ." (ταῦτα seems generally to be taken to be the setting up of shrines.)—The ταῖς of L and O<sup>2</sup> may well have fallen out in A and O as the result of the previous -τες (cp. on e 8 above).

**b 5.** οὔσιν αὐτῶν βελτίουσιν: although the general public are to blame for allowing it, they are not as bad as the criminals.

**b 6.** πᾶσα ἡ πόλις ἀπολαύη τῶν ἀσεβῶν: commentators cite here Hes. *Op. et Di.* 240 ff. of which this passage evidently reproduces the language and meaning.

**b 7.** μὲν δὲ, "anyhow" (though the public may be to blame, the lawgiver will take care that he does *his* part, by forbidding the thing to be done).

**c 1.** καὶ ὀργιάζοντα: the position of these words makes them seem added as an afterthought. For the meaning Stallb. cps. Suidas s.v. ὀργεῶνες ὀργιάζειν δέ ἐστι τὰ τῶν θεῶν ὄργια τελεῖν, τουτέστι μυστήρια καὶ νόμιμα. Νόμων δεκάτῃ μὴ κεκτῆσθαι ἔσω ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις οἰκίαις ἱερά κτλ. (the ἔσω is peculiar).

**c 4.** L and O<sup>2</sup> omit the καί of A and O; καὶ εἰσαγγελλέτω implies that the discoverer might be inclined to think he need not go so far as to inform the authorities.

**c 6.** εἰν δέ τις κτλ.: here we get back to the third main error about the gods—that of thinking that they are παραιτητοὶ παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον. As long as these supernumerary religiosities are merely outgrowths of folly and "sensibility" (909 e 5 ff.), a fine will meet the case, even when the offence is persisted in; but when worship is associated with *crime*, and fosters the belief that Heaven condones a favourite's wickedness, these—and all public ceremonies performed in a like spirit (c 8)—are a blasphemy only punishable by death.

**d 2.** (Burnet calls it e 2. Steph. did not divide p. 910 by letters, but only numbered the lines.) A and O read παιδίον, and so the first four edd. Steph., Ast, Bekker, and Stallb. adopt the παιδίον of the margin of A. L and O<sup>2</sup> are probably right in reading παίδειον; it is a favourite form of the adj. in the *Laws*; also Fic. translates by *puerilem*.—O mentions a variant προκρίναντες; probably the corrector thought only the δικαστήριον could κρῖναι.—All editors down to Ast followed O in omitting οἱ; A has it, and so has the margin of O.

**d 3.** οὕτως, "accordingly."



## BOOK XI

**913 a 1.** No editors have adopted O<sup>2</sup>'s δέ for δή.—The construction is δεόμενα ἂν εἴη προσηκούσης τάξεως συμβολαίων πρὸς ἀλλήλους, "there will be a need for the due ordering of our transactions with each other." For the impers. plur. δεόμενά (ἐστι) cp. 828 a 1 ἐχόμενά ἐστιν. (Herm., in order to provide a subject for δεόμενα ἂν εἴη, altered τό to τά, "the sequel will need." Steph., followed by Ast, Bekker, and Zürr., changed the MS. συμβολαίων to συμβόλαια.)—For the general sense of συμβόλαια cp. *Gorg.* 484 d.

**a 2.** The δέ which A omits is preserved by L and O<sup>2</sup> (Schneider rejects it).

**a 5.** ἐμὲ μηδαμῇ μηδαμῶς πείθων, "without some sort of an assent on my part"; or, as we should find it more natural to say, "unless he has my absolute consent." (H. Richards would insert μή before πείθων—cp. below c 5; but the position of the ἐμέ compels us to take μηδ. μηδαμῶς with πείθων and not with κινήσειεν.)

**a 6.** ἐγὼ δρῶην: this optative, like the two preceding ones, is quasi-imperative; "nor must I act otherwise by them, if I have the sense to understand."—Cod. Voss. mentions a variant εὐφρονα.

**a 7.** [λέγωμεν]: this disturbing word was, I believe, put in by some scribe who did not see that πρῶτον ("in the first place") goes with εὐξαίμην. It breaks the thread of the 1st pers. opt. which began with δρῶην and is kept up by ἐμῶν, and spoils the construction of the sentence in which it occurs. (Stallb. and Ast put a colon after τοιούτων; Burnet changes the comma after πατέρων into a colon.)

**a 8.** μὴ τῶν ἐμῶν ὧν πατέρων, "provided he (the storer) was not an ancestor of mine." For the MS. ὧν πατέρων the early edd. from Ald. to Ast have ὃν πατρώων.

**b 2 f.** For the connexion of μάντις with θησαυροί Stallb. cps. Ar. *Av.* 599 ff.—Some interpreters take ἁμῶς γέ πως with συμβουλευ(σ)ουσιν, others with ἀνελεῖν; if it goes with the latter it is "to appropriate it in any case"; if, with Ast, Zürr., Herm., and Wagn., we adopt Steph.'s very likely emendation of συμβουλευουσιν, it goes best with the participle—"who are certain to advise me." The latter gives more significant advice.

**b 3.** γῆ παρακαταθήκην : one of the bold datives of the *Laws*; the noun παρ. retains the power of the verb from which it is derived. Cp. 633 b 7 ταῖς χερσὶ μάχαις.—For γῆ A<sup>2</sup> suggested γε, and this was adopted by the earliest edd. Steph. wanted to read ἐν γῆ.

**b 3 ff.** οὐ . . . τοσοῦτον . . . ὠφεληθείην ἂν . . . ὅσον εἰς ὄγκον . . . ἐπιδιδόην : lit. "I should not benefit to an extent as great as the bulk to which I should swell"; εἰς χρημάτων κτήσιν is parallel to πρὸς ἀρετὴν ψυχῆς καὶ τὸ δίκαιον.

**b 6.** ἐπιδιδόην : so, correctly, the margin of O. The ἐπιδιδόι ἂν of ALO probably arose from the insertion of ἂν with ἐπιδιδόην, the ἂν, written above the line, being taken subsequently to be a correction of -ην. No MSS. have ὠφεληθείη in b 4.

**b 7.** δίκην ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ πλούτου προτιμήσας ἐν οὐσίᾳ κεκτῆσθαι πρότερον, "for I should have chosen to possess righteousness in my soul in preference to riches in my belongings" or "to possessing riches in my property." Is this sentence possibly a commentator's addition?

**c 1.** ὡς ἐνὸς ἐκείνων ὄντος : another curious pleonastic addition.

**c 2.** εἰς παίδων γενεὰν οὐ σύμφορα, "brings disaster upon one's descendants." (Jowett takes it to mean "prevent a man from having a family.")

**c 4.** τοῦ θέντος τὸν νόμον : cp. above on 844 e 9.

**c 6.** ἀπλούστατον : all editors but Burnet have adopted O<sup>2</sup>'s suggestion of inserting καί before this word so as to connect it with κάλλιστον. Burnet puts a comma after διαφθείρων. This arrangement not only follows the text of the best MSS., but gives a better justification of the καί after ἀπλούστατον; "a straightforward enactment, and that of no common man."

**c 7.** For ὃς εἶπεν we should have "which says."

**d 1.** Zür., Stallb., and Burnet mark by a (—) after ἀνέλη the change of construction from ὃς ἂν . . . γένηται καὶ . . . ἀνέληται to the accs. καταφρονήσαντα καὶ ἀνελόμενον as subjects to πάσχειν.—Herm. and Burnet, like all the early edd., assume that the omission of τοῖν after τούτοις by A was a mistake. Bekker, Stallb., and Schneider rightly, I think, hold that it is a mistake to insert it. Without the article δυοῖν νομοθεταίν—"two lawgivers, that is"—comes in as a natural supplement to τούτοις. The two lawgivers are of course (1) the author of the proverbial saying and (2) Solon.

**d 3.** The early vulgate, Ast, Zür., Herm., and Burnet rightly put a (:) after πάσχειν. Wagner wrongly claims Fic. as evidence

for the punctuation of Bekker, Stallb., and Schneider, which puts no stop at all after *πάσχειν*.—O<sup>2</sup> gives *χρῆμα* in the margin as a variant for *χρή*.

d 4. ὁ κατιδὼν πρῶτος, "the first to be aware of it"; there would hardly be any eyewitnesses of such an act.—The form *ἀγγελέτω*, which occurs in the vulgate down to Ast, has no MS. authority here, though forms of this second aor. are found in MSS. at Hdt. iv. 153 and Lycurg. § 85.

d 6. All edd. before Steph. omitted the words *ἐὰν . . . ἀγορανόμοις*; Fic. has them. Burnet says the first hands of A and O omit *ἐὰν δὲ τῆς ἄλλης χώρας ἀγορονόμοις*. Stallb. says O omits from *πόλεως* to *τῆς*.

914 a 1. τοῖς τούτων ἄρχουσι: cp. above, 760 b 5 ff.

a 6. It is typical of the extra-anacoluthic style of the *Laws* that *μὴ μηνύσας δέ* goes on as if ὁ κατιδὼν ἦ καὶ μηνίῃ had stood in the previous line.

a 8. τὴν τιμὴν, "his price."

b 2. The somewhat pleonastic *συνακολουθεῖν* is equivalent to *ὥστε συνακολουθεῖν*.

b 5. ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου τῇ θεᾷ καθιερωμένα, "for the law has put them in the goddess's sacred keeping." It seems strange to us that the divine protection should be spoken of as depending on the Law. It is of a piece with the recurring οἱ κατὰ νόμους θεοί of the previous book.

b 7. *σμικρὰς τιμῆς ἄξιον*: i.e. not a *θησαυρός* or anything of comparable value. (Wagner and Jowett ed. 2 inadvertently translate "if he be a slave of little worth.")

c 2. *ἀκοινώνητος νόμων*: this probably means not "an outlaw," but "the opposite of loyal and law-abiding"; by itself the adj. means "unsociable" above at 774 a 4.

c 5. *μὴ τὸ ἐκείνου δέ*, "but does not allow the 'of his'"; i.e. he admits the *ἔχειν* but not the *ἐκείνου*.—*ἂν μὲν*: this *μὲν* corresponds to the *δέ* in d 5.

c 6. *ἀπογεγραμμένον παρὰ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν*: for the statutable register of private property cp. above, 745 a 6 ff. From our present passage, though not from the earlier one, it appears that this register of personal property was not merely a list of sums of money, but was an inventory of all kinds of property. Cp. the inventory of property in Dem. *Contra Aphobum*, p. 816.

c 7. ὁ δὲ καθιστάτω: this must mean "and the other man must produce (the thing in court)." However, Ast, Stallb., Wagn.,

and Jowett say we must supply *ἐαυτόν* with *καθιστάτω* and translate "and he must appear in court."

c 8. *γενομένου δὲ ἔμφανός*, "and when (the piece of property) is brought to daylight"; not "and when the matter is cleared up" (Wagn. and Jowett), for this process is still to come. Its production would be necessary for the identification with the description in the register.

d 1. The *προτέρου* of L and O (and possibly of A originally) looks like an unintelligent correction of *ποτέρου*.—A's possible *οὕτως* for *οὗτος* makes a respectable variant (cp. e 8), but the verb requires a definite subject.

d 2 ff. *ὁπότερος ἂν . . . ἀφαιρείσθω*: all texts down to Ast's follow Ven. 184 and a few other inferior MSS. in inserting *μή* after *ἂν*. The same editors print *παράσχοι*, on no MS. authority, for *παράσχη*. These early editors all took *ἀφαιρείσθω* to be passive, in the sense of "let him be mulcted." The punctuations of later editors indicate a variety of minor differences of interpretation. Stallb. puts a comma after *ἐκείνῳ*, Schneider and Burnet after *ἀξιόχρεων*; Herm. puts commas after *ἀπόντος* and *ἐκείνῳ*. We can hardly connect *ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀπόντος* with *ἀξιόχρεων*, for the *bail* would be surety, not for the absent owner, but for the litigant who was allowed to carry away the property in dispute. We may translate Schneider and Burnet's text "whichever of the two (litigants) can find satisfactory surety" (i.e. "whichever of the two offers the more satisfactory surety") "is to carry the property off on behalf of the absent owner, in pursuance of his right to take it, to restore it to him."

d 4. In translating the difficult *κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνου ἀφαίρεσιν*, I have followed Schneider's "ex illius jure abducendi," *ἀφαίρεσις* being used pregnantly for "right of removing." (Stallb. takes it to mean "just as if he were going to carry it off.")

d 7. The apparently late fashion of saying *μεσεγγνώ* instead of *μεσεγγνώ* probably coincided with a general substitution of *ἔγγνος* as a subs. for the original *ἐγγύη*. L and O mention a variant *μεσεγγνηθέν*, which the earlier texts adopted.

e 1. All editors have adopted the more significant *διαδικάζειν* of L and O<sup>2</sup> for the *δικάζειν* of A and O.

e 3. *ἀγέτω*: this use of *ἄγειν*—"to lay violent hands on"—is akin to that in the common *ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν* (cp. above, 885 a, and the *βία ἄγειν* of *Gorg.* 488 b).—In *ἐὰν ἔμφρων ᾖ* there seems to lurk a hint that some masters behaved like madmen to their slaves.



e 5. τὸν ἀφεστῶτα, "the runaway"; cp. Lysias, *Or.* 23. 7 δοῦλον . . . ἀφεστῶτα.—ἐπὶ σωτηρία: i.e. he must not punish him, only keep him from running away.

e 6. ἀφαιρῆται and ἀφαιρούμενος in the next line are *conative*.—For ἀφαιρείσθαι εἰς ἐλευθερίαν Stallb. cps. Dem. *Adv. Theocrinem* 1327. 22 πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς . . . ὥς προσῶφλεν ἀφελόμενος τὴν Κηφισοδώρου θεραπείαν εἰς ἐλευθερίαν, and Lysias, *Or.* 23, where there is a case of disputed ownership of a slave. The similarity of procedure and phrasing suggests that Plato is here following the lines of Attic law.

e 9. τῶν βιαίων ἔνοχος: cp. Lysias, *Or.* 23. 12 ἐνόχους . . . τοῖς βιαίους. Plato has ἔνοχος with the dat. below at 917 c 7, and at *Theaet.* 148 b 4. The gen. may be due to the analogy of the gen. with ὑπόδικος, or it may be that γραφῇ or δίκη was understood with it.

915 a 1. ἐπιγραφέντος: i.e. the value of the slave as entered in the state register.

a 3. Herm. (*De vest. disp.* p. 64 and *Juris Comp.* p. 18) conjectures that in these regulations for the behaviour of freedmen, as for those about slaves, Plato follows closely the course of Attic law.

a 4. The nom. θεραπεία is far superior to A<sup>2</sup>'s variant θεραπεῖα.

b 2. καθάπερ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ξένους: cp. above, 850 b 2.

b 5. Ast was the first to print τῷ for τῶν (before ξένων) at the suggestion of Matthiae. Schneider alone retains the MS. τῶν.

b 6. τοῦ τρίτου τιμήματος: cp. above, 744 c and e. The third was the lowest but one; cp. 756 d 1. This restriction of the property of ξένοι and freedmen seems to have been Plato's own. He apparently disapproved of the generous treatment accorded to μέτοικοι by the Athenians. In this his relatives Critias and Charmides would have agreed with him. Cp. Grote, viii. p. 38 (chap. lxx.).

c 5. τούτων: this word probably refers to the suits about all subjects mentioned between 914 e 3 and 915 d 6—slaves and freedmen. φυλετικά δικάστηρια are mentioned above at 768 c 1. (Ritter, p. 414, thinks τούτων cannot include the condemning to death of a freedman who overstays his time. Probably not; but the tribal courts might even here be wanted to decide as to the facts of the case.)

c 8. ἐφάπτεται, "claims," lit. "lays hold of"; the subj. is τις as in c 2.—καὶ ὅτουοῦν, "belonging to anybody whatever" (καὶ ὅτφοῦν A and O).—The vulgate down to Steph., also Herm.,

Zürr., and Burnet, read τῶν αὐτοῦ χρημάτων. I would, like Schneider and Stallb., follow Ast in reading τῶν αὐτοῦ χρημάτων, αὐτοῦ being the same person spoken of as καὶ ὁτουοῦν—the ὁ ἔχων of the following line. It is true that our first impulse is to make καὶ ὁτουοῦν agree with ζῶν; but on the other hand it is difficult to suppose that Plato should have called it, or anything else, “the claimant’s own property,” when *ex hypothesi* the claim is in dispute. It was probably this perception which led to the early correction of ὁτουοῦν to ὁτρωοῦν which is the reading of A and O. If it were not, indeed, for the consensus of all texts I should prefer to read καὶ ὁτρωοῦν. It is not stranger than many datives in the *Laws*. (A.M.A. prefers αὐτοῦ.)

d 1. ἀναγέτω: Stallb. cites Harpocration s.v. ἀνάγειν τὸ μὴνύειν τὸν πεπραχότα καὶ ἐπ’ ἐκείνον ἵεναι. Cp. Herm. *De vest.* p. 65: “Quae sequuntur de evictione in vendendo et regressu ad venditorem ipsis juris Attici reliquiis confirmantur.”

d 1. ἀξιώχρεών τε καὶ ἔνδικον, “as its substantial and lawful owner”; κυρίως with παραδόντα expresses the same qualification.

d 4. εἰς δὲ ξενικὴν παράδοσιν, “foreign delivery,” stands for “a foreign deliverer”; a curious instance of abstract for concrete.

d 5. It is, however, too much, after stretching the meaning of παράδοσιν one way, to ask us to believe that ἥς—“of which delivery”—stands here for “of which delivery-period.” I would suggest that ἥς is a mistake for οἷς. The utmost limit of time allowed for restitution would thus be two and a half months after the summer solstice.

d 7. For ἕτερος ἄλλω cp. 849 e 7 μὴ προϊέμενον ἄλλον ἐτέρῳ τὴν ἀλλαγὴν, and 945 d 7.—τεταγμένη ἐκάστοις, “assigned to each separate commodity.” (Wagner wrongly makes ἐκάστοις masc. and takes it with διδόντα.) Cp. above, 849 e, where the fixing on certain parts of the agora for dealings in certain commodities, and also the prohibition of credit are both ordained. The former regulation was Attic, the latter not.

e 6. φίλον παρὰ φίλοις, “as among friends.” There were to be no legal obligations for ἔρανοι, and consequently no ἔρανικαὶ δίκαι.

916 a 3. ἡ κατὰ νόμους ἀναγωγὴ καὶ μὴ: ἀναγωγὴ (*redhibitio*) is used frequently for “power of return,” so that μὴ stands for “refusal of return.” Cp. below on c 5, and 709 e 2.

a 5. φθόγ: cp. Lucian, *Ep. Sat.* 28 ἡ φθόγην ἡ περιπνευμονίαν ἡ ὕδερρον οὐ χαλεπῶς συνελέξαντο ἐκ τῆς πολλῆς τρυφῆς.—λιθῶν: Photius (s.v. λιθῶντας) cites this passage, and teaches us that

λιθάω, not λιθιάω, is the correct form of the verb. ALO have λίθων; all early texts have λιθιῶν. Winckelmann (in Zürr.) first restored the correct form.

a 8. L preserved the *τούτω* which A and O omitted, though it was added in the margin.

b 2. *ιδιώτη*: i.e. one who has no professional knowledge or skill in the matter; *δημιουργός* (b 3) is "a professional man."—Of the words *ἐὰν δέ τις ιδιώτη τι* A left out *δέ* and O left out *δέ τις*; late hands in A wrote the *δέ* above the line and *ἐὰν δέ τι ιδιώτη* in the margin; O gives a marginal variant *τι ιδίως*.

b 3. *πλὴν τῆς ἱερᾶς*: abstract for concrete, cp. b 5.

b 5. *τῆς νόσου* = *τοῦ νοσοῦντος*.

b 6. *οὓς ἂν κοινῇ προβαλόμενοι ἔλονται*, "to be selected by the joint nomination of the two parties."—Bekker first restored the *προβαλόμενοι* of A for the *προβαλλόμενοι* of O, A<sup>2</sup>, and the vulgate.

c 5. Stallb. alone of later editors retains the *μὴ εἰδότει δέ* of O for the *μὴ δὲ εἰδότει* of A and O<sup>2</sup>.—Although the *τότε* has but slight MS. authority (a late hand in the margin of A), all editors (including Fic.) have adopted it. (Is it possible that Ficinus's "*tunc reddetur quando senserit emptor*" was the origin of the *τότε*? The Greek could do quite well without it. But cp. on 876 b 5.)

c 6. There is a curious difference of reading here: L and a late correcting hand in A have *αἰσθηται*, which all editors have adopted; A and O have *αἰσθησις*.—*τις τῶν πριαμένων* may stand for "any buyer," or it may mean "any member of the buyer's family"; Fic. translates by a simple *emptor*.

c 7. *εἰδὼς δὲ ἂν κριθῇ*: i.e. if the seller be proved to have known.—*τάς τε οἰκίας . . . καθηράτω . . . τῆς τιμῆς τε ἀποδότω . . . τριπλάσιον*: the purification would probably be necessary, even though the seller had not guilty knowledge, but it is not clear that it would then be the seller's duty to purify it.

c 8. *κατὰ τὸν τῶν ἐξηγητῶν νόμον*: cp. above, 759 c 6 ff., for the position of these repositories of Delphic ceremonial.

d 1. It is significant that the penalty for palming off a ceremonially unclean slave is 50 per cent greater than that for palming off a physically defective one.

d 3. *ὅτιοῦν* belongs to *τῶν ἄλλων*, and *ζῶων ἢ καὶ μὴ ζῶων* go together; the insertion of *ζῶων* between *ἄλλων* and *ὅτιοῦν* is a good instance of the hyperbaton which is a common feature of this style.—*ἀκίβδηλον πᾶν διδότω*, "must give full value in every case."

**d 5.** The word *δεξώμεθα* represents the speaker as "adopting" the preamble provided by the *νομοθέτης*.—The word *ὅλης* prepares us for the following statement that "fraud, lying, and deception are all of one kin."

**d 7.** *φήμην ἐπιφέρειν* is "to confer reputation—credit or discredit—upon." "Slimness," such as made part of the character of the hero of the *Odyssey*, was, as Plato hints, admired too unreservedly by the Greeks. There is no reason to think that, because at e 6 f. he especially bars the breaking of an oath—i.e. the lying in the face of Heaven—or lying to a "superior," he has relaxed at all in the positive enthusiasm for truth in itself which is expressed above at 730 c 1 ff. He is here considering the social effects of deceit, and is speaking as a lawgiver. Cp. below on 917 a 8.

**917 a 1.** *πράξειεν* : for the imperativel or hortative use of the independent optative cp. above on 730 c 3.—*οὗτος* is predicate, and is used almost in the sense of *τοιούτος*—cp. Pind. *O.* 4. 38 *οὗτος ἐγὼ ταχυνᾶτι*—and stands here in the place of *θεομισέστατος*.

**a 2.** *μηδὲν φροντίζει θεῶν*, "makes light of," almost "insults the gods." Cp. above, 701 c 1 *ὄρκων καὶ πίστεων καὶ τὸ παράπαν θεῶν μὴ φροντίζειν*.

**a 3.** *δεύτερος* : i.e. in only a less degree *θεομισής*.

**a 7.** *ἀρχή* is here used of any sort of authority, and includes all the kinds of superiority just mentioned. In the next line *ἀρχαῖς* stands for the concrete "authorities" in the sense of officials. Wagner notices the play on words.

**a 8.** L has *ὁ νῦν*, A and O have *οὖν* corrected to *ὁ νῦν* (in A by a late hand in the margin). Ast, Zür., and Stallb. think that the original reading was *οὖν ὁ νῦν*, but, as Herm. says, we don't want the *οὖν*.—The first four printed edd. had *ὅθεν οὖν παρὼν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος*. A wrote *παρ' οὖν* for *παρὼν*, but A<sup>2</sup> marked it as a mistake.—The sentence *ὅθεν . . . ἐλήλυθεν* means that the speaker is now looking at the matter of deceit and falsehood from the state official's point of view, not from that of the moral philosopher; his object is to find how far such acts can be punished by law.

**a 9.** *πᾶς γὰρ κτλ.* : this sentence confirms the statement that it is the official view that he is now taking. Such acts, he says, are done "in the teeth of the regulations and limitations of the market officials." Thus the offender sins both against Heaven and against his earthly superiors.—*τῶν* is neut., and depends on *τι*. (Schneider and Wagner make it masc.—depending on *πᾶς*;



Fic. rightly translates "quicumque enim aliquid in foro adulterat.")

**b 2.** Though the oath is a false one ἐπόμνυσιν does not (as Fic. and Jowett say) mean *peierat*; it is merely "adds an oath," "swears to it."—This ἐν is a variety of the ἐν used to denote the tribunal before which a case is tried; we may translate by "in the face of." The man not only cheats, but he calls God to witness it, and does it also in the face of human authority.

**b 4 ff.** πάντως μὲν δὴ κτλ., "undoubtedly it is a good habit not lightly to take the name of gods in vain, and to behave as the generality of us behave more or less in the matter of purity and guiltlessness towards Heaven." ἔχοντα agrees with an unexpressed τινά which is the subj. of χραίνειν. The Ath. enjoins as great care in avoiding impiety in business dealings as we use in the ordinary affairs of life. (Jowett understands it to mean the opposite of this; he translates "after the fashion of men in general who care little about piety"; i.e. he puts the ἔχοντα with χραίνειν alone and not with μὴ χραίνειν. Fic. is no guide here; he translates: "Aequum profecto est nomina deorum non facile inquinare nec ea huc atque illuc devolvere, sed omnia quae ad deos pertinent pure casteque servare.")—For the use of ῥαδίως cp. below, 919 d 2.

**b 7.** The subj. of πείθοιτο is the same person as the subj. of χραίνειν.

**c 1.** ἀποφέρων ὀρθῶς ἂν ἀποφέροι πάλιν, "it would be his bounden duty to take it away again." The two points of market law are (1) a price when once fixed must not be changed on the same day, and (2) no statements about goods are to be supported by rhetorical flourishes or oaths. Athenaeus p. 226 a quotes a comedy of Alexis where it is said that since Solon there has been no better lawgiver than the rich Aristonicus, who, among other laws regulating the proceedings of fishmongers in the market, ordained that when a fishmonger has once fixed a price he will be sent to prison if he sells it for less, ἵνα δεδοικότες | τῆς ἀξίας ἀγαπῶσιν, ἢ τῆς ἐσπέρας | σαπροῦς ἅπαντας ἀποφέρωσιν οἴκαδε. Bekker (*Charicles* ii. 154), in quoting this, hazards the conjecture that by "Aristonicus" Alexis meant Plato "the son of Ariston." Stallb. agrees with him. The two following "laws" in Alexis's comedy are pure burlesque. (Stallb., perhaps rightly, takes ἐπαινος ὄρκος τε as a hendiadys, "praise supported by oaths.")

**c 6.** Herm. follows Schmidt (*Emend. Plat.* p. 8) in defending the τῆς which the MSS. have after τυπτέτω, but which, in deference to a marginal note in O, previous edd. had omitted. Stallb.

accepted *τις* later, and so Schn. and Burnet. Herm. cites *Rep.* 412 a *δεήσει τοῦ τοιούτου τινος ἀεὶ ἐπιστάτου* for a similar apparently superfluous *τις*. Stallb. cites *Soph. O.C.* 288 and *O.R.* 107. The *τις* means in all these cases "whoever he be."

c 8. *μὴ δυνάμενον τοῖς νῦν πείσθαι λόγοις*: so we may say "he cannot be persuaded" when we mean "I cannot persuade him." The *λόγοι* are the "prelude," 916 d 6—917 b 7.

d 1. *τῶν γιγνώσκόντων*, "ex numero intelligentium" (Schneider); not merely "those who are aware of the occurrence" but those who understand the trade in question—the *τῶν ἐμπείρων* of e 4 below.

d 5. *ἀγορευέσθω*, "he must be pronounced"; cp. 950 e *τὰς δὲ κατὰ πόλεμον . . . ἀποδημίας οὐκ ἐν ἐκδημίαις πολιτικαῖς ἄξιον ἀγορεύειν ὡς τούτων οὐσας*. (Stallb. thinks that *ἀναγορεύειν* (cp. 730 d 7), which denotes a public official proclamation of the charge, is the word wanted here.)

d 6. *ὁ φανερὸς γενόμενος*: i.e. *ὁ ἐξελεγχθείς*.

e 1. For this use of *ὑπό* cp. above, 784 a 7, below, 928 d 8, *Rep.* 461 a 6, and the *πίνειν ὑπὸ τῆς σάλπιγγος* of *Aristoph. Ach.* 1001. It denotes not the agent or instrument, but a benevolent and encouraging accompaniment.

e 4. I think Stallb., Schneider, and Wagner are right in taking *περὶ ἕκαστα* with *ἐμπείρων*; other interpreters either leave *περὶ ἕκαστα* untranslated, or take it with *πυθόμενοι*. (Serranus "singulatim intelligunt.") The comma which Herm., Wagn., and Burnet place after *νομοφύλακες* should be omitted, *κιβδ.* and *κακ.* being the direct obj. of *πυθόμενοι*. The authorities must learn all possible tricks of the trade before they can draw up their table of regulations for buying and selling.—Ficinus for some reason does not translate *ἃ τε χρὴ ποιεῖν τὸν πωλοῦντα καὶ ἃ μὴ* till the end of the whole sentence. This led Ast and Wagner to the conclusion that these words originally came after *σαφείς*. Fic. probably felt that some further definition of *μηνυτάς* was needed in his version, and allowed himself the transposition. His version of *ἀναγραφάντων . . . σαφείς* is "et in columna conscriptas in foro proponant ut plane ex his pateat quid oportet" (sic) "et quid non vendentes facere." There is compression and omission as well as transposition here.

e 5. The MSS. have *ἀγορανόμου*, but all editors have rightly accepted Steph.'s emendation of this to *ἀγορανομίου*; cp. below, 918 a 4 *εἰς ἀστυνόμιον θέντων*.

e 6. *εἶναι* stands in the sense of *ὥστε εἶναι*; cp. 756 e 3, 759 d 8, 857 a 6, 890 c 8.

918a 1. *χρεία* is "business," as at 849 a 5.

a 2. *ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν* : i.e. 759 a, 763 c-e, 849 a 2, 881 c 5.

a 3 ff. *τὸ δοκοῦν ἐκλείπειν* : so the MSS. Herm. truly says that *ἐκλείπειν* is used of a *falling away from fulness*, *ἐλλείπειν* of a *falling short* of it. Hence manifestly *ἐλλείπειν* is the more likely word here. If Plato wrote *ἐκλείπειν* it means that he carelessly ignored the distinction.—*τά τε πρῶτα καὶ τὰ δεύτερα τεθέντα αὐτοῖσιν τῆς ἀρχῆς νόμιμα*, "both the earlier and the later rules made for their official activities."

a 6. This is not a flattering introduction of the *κᾶπηλοι*, whether as shopkeepers, peddlars, or innkeepers. Again at 920 c 1 he pronounces *κιβδηλεία* to be a *συγγενὲς πρᾶγμα* to *καπηλεία*.—The *κατὰ πολλά* of L and the margin of O is clearly a scribe's error. In three inferior MSS. *κατὰ πόδα* is explained in the margin by *παραντά* and *κατὰ τάξιν*.

a 7. *συμβουλὴν καὶ λόγον* : a periphrasis for the usual *προοίμιον*.

b 1 f. *τό γε κατὰ φύσιν* : i.e. "if you consider its real nature and function apart from its evil associations in actual life."

b 3 f. *ἀσύμμετρον* seems to denote the disproportion between stock possessed by the individual and his needs; *ἀνώμαλον* the inequality in the distribution of stock throughout the community. To both the chiasmically arranged *ὁμαλήν* and *σύμμετρον* are respectively opposed.

b 4. *τοῦτο*, "the very thing which." The explanatory asyndeton gives further emphasis to *τοῦτο*. Aristotle amplifies this hint about the function of money and *ἡ μεταβλητική* at *Pol.* i. 1257 a b.

b 6. *ἐμπορος* seems here to be used in a general sense, including both great and little traders.—*ἐπὶ τούτῳ τετάχθαι*, "has had this task assigned to him."

b 7. *ἄλλα* : sc. *ἐπιτηδεύματα*, in the sense of "trades."

c 2. *ἐξευπορεῖν* has here an object (two, in fact); above at 861 b 1 it was used absolutely. (Stallb. makes it intransitive—"ut . . . et opibus aequalitas contingat.")

c 3 f. There is a violent zeugma here; *δοκεῖν* needs some such word as *ποιεῖν* to govern it, and we have to get it out of *τὸ διαβεβληκὸς τυγχάνει*, which means "that which happens to have made it unpopular."—For *τυγχάνει* without *ὄν* cp. above, 892 d 7.

c 5. The early edd. down to Steph. have *ἐξιασαίμεθα*, ALO have *ἀξιωσώμεθα*; A<sup>2</sup> corrected this to *ἐξιασώμεθα*, which Ast was the first to print.

c 6. οὐ φαῦλον means more than "non leve" (Stallb.), which would come to the same thing as οὐ. σμικρᾶς δέομενον ἀρετῆς; it is rather "worth doing."—These words are given, in the first five printed edd., and even in Bekker, to Cleinias, and the Ath. is made to go on πῶς λέγεις; κτλ. It is even more ridiculous to suppose the Athenian surprised (πῶς λέγεις;) at the statement than to suppose Cleinias capable of making it. The French scholar Grou first saw this, and Ast was the first to print the correct arrangement. The cause, as Stallb. says, was probably the asyndeton after νόμῳ. Apparently the MSS. did not make the mistake.

c 9 f. ὀλίγον is no repetition of σμικρόν, as at first it appears. The two reasons why the γένος is σμικρόν are (1) that only a few are born capable of reaching the standard, and (2) that of these only the strictly trained reach it.

c 10. The addition of χρείας to ἐπιθυμίας shows that it is not merely desire for what is unnecessary which is here considered.

d 1. καρτερεῖν πρὸς τὸ μέτριον: there is something of an oxymoron in this phrase. The result desired is not a *persistent endeavour*—whether of action or resistance—such as καρτερεῖν usually describes, but a deliberate *restraining of endeavour* at a certain point. The resistance is to oneself, and is analogous to the paradoxical "victory over oneself" described in 626 e ff. So we talk of having the *strength of mind to renounce*.

d 5. Stallb. is doubtless right in treating δέομενα κτλ. as an emphatic explanatory asyndeton; τε then is *both*, not (as Schneider) *and*. To make this clear a colon should replace the comma after τούτοις.—ἐξὸν κερδαίνειν τὰ μέτρια, "when they have the option of stopping short at a moderate gain."

d 7. Here and at e 1 A and O made the mistake of writing χ for κ in πανδοκεῖαν and πανδοκεῖσαι, though in the former word the letters οχει are in an erasure in A; L and O<sup>2</sup> give κ.

d 8—e 4. ἐπεὶ εἴ τις . . . μετασχεῖν τρόπον: ἐπεὶ is probably "although," "and yet."—ἀρίστους goes in sense with γυναῖκας as well as with ἄνδρας ("mulieres quoque sanctissimas" Fic.).—εἴ τις προσαναγκάσσειν would be translated in English by a passive. (Winckelmann, comparing 806 a 6 f. and Rep. 579 c 7, would add τύχη to τις.)

e 1. Schneider alone is bold enough to support A and O in the omission of δέ; it is possible, but unlikely, that we have here a μέν with no δέ to follow.

e 3. εἰμαρμένης, "inevitable."

e 5. κατὰ λόγον ἀδιάφθορον, "on incorruptible principles."



**919 a 3.** Steph. and Ast thought ἐλαυνομένους (with παρασχών) and not the acc. (with δεχόμενος) was the right reading.

**a 4.** It is doubtful whether we ought to take πνίγεσιν to stand for ἐν πνίγεσιν ("in suffocating heat")—cp. γαλήνη Thuc. iv. 26. 7—or to supply ἐλαυνομένους with it.

**a 5 ff.** οὐχ ὥς . . . λύτρων, "does not, as if he had been entertaining friends, make them genial presents in keeping with his previous reception of them, but asks his mighty, extortionate, and abominable price for letting them go—as if they had been enemies who had fallen into his hands as prisoners." τῶν in a 7 assumes that everybody knows how high innkeepers' charges are.—μακροτάτων is rather an out-of-the-way epithet for λύτρων, but by no means impossible; so Arist. Pol. iii. 1278 a 23 talks of τιμήματα μακρά; cp. our "a long price." (There is no need for Herm.'s μαρωτάτων. He thinks it would go better with the following adjs., but it would be superfluous alongside of ἀκαθάρτων.)—The corrector of O saw what was wrong with A and O's ἑτέροις for ἑταίροις; cp. below 935 c 6, Symp. 183 c 7 and Ep. vii. 325 b 6.

**b 1.** ἐν σύμπασι τοῖς τοιοῦτοις: sc. κατηλείας γένεσιν.

**b 2.** ὀρθῶς ("deservedly"), if correct, is, by a very harsh hyperbaton, separated from παρεσκευακότα, which it must qualify, and itself separates ἀμαρτανόμενα from ἐν σύμπ. τ. τ. Some scribe, as recorded in the margin of L and O, thinking that ὀρθῶς could only qualify ἀμαρτανόμενα, proposed to alter it to αἰσχροῦς, which Herm., Zür., and Stallb. accept. Steph. and Ast would place ὀρθῶς before παρεσκευακότα. Wagner, whom I follow, thinks that ὀρθῶς was a marginal comment which got by mistake into the text. We could certainly do very well without it, and we can easily imagine a commentator expressing approval of the sentiment. Ficinus's "turpiter acta" may be merely a translation of ἀμαρτανόμενα; if so, he neglects the adverb, whether ὀρθῶς or αἰσχροῦς.—Ought we possibly to read τὰ for τὰς?

**b 5.** πρὸς δύο . . . καὶ ἐναντία: at Phaedo 89 c and Euthyd. 297 c, where this same proverb is quoted, there is nothing to correspond with the καὶ ἐναντία. The scholiast on the passage in the Phaedo quotes our present passage as merely ὥς πρὸς δύο μάχεσθαι χαλεπόν. It is evidently not of the essence of the proverb, and is only introduced here because the particular two—πενία and πλοῦτος—are opposites; it is then "especially when they are opposites." The implication is that different and perhaps inconsistent methods would be needed to combat each.

**b 8 f.** τὸν μὲν ψυχὴν . . . αὐτήν: in other words, "luxury

undermines our self-command, and misery robs us of our self-respect.”—Again a hyperbaton, separating *ψυχὴν* from *τῶν ἀνθρώπων*.—The usual chiasmus.—*προτετραμμένην* all take to be middle here, but it would be hard to find another instance of this tense used actively. Besides, Plato inclines to the active of this verb rather than to the middle for the sense *urge*—cp. *Clitopho* 408 d 5 *τοὺς μήπω προτετραμμένους προτρέπειν*.—The reading *προστetraμμένους* (cp. above 866 b 4), which all editors down to Ast adopted, was due to the corrector of O, and does him no credit. Is it perhaps passive after all?—“while poverty is driven to utter shamelessness.”

c 2. A<sup>2</sup> corrected what was manifestly a scribe's mistake of *ἀγωγή* for *ἀρωγή* in A and O. (Winckelmann would retain *ἀγωγή*.)

c 3. *ὅτι σμικροτάτω*: how the number of *κάπηλοι* was to be restricted we are not told.

c 5. *καπηλείαν* has to be supplied as the direct object of *προσβάλλειν* from the previous *τῷ τῶν καπῆλων γένει*.

c 7 f. *ἀνέδην . . . μέτοχα*: possibly *ἀνέδην* qualifies *μέτοχα*. The grammarian in Bekker, *Anecd.* i. p. 400 seems to make it qualify *ῥαδίως*; Schn., Wagn., and Jow. better translate it as if it qualified *ἀναισχ.* like an adj.—“unbridled shamelessness.”

d 1. *ἀνελευθέρου ψυχῆς*: cp. *Rep.* 422 a 2 *τῇσδε (πενίας ἐμποιοῦσης) ἀνελευθερίαν καὶ κακοεργίαν πρὸς τῷ νεωτερισμῷ*.—L alone has the right reading; A and O and L's margin have *ἀνελευθερίου*, an illiterate late form, which, however, Schn. retains.

d 2. *ῥαδίως*: cp. above, 917 b 5 *μὴ χραίνειν ῥαδίως*.

d 3. The gen. *Μαγνήτων* depends in a loose way both on *οἶσοι* and upon *μηδεῖς*. The sense is, “let no one of all the 5040 Magnetian householders . . .”—The vulgate down to Steph. has *οὓς ἂν . . . κατοικίῃ*. Ast first printed the correct MS. reading *οὓς . . . κατοικίζει* (which alone makes sense) from cod. Voss. O<sup>2</sup> reads *κατοικίῃ*, but with no *ἂν* after *οὓς*.

d 4. *ἀνορθῶν πάλιν*: cp. below, 946 b 6 *Μαγνήτων ἢ κατὰ θεὸν πάλιν τυχοῦσα σωτηρίας πόλις*. The original *Μαγνήτες* had left their city in Crete to decay when they migrated to form the colony of *Μαγνησία* on the Meander. The imaginary new Magnesia was to be built on their Cretan territory.

d 6. *μηδ' ἔμπορος*, “no, nor even an *ἐμπορος*” (who belonged to a higher class than a *κάπηλος*). Bekker thought that the MS. “*μηδ'*” was a mistake for *μητ'*; Herm., Zürr., and Wagn. agree with

him, and so did Stallb. in his earlier editions ; but in his later he, like Sch. and Burnet, follows the MSS.

**d 7.** τοῖς μὴ ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ, "who do not equally (render the service) to him"; διακονοῦσιν must be supplied from the previous διακονίαν κεκτημένος, and ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ (cp. 931 c 7) qualifies it. (Ast and Jowett quite irrationally translate "who are not his equals." Ast says ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ stands for ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ τιμῆματος.)

**e 1.** τοῖς ἔτι τούτων εἰς τὸ ἄνω γένεσιν : this phrase evidently means the same as τοῖς ἄνω τοῦ γένους at 878 a 5, and τούτων ἔτι προγόνων at 880 e 7. Stallb. and (apparently) Schn. take γένεσιν to be "by birth"—plur. because there were several ages—"to those who are still further back by birth than these"; is it not better to take τοῖς with γένεσιν—"and to the generations still further back than these"? Cp. ἐνὶ γένει 925 a 2. (O. Apelt suggests that we should read γονεύσι.)

**e 2.** Jowett rightly separates ἐλευθέρως in translation from ἐλεύθεροι. All previous interpreters make it qualify ἐλεύθεροι ("qui liberaliter sunt liberi," Schn.); Jowett translates "who are freemen, and whom he serves as a freeman." διακονεῖτω must be supplied with ἐλευθέρως from the preceding μὴ διακονίαν κεκτημένος ἔστω. The ἐλευθέρως means that the service must not be such as to derogate from his character as a gentleman. There should be no comma after πρεσβυτέροις.

**e 4.** τῶν τὰ ἀριστεία εἰληφότων τῷ ἐκείνων μίσει τε καὶ ἀσπασμῷ, "men whose hatred of the former and devotion to the latter have won them public recognition." The same men are called below τοὺς ἀρετῇ πρῶτους κεκριμένους. From the occurrence of the phrases τὰ ἀριστεία ἀποδόντας and the like at 946 b and e and 948 a, in the account of the election and functions of the εὐθυνοί, Susemihl concluded that the εὐθυνοί were the authorities referred to here. But is it likely that the ἀρχόντων ἄρχοντες ὑπερβάλλοντες πρὸς ἀρετὴν, the θεῖοι εὐθύνται who were to keep the magistrates within the bounds of virtue, should be at liberty to decide every citizen's doubts about what was gentlemanly conduct? Ritter (p. 414) shows that ἀριστεία and τὰ ἀριστεία are used of the public recognition of all kinds of merit. Here the merit was not, as in the case of the εὐθυνοί, of a general kind : the judges here were to be recognized authorities on etiquette—leaders of *bon ton*. Probably, as in the case of the soldiers described at 943 c, all these privileged ranks of citizens would bear some badge or mark of their superiority.

**e 5 f.** καπηλείας τῆς ἀνελευθέρου : what ἐλευθερικὴ καπηλεία is

has been suggested in general terms above at d 7. Reciprocal entertainment at private houses would be an instance of it.

**e 6.** τέχνη τινί, "by any artifice"; cp. below, 936 d 5. There were doubtless ways in which a citizen might make money out of trade without letting his name appear.

**e 9.** δεθεὶς ἐνιαυτὸν ἀποσχέσθω τοῦ τοιούτου, "he must give up the pursuit and be imprisoned for a year." The implication is that the imprisonment is not only a penal but a preventive measure.

**920 a 2.** τοὺς δεσμούς, if sound, is a curious acc. "He must go on doubling the previous period *for his imprisonment*." It is a sort of acc. of inner object, such as might stand with δεθήτω, of which the succeeding words are a sort of equivalent. Steph., Ast, and Wagn. think that one of the two accs. is a mistake for a gen., and Ast prints τοῦ ἔμπροσθεν χρόνου. Is it not possible that τὸν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον ought to be rejected as a marginal interpretation of τοὺς δεσμούς?

**a 6.** Both A and O first wrote φύλας for φύλακας. It is not likely that both scribes should make such a mistake independently. Either one was copied from the other, or both were copied from an original which made the mistake. The corrections in A (in text and margin) are by late hands. See on b 1.

**a 8.** The ὅσοι clause is explanatory of the οὗς clause; hence the asyndeton. So Stallb. ("*hoc est eorum qui*," etc.); Schn. and Wagner understand the ὅσοι clause to give a *reason* for the previous statement.—A wrote πεπαίδευται, and it was corrected by a late hand.

**b 1.** There are many mistakes in the MSS. about this place. Both A and O joined the -οντας of ἐπιτηδεύοντας on to the -εν- of ἐπιτηδεύματα, omitting all that came between; a mistake of the same significance as that noticed on a 6.

**b 2.** A wrote αποτροπήν, altered by a correcting hand to ᾧ ῥοπήν, O wrote ἀποτροπήν, for which the margin gives a variant ᾧ τροπήν. All editors but Zürr., Herm., and Burnet print the Aldine ᾧ προτροπήν. Zürr. prefers the variant of O ᾧ τροπήν; Herm. (like A<sup>2</sup>) conjectured ᾧ ῥοπήν, which he and Burnet print. Baiter conjectured ᾧ ποτε ῥοπήν, and Herm. thought of ᾧ πον (or ᾧ περ) ῥοπήν, but did not print either. τροπήν goes ill with ἰσχυράν and, as Herm. says, "προτροπή πρὸς τὸ προτρέπειν misere friget."—A further mistake made by both A and O in this line was writing τρέπειν instead of προτρέπειν.

**b 3.** ταύτῃ δῆ, "in pursuance of this object," "to secure this."



**b 4.** τοιαῦτα: i.e. "degrading"—*ἃ ῥοπήν ἔχει κτλ.*—With πολλήν οὔσαν cp. Eur. *Hipp.* 1 πολλή μὲν ἐν βρότοισι.

**b 5 f.** ὅσαπερ ἂν αὐτῶν . . . δεῖν εἶναι (like the ὅσοι clause above at a 8) is a further, and limiting, definition of the πολλά—"all the trades, that is, which have been pronounced absolutely necessary for the state and have been allowed to remain in it." This is the only hint of legislative action directed towards the first of the objects expressed above at 919 c 2-d 1, i.e. ὅτι σμικροτάτῳ χρῆσθαι κατὰ δύναμιν τῷ τῶν καπηλῶν γένει. All the rest of the laws are directed to the second and third objects there enumerated.—(Wagn. curiously takes λειφθῆ to mean "are lacking.")—A and O omitted the ἂν.

**b 6.** αῖ marks this fixing of prices as a *second* function of the νομοφύλακες, the first being the decision what trades, and how many trades, were to be allowed to remain in the state.

**c 1.** ἔμπροσθεν: i.e. 917 e 2 ff.

**c 2 f.** λήμμά τε καὶ ἀνάλωμα, which stand in the reverse order in the following line, are equivalent to "profit on expenditure," and so take a singular verb, and a singular interrog. pron. τί. At Lysias, Κατὰ Διογ. § 20 λῆμμα καὶ ἀνάλωμα seems to mean "excess of expenditure over income," or perhaps "debit and credit account."

**c 4.** γιγνόμενον, "resulting"; i.e. resulting from the inquiry—"inventam" Schn., "sich ergebende" Wagn.—Probably the γράψαντας θείναι as well as the φυλάττειν has for subjects the three next mentioned classes of officials. All the νομοφύλακες had to do was to regulate the market prices. The subordinate officials had to post and enforce them.

**c 5.** A and O are again at fault; they omit the words τὰ δὲ ἀγρονόμους, which are inserted by a late hand in A.

**c 7.** ἐκάστους is "all—citizens and traders alike," while τοὺς χρωμένους (sc. τῇ καπηλείῳ) is "those who practise it"; i.e. the traders.

**d 1.** Here we come to συμβόλαια proper (cf. 913 a 1); contracts and binding agreements.—For the "Dorism" in the order of the words ὅσα τις ἂν cp. 890 a 5, 933 e 6.

**d 2.** For ἀπιέργειν in the sense of "prevent a thing from being done" cp. above, 837 d 4, where also the law is the preventing cause.

**d 3.** The ὑποδίκον of A and O for ὑπὸ ἀδίκον was a mistake of the eye and hand, rather than of the mind, and was doubtless soon corrected in A.—With ὁμολογήσῃ we have to supply ἃ ἂν

from the previous ὦν ἄν.—καί is, in sense, as much “or” as the ἥ which introduces the second just impediment.

d 4. Zürr. and Herm. adopt O<sup>2</sup>s correction of the MS. ἀπό to ὑπό. For this use of ἀπό cp. *Rep.* 411 b ἀπὸ σμικρῶν ταχὺ ἐριθιζόμενόν τε καὶ κατασβεννύμενον. τῶν ἄλλων (neut.) is all cases (ὅσα κτλ.) not included under the three specified exceptions; “actions for breach of contract in other cases than these will lie in the tribal courts” (in case friendly arbitration fails).

d 7. The asyndeton is of the usual explanatory kind.

e 1 ff. The somewhat slight grounds for thus grouping together the military and the artizans are (1) they are both under special divine protection; (2) they both serve continually the interest of the land and its inhabitants (χώραν καὶ δῆμον θεραπεύοντες); and (3) they both practise τέχναι, and may both, in a sense, be called δημιουργοί (921 d 4), the latter being δημιουργοὶ σωτηρίας. He admits, however, that they only count so ἐν παρέργῳ.

e 3. The omission of τό before τούτων in A and O is an ordinary case of haplography.

e 5. ἄρχοντες τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον ἀγώνων: this might perhaps be spoken, not of officers only, but of all soldiers as a class, inasmuch as they “preside over, have charge of fighting” (cp. ἐρετμῶν ἐπίσταται *Eur. Hel.* 1267 and 1413), but the limitation at 921 d 5 of his remarks there to στρατηγοὶ τε καὶ ὅσοι περὶ ταῦτα τεχνικοί points the other way.

e 6. οἱ δὲ ὀργάνων τε καὶ ἔργων ἀποτελοῦντες γένεσιν ἔμμισθον: wages are the form in which day-labourers are recompensed, but they are not the form in which e.g. the shoemaker gets paid for his work. It is possible that Plato wrote ἐμμίσθων, but even ἐμμίσθων which, as Stallb. says, is equivalent to ἐπὶ μισθῷ, can only be felt as applying to ἔργων, although both ὀργάνων and ἔργων depend on γένεσιν. The language is of the dithyrambic kind which Plato sometimes affects.

e 7. ψεύδεσθαι is “break their word.”

921 a 1. θεοὺς προγόνους αὐτῶν: so at *Euthyd.* 302 d 6 the θεοὶ πατρῷοι are called πρόγονοι καὶ δεσπόται. Stallb. and Burnet follow Baiter in reading αὐτῶν; other edd. retain the vulgate αὐτῶν.

a 2. διὰ κάκην, “culpably,” i.e. where none of the three excuses specified above at d 2–4 apply.

a 3. The word βιοδότης, as being to the scribe a more unusual form than the poetical βιόδωρος or βιοδότης, is repeated in the margin of A.

**a 4.** οὐδὲν τῷ νῷ βλέπων: cp. *Mark* iii. 5 συνλνπούμενος ἐπὶ τῇ πηρώσει τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν.

**a 5.** ἐπόμενος αὐτῷ νόμος κείσθω: ἐπόμενος is used absolutely in the sense of "suitable"—"let a suitable law be ready for him."

**a 6.** ὀφείλετω: he is to *owe* his employer the *value* of either the "chore" or the utensil ordered. This debt he discharges by rendering or producing it προῖκα. As Ritter says (p. 331) those who, like Ficinus and Wagner, make Plato say that the defaulter must *pay* the *money-price*, represent the penalty on the δημιουργός as twice the penalty inflicted on the defaulting employer.

**b 1.** συνεβούλευεν: i.e. at 920 c 3 ff. The δημιουργός who undertakes a piece of work of any kind is in the same position as the κάπηλος who has anything to sell.—μὴ πλέονος τιμᾶν διαπειρώμενον, "not to take an advantage (of the buyer) by asking too high a price."

**b 3.** Schn., Stallb., and Zürr. put a colon after ἀναιρουμένῳ, and a full stop after ἀξίαν. This is better than either Herm.'s or Burnet's punctuation. The former puts colons at each place, and the latter parenthesis marks. γινώσκει . . . ἀξίαν belongs to the preceding words: "if you ask how the correct price is to be fixed, I answer that the artificer must be the ultimate authority on that point."

**b 4 ff.** ἐν ἐλευθέρων οὖν πόλεσιν . . . δίκας δὲ εἶναι κτλ., "in communities of gentlemen then it will never do to allow the craftsman unchecked (αὐτόν) to use his craftsmanship, which in itself is honest and above board, as a means of craftily imposing on the general public. There must be legal remedies, etc."—The φύσει reminds us of the τό γε κατὰ φύσιν of 918 b 1. In both cases he is speaking of a calling which has accidentally fallen into disrepute. The punning use of τεχνάζοντα after τέχνη is a sufficient hint of this in the latter case.

**c 1.** ἔννομον γενομένην: this does not mean that the price was fixed by law, as in the case of the κάπηλοι (920 c). It is the *agreement* of which the law takes cognizance.

**c 3.** λύη μεγάλας κοινωνίας, "overthrows the foundations of society," Jowett. The plural heightens the dignity of the expression. Such an act even concerns a higher than human tribunal, he tells us; for human society is the work of God.

**c 4.** ὁ βοηθῶν . . . τῷ τῆς πόλεως συνδέσμῳ μετὰ θεῶν, "to champion the divinely ordained civic tie."

**d 1.** δανεισμῷ συμβάλλειν, "to contribute as a loan"—"to lend."—τῇ δραχμῇ . . . ἐπωβελίαν, "an extra obol (a month) on

every drachma." It will be seen that the result of this is that the customer will in a year pay the price twice over. I take this to be an (informal) explanation of how the double price is exacted. We cannot suppose that a day's default involved the double price, and that 200 per cent interest was then charged on that.—For the prohibition of usury cp. above, 742 c μηδὲ δανείζειν ἐπὶ τόκῳ, and Boeckh, *P. Ec. of Athens*, Eng. Trans. p. 131 ff.

d 4. ὥς goes with δίκαιον εἰπεῖν, and δίκαιον stands for τὸ δίκαιον. Schn. translates "ut vero . . . (de salutis in bello opificibus)—dicamus quod justum est." (Stallb. takes δίκαιον εἰπεῖν to be "dicere consentaneum est," and so all other translators but Schneider; but, so far as mention of military "specialists" goes, it has been done already at 920 e 1 ff. What the Ath. does here is to give them their due. This paragraph then deals with the pay of this kind of δημιουργός.

d 5. The δέ of A and O was rightly corrected by later hands to τε.

d 6. ὅτι τὸ παράπαν ἐμνήσθημεν δημιουργῶν, "since we have come to talk of craftsmen in general." τὸ παράπαν is not often thus used without a negative.

d 6-e 3. The MS. reading starts this passage with ὥς and leaves ἀποδιδῶ without a subject. Those correctors who would put in καί after ἐξεργάσθαι, or τε after τὰς not only leave τούτοις out in the cold, but absurdly suppose the man who does the martial deed and the man who honours him for it to be one and the same. Herm. thinks that if he is allowed to put in ὁ δὲ δῆμος after ἐξεργάσθαι all will be well. But it will not; for it is of the honour paid by each citizen in his private capacity that the law expresses approval, not of the honour paid by the populace as a body. Schramm would read ἂν τις τιμᾷ instead of τὰς τιμᾷ. Wagner puts in ἂν before ἀποδιδῶ and makes ὁ νόμος its subj. But, as Stallb. says, Schneider's simple substitution of ὅς for ὥς in d 6 best saves the situation. He and Burnet rightly adopt this, and further change the comma after δημιουργῶν (in d 6) to a colon, to show that what follows is the utterance of the Law. That ἀποδιδῶ has no ἂν with it is to be explained in the same way as the similar absence of ἂν with the subjs. δράσῃ and κτείνῃ at 873 e 3 (cp. also 737 b 3 and 848 a 1). A.M.A. suggests reading ἂν for αὖ in d 7.—(In Burnet's text the (.) after δημιουργοῖς is of course a misprint for a comma.)

d 7. ἑτέροις is almost "another class (of craftsmen)"; ἕτερος,



with which *τοιούτος* is often joined, is not, like *ἄλλος*, used of things which are totally different.

e 1. *τὰς τιμὰς*: we hear more at 943 c below of honour paid to warriors.

e 5. *νόμος οὖν . . . μεμειγμένος κείσθω*, "therefore let the following enactment be associated by us with the praise of these exploits."

922 a 1. A and O have *ὡς οἱ* by mistake for *ὅσοι*. If Schneider is right about 921 d 6 this is the second instance, within a small space, of the same mistake in A and O—i.e. writing *ὡς* for *ὅς*.

a 3. *δευτέρους· πρώτοις*: we are not told how these two highest "ranks" were to be conferred, or marked. Clearly rank was to mean merit, not wealth or official position.

a 7. All editors regard the *ὀρφανικά* of ALO as a mistake for *ὀρφανικῶν*. Aldus was the first to make the correction.

b 2 ff. *τούτων δὲ ἀρχαὶ πάντων . . . τύχαι*, "the foundations of the whole subject are (1) the desire, in the face of death, to settle the subsequent disposition of one's property, and (2) the situation when no such disposition has been made"; i.e. the two lines which must be followed by the legislator are (1) he must restrict the power of the testator, and (2) he must fill the gap left by intestacy.

b 5. *βλέψας . . . χαλεπὸν*, "for I saw what troublesome and difficult tasks the subject involved." *περὶ αὐτῶν* is a recognized substitute for the simple gen. (cp. above on 676 c 6). Herm. (unnecessarily) suggests that the *πέρι* should be rejected. He thinks it may have arisen from a temporary misreading of the following *πρός*.—The hyperbaton of the *τε* and the omission of the art. with *χαλεπὸν* are both noticeable, as is also the change to the sing. in *αὐτό* in the following line.

b 6 f. The dangers, he says, of unrestricted testamentary disposition are the possibility (1) of a bewildering and unsettling variety in the principles of the different wills, (2) of conflict of wills with the laws of the state, (3) of the shocking of healthy-minded men.

b 8. *πρὶν διατίθεσθαι μέλλειν* is a further specification of what is meant by *ἐμπροσθεν*.

c 1. *ἀπλῶς οὕτως*, "without exception," "absolutely."

c 2. *ὅπωσούν ἔχων*, "whatever be the state of his health."

c 3. *ἀνοήτως . . . οἱ πλείωτοι*, "in most of us the mind is cloudy and somewhat enervated."

c 8. *μεστὸν . . . δυσχεροῦς*, "possessed by an idea which fills the lawgiver with dismay and perplexity."

**d 1.** ζητῶν εἶναι κύριος πάντων, "in this desire to have everything his own way."

**d 4.** A and O have εἴ τε ἄμα, which is absurd. Editors generally from Ald. downwards have concluded that the scribes transposed ε and α by a mistake of the eye or hand, and that Plato wrote εἰ τὰ ἐμά. Herm. acutely suggests that what was originally written was τὰμά.—What the moribund man here says is the λόγος mentioned above at c 8 and below at e 5.

**d 6 f.** τῶν ὅποσοι, "out of those who . . ." The arrangement of the subsequent items is chiasitic, as usual—φαῦλοι applying to ἐλάττονα, and ἀγαθοί to πλείω.—Both the περὶ ἐμέ and the φανερώς go with both φαῦλοι and ἀγαθοί in sense. The same applies probably to βασανισθέντες.—οἱ μὲν has to be supplied in sense before ἐν νόμοις.—In this short paragraph there are four instances of the way in which Greek shuns the repetition of a word, even when strict grammar demands the repetition (δοῦναι περὶ ἐμέ, φανερώς, and οἱ (μὲν)). Cp. on 728 a 7.

**e 1.** μαλθακοί, "soft-hearted" ("too good-natured" Jow.).

**e 2 f.** ἐπὶ σμικρὸν . . . νομοθετεῖν, "to have taken as legislators too short a view and too shallow an estimate of human conditions."

**e 6.** τὸν ἐξείναι, "which allows"—lit. "the (law) that it should be allowed." This out-of-the-way but idiomatic construction was spoilt by the correction of τόν to τόνδε by A<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>2</sup>. We are expressly told by the margin of O that the codex patriarchae had τόν.—Stallb. notes that Attic law at any rate did not allow a parent to leave his property away from his lawful children, referring to Isaeus, *De Pyrrh. hered.* § 68. Plutarch (*Solon* ch. 21) tells us the same thing about Solon's legislation: ὁ δ' ᾧ βούλεται τις ἐπιτρέψας, εἰ μὴ παῖδες εἶεν αὐτῷ, δοῦναι τὰ αὐτοῦ, φιλίαν τε συγγενείας ἐτίμησε μᾶλλον, καὶ χάριν ἀνάγκης.

**923 a 1.** A further instance of τὸ παράπαν ("altogether") used in a positive expression. Cp. above, 921 d 6.—There is humour in the καὶ σύ, spoken just after Cleinias's question at d 9.

**a 2.** Burnet has rightly restored the reading of A by joining πως as an enclitic to ἐμμελέστερον. All other edd. (and Fic.) make the word πῶς;—a question put by Cleinias. The asyndeton is a natural one.

**a 3.** ἀτεχνῶς, "literally." The near prospect of death makes the adjective ἐφήμεροι especially significant; ἀτεχνῶς is often added to proverbial expressions to denote a special applicability to the case in hand.

**a 4.** For καὶ πρὸς γε cp. above, 746 d 8.

**a 5.** τὰ νῦν: i.e. "on your deathbed."—The gist of this passage is that true self-knowledge involves the recognition that a man cannot stand by himself. Both he and his property belong (1) to *his family*—dead, living, and to come—and (2) his family and all his property belong ultimately to the *state*. Cp. above, 804 d 5 ὡς τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν γεννητόρων ὄντας (of children).

**a 6.** τίθῃμι, like κατατιθείς below (b 6), is probably *regard*; Fic., Schn., Wagn., and Jowett take it to mean "pronounce" or "ordain."

**b 2.** θωπείαις ὑποδραμών: cp. Eur. *Or.* 670 κοῦχ ὑποτρέχων σε τοῦτο θωπείᾳ λέγω. This, the reading of L and O<sup>2</sup>, is much more apposite than the ὑπολαβών of A and O (and Schneider); Fic.'s "aggressus" shows that he did not read ὑπολαβών.

**b 5.** τὸ ἐνὸς ἐκάστου κατατιθείς ἐν μοίραις ἐλάττωσι δικαίως (cp. 875 a 6 τὸ μὲν γὰρ κοινὸν συνδεῖ, τὸ δὲ ἴδιον διασπᾷ τὰς πόλεις), "for I rightly hold the individual's feelings in lower estimation." For μοῖρα in the sense of *estimation* cp. *Crito* 51 b 1 τιμώτερον πάτρις . . . καὶ ἐν μείζονι μοῖρα καὶ παρὰ θεοῖς καὶ παρ' ἀνθρώποις.

**b 7.** πορεύοισθε: the imperatival opt.; cp. above, 730 c 3, 917 a 1. "Go on your way in peace and charity with us—on the way which you are now travelling as the common lot of all mankind."

**b 8.** τῶν ἄλλων: i.e. "the things you leave behind you."

**c 1 f.** οὐ τῶν μὲν, τῶν δὲ οὐ: i.e. "in fact we shall be able to take a more comprehensive, and so a juster, view of your interests than you can yourself."

**c 2.** παραμυθία τε καὶ προοίμια: cp. above on 885 b 3.

**c 7.** ποιεῖσθαι stands for ὥστε ποιεῖσθαι, as is common after verbs of giving and receiving. Cp. Eur. *Phoen.* 966 οὐκ ἂν τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδά τις δοίη κτανεῖν, Thuc. iv. 19. 1 διδόντες εἰρήνην καὶ οἰκειότητα ἐς ἀλλήλους ὑπάρχειν.—δεχομένῳ is subordinate to ποιεῖσθαι, "to take and adopt."

**d 1.** The κλήρω which appears in all editions was apparently preserved by the corrector of O, and by some inferior MSS. A and O omit it.

**d 2.** πεποιημένος is here the passive of the ποιεῖσθαι ("adopt") of c 7—"nullam in sortem adoptatus" Schn. Fic.'s "nulla hereditate munitus" and Jowett's "who has not had any portion assigned to him" are hardly adequate. This forbidding of the division of the citizen's κλήρος is peculiar to Plato's legislation. Cp. Herm. *De vest.* 25 f., and *Juris dom.* p. 23.—ὄν . . . ἐκπεμφθή-

σεσθαι: for *adoption* and *colonization* as a means of absorbing superfluous sons cp. above, 740 c 4 and e 6.

d 5. For the *κατασκευή* of the *κλήρος* cp. above, 855 a 8.—*πρὸς μέρος ὅπῃ ἂν ἐθέλῃ*, “in any proportion he likes.”

e 1 ff. *ἐὰν δέ τῳ . . . καταλειπέτω*, “if, after the will is made, a son or daughter be found possessed of a *κλήρος* in the state, he (or she) is to leave (the money) in the hands of the testator's heir.” The subj. of *καταλειπέτω* is the son (or daughter) who has come to be possessed of a *κλήρος*, and the obj. is the money which the will directed to be paid to him. Fic. translates *relinquatur*, as if he had read *καταλειπέσθω*. Stallb. and Jow. absurdly make τὸν *κλήρον* the obj. of *καταλειπέτω*. This would contravene the first principle of inheritance in Plato's state; two state *κλήροι* would then be in one owner's hands, and the number 5040 be diminished.

e 5 f. The *μέν* and *δέ* mark off clauses which are not grammatically parallel, but are so regarded in substance; *on the one hand* he is to select which daughter he likes for the purpose, *on the other hand* he is to make her husband his heir.

e 6. A and O made the senseless mistake of writing *νίων* for *ύόν*.—L and O<sup>2</sup> are doubtless right in giving *κληρονόμον* for the *κληρονομεῖν* of A and O. Ast, Stallb., and Burnet recognize this; all other editors preserve *κληρονομεῖν*.—This regulation is pretty much the same as the Attic law on the subject.

924 a 1. *καὶ περὶ τῆς τοιαύτης τύχης*, “to meet this case too”; it is the *second* case of adoption.—This again follows Attic precedent (Herm. *Jur. dom.* p. 24).

a 2. *ἐπὶ τύχαις ἀμείνοσιν*, “*melioribus auspiciis*”; cp. 856 e where also adoption is in question.

a 3. *τῆς ἐπικτήτου*: sc. *μοίρας* or (as Ast and Stallb.) *οὐσίας*; any property beyond the *κλήρος* and its *κατασκευή*.

a 5. *τῷ ποιηθέντι*: it is assumed that an adoption has been made.

a 6. *ἄμemptos ἔλεων*: to be taken together like *ἐκὼν ἐκόντα*; the one must be irreproachable, and the other well-disposed. Indeed, the reason of the above severe and probably novel restriction of the right of free disposition by will seems to be to secure good feeling on the part of the heir towards his adoptive father. (Cp. Herm. *Jur. dom.* p. 24, note 84.) As Ritter says (p. 333) one must presume that this restriction applied equally when there were children; i.e. that only a tenth of the superfluous property could be estranged from the family.

a 7. *ἐπιτρόπων (οἱ παῖδες) δέωνται*: i.e. where there were no



relations near enough to claim the position by right, the testator might (with their permission), name in his will even non-relations as ἐπίτροποι.

**b 2.** The omission of τὰ by the first hand of A and O is an ordinary case of haplography; A<sup>2</sup> inserted τὰ in the margin.

**b 4.** A and O omitted τῆς, but all editors have inserted it. A and O also wrote ἐλλειπῆς for ἐλλιπῆς.—τῆς τῶν ἐπιτρόπων αἰρέσεως ἐλλιπῆς: these words might be taken to imply that there was some other process by which a man might appoint guardians to his children, besides naming them as such in his will. Probably, though, the words only contemplate the case of a man who has made a will but has named no guardians.

**b 7.** A and O left out the δ' before οἱ, but all editors insert it.—τῷ δεομένῳ τῶν ὀρφανῶν, "for the guardianless orphan."

**c 2.** L and O<sup>2</sup> (as often) have preserved the right reading πάντων for the πάντα of A and O. Fic. takes πάντων with ὀρφανῶν here; all other interpreters make it depend on πρεσβύτατοι.

**d 1.** ἡ χρεία τῶν παίδων: abstract for concrete; cp. below, 930 c 7 παίδων ἰκανότης. "His defenceless children shall have the protection of the same laws."

**d 3.** αὐτοῦ: probably this word depends on τῶν τριῶν—"of the three points which he holds to be important"—a vague "ethical" gen. The hyperbaton would be too harsh if it belonged to θυγατέρων.—πρὸς τὰ δύο ἐπισκοπῶν: it is very unusual to find the transitive ἐπισκοπεῖν used like βλέπειν, as it is here. ἐπισκέψασθαι is used with περί at *Soph.* 261 d 2, and *Prot.* 348 d 7, ἐπισκεπτέον with περί occurs at *Crat.* 424 a 7, and at *Tim.* 28 c 5 we have τότε ἐπισκεπτέον περὶ αὐτοῦ; *Thuc.* vi. 59. 2 has πρὸς τὰ ἔξω ἅμα διασκοπεῖτο εἴ ποθεν ἀσφάλειάν τινα ὀρήη, but this should not be given (as L. & S. gives it) as an instance of the construction διασκοπεῖσθαι πρὸς τι; πρὸς τὰ ἔξω goes best with ὀρήη. Perhaps Plato was influenced by the punning reference to ἐπίσκοποι.

**d 6.** ἐξ ἀπάντων . . . βλέπων εἰς ἥθη . . . τὸν ἐπιτήδειον . . . ὃν . . . εἶναι: to put this clause (which is epexegetic of ὅπερ ἂν διασκέψαιτο), grammatically speaking, in order, we need something like ζητοῖν γὰρ ἂν (supplied in thought from διασκέψαιτο) for it to depend on.—L and O originally, and A after a correction in an erasure at ασθ, have διασκέψασθαι τὸ ἐξ. This looks like a (short-sighted) correction of the reading given by A<sup>2</sup>, which is διασκέψαιτο, ἐξ. The βλέπων is enough to decide in favour of the latter reading. Another curious (and very imper-

fect) attempt to emend the construction of the sent. is the κλέπτων of Cod. Voss. for βλέπων. If, as Stallb. says, we had ζητῶν in the place of βλέπων, all difficulty would vanish.

d 8. τοῦτο δέ: the δέ—"I say"—resumes the δέ in d 6.

e 1. διὰ τὴν ἀδύνατον σκέψιν: unlike the case in d 1, this is one in which we in English should prefer the *abstract* to the *concrete*.—Probably the εἰς δύναμιν goes with κείσθω, and not closely with ὅδε—"let us do our best to get the following law passed"—not "as like this as possible."

e 3. Stallb.'s τοῦδε for the MS. τοῦ δέ gets rid of an impossible δέ. The vulgate simply omitted the δέ, Herm. bracketed it, Burnet rightly adopts Stallb.'s emendation. (Ritter, p. 414, would read τοῦ δὲ ἀποθανόντος . . . <ῆ> ἢ ἄκληρος κτλ.)

e 4. ἄκληρος is added in the case of the maternal brother, because, while it would be likely that the dead man's "paternal" brother had no κλῆρος, it would be likely that a "maternal" brother had one. This inclusion of the maternal brother is contrary to Attic law (Herm. *Jur. dom.* p. 28). (Jowett ed. 2 ignores the ὁμοπάτωρ ῆ of the text.)

e 5. The δέ after ἀδελφοῦ, though not absolutely necessary, improves the construction. We owe it to A<sup>2</sup>, and it is universally accepted.

e 6. ἐὰν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ᾖσιν: i.e. if the boy is old enough. It evidently did not matter how much *older* the bridegroom was than the bride.—Though he does not say so explicitly, we may conclude that, in the case of several orphan daughters, only one, possibly the eldest, would be chosen, as there was only one κλῆρος. The τὴν θυγατέρα of e 4 points to this.—In d and e there are five instances in which a present tense is corrected by a later hand in O into an aorist—καταλίπη (d 2), θέντι, παραλίπη, λίπη, and καταλίπη (e 10). Most editors accept these corrections; Stallb., Schn., and Burnet do not.

e 9. τὸ γένος . . . πορευέσθω, "let the family proceed"—as if it were a procession in rank.

925 a 1. ἔμπροσθε μὲν τῶν ἀρρένων, ὕστερον δὲ θηλειῶν ἐνὶ γένει, "ut in eodem genere mares feminis anteponanantur" Fic. γένει then means "*generation*," and ἐνὶ γένει is a genitival dat. Ast suggests that ἐν may have been lost through haplography before ἐνί. (Stallb. takes ἐνὶ γένει with ἐπανιόν, "going up a step at a time." Herm. and Wagner take it with ὕστερον—"one step later," *Jur. dom.* 29 note 98 "γένος enim gradum propinquitatis significare docet Schömann ad Isaeum p. 277.")—The τε after

ἀδελφῶν of LO<sup>2</sup> and Eus. is clearly right as against the δέ of A and O.

a 2. All editors before Burnet have τὴν δὲ τοῦ τῶν γάμων χρόνον, but γάμων is only a correction of O<sup>2</sup> for the γάμου of A and O. Burnet saw that O<sup>2</sup>'s correction arose from the fact that some early MS. mistook τούτων for τοῦ τῶν, and prints τούτων and γάμου accordingly.

a 4. γυμνοὺς μὲν κτλ. : Herm. (*Juris dom.* p. 27), judging that it is such an occasion as this which is referred to at Aristoph. *Vesp.* 578, concludes that Plato here, in his legislation as to the marriage of ἐπίκληροι, is following Attic precedent.

a 5. The οἰκείοι are what we should call "the family"—in this case the more distant relations—those outside the ἀγχιστεία defined in the following words. Stallb. cites Hesych. οἰκείοι οἱ κατ' ἐπιγαμίαν ἀλλήλοις προσήκοντες, καὶ ἴδιοι, καὶ οἱ κατ' οἰκίαν πάντες; also the schol. on *Tim.* 20 e λέγονται γὰρ οἰκείοι καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς. It is used so below at 926 c 5.

a 6. μέχρι δὲ πάππου παίδων : with this we should, as Herm. tells us (*Jur. dom.* p. 26, note 91), supply ὑδῶν from the preceding clause. The effect of this addition is that it would include descendants in the female line. The ἀγχιστεία then is equivalent to that described above at 766 c 7 and 878 d 7 as μέχρι ἀνεψιῶν παίδων.

b 1. ἐκούσιον ἐκουσία : the amount of choice allowed by Plato to the bride was probably much in advance of Attic custom.

b 2. πολλὰ πολλῶν : here and at *Tim.* 29 c 4 these two words, standing by themselves, have generally been found inexplicable. Schneider translates them here "cum multa multorum fieri possunt," and Jowett by "circumstances vary." Wagner tries to find some sense by making πολλῶν depend on ἀπορία; Fic. omits them. Herm. accepts Ast's substitution of πολλή for πολλά. Winckelmann would prefer πολλαί (ἀπορίαι). Stallb. thinks the passage corrupt. In the *Timaeus* passage three quotations, and all MSS. but Y (Bekker's Υ) have πολλὰ πολλῶν περὶ θεῶν κτλ. Y inserts an εἰπόντων after πολλῶν, and this is generally adopted in the text. Burnet, however, follows Diehls in reading πολλῶν πέρι, making the following genitives a parenthetical explanation of πολλῶν. (This is surely awkward, and also weak—making the great subjects θεῶν καὶ τῆς πάντων γενέσεως only selections out of a number.) I would suggest, in the first place, that Greek liked to have two different cases of πολὺς (as of some other words) put side by side—e.g. below, 934 d 5 πολλοὶ πολλοὺς

τρόπους, *Rep.* 467 d παρὰ δόξαν πολλὰ πολλοῖς δὴ ἐγένετο, *Eur. Med.* 579 ἢ πολλὰ πολλοῖς εἰμι διάφορος βροτῶν, *Ion* 381 πολλαί γε πολλοῖς εἰσι συμφοραὶ βροτῶν; and, secondly, that in the words πολλὰ πολλῶν here we have a truncated proverb, and that *Eur. Iph. Taur.* 759 πολλὰ γὰρ πολλῶν κυρεῖ gives us some indication of its meaning. I would put a comma after πολλῶν and translate "moreover 'many needs, many deeds'" — "many cases need many resources." In the *Timaeus* passage, which is still more difficult, I would mark off πολλὰ πολλῶν as a parenthesis—" 'many needs, many deeds,' you know"—i.e. "since it is many efforts which effect many results."

**b 3.** τῶν τοιούτων is not (as Ast and Jowett) "cognatorum," but "of such men as the heiress would like to choose for a husband" — ὄντιν' ἄν κτλ. in a 7.—ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει, "in the state itself"; i.e. "when you go beyond the family and search through the whole state."

**b 4.** ἀπορουμένη τῶν αὐτόθεν, "being at a loss for a husband from the spot." (Schn. and Wagn. make τῶν αὐτόθεν depend on τινα.)

**b 6 f.** κατὰ τὴν τάξιν τοῦ νόμου: apparently the law as to nearness of kin, explained just above, renders the permission of the ἐπίτροποι in this case unnecessary. Such a relative has a right to take the inheritance.

**b 8.** τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ὄντων ἔξω τῆς συγγενείας: i.e. "provided there are no relations in the state." συγγενής at b 6, and συγγενεία here are apparently used of the nearer kinship—the ἀγχιστεία defined above at a 5.

**c 4.** τὰ μὲν ἄλλα . . . νόμον: this obscure direction, taken in connexion with συνοικίζειν δὲ ταύτας ἐκείνοις . . . ἐνομοθετήσαμεν at d 4, seems to mean that the ἀγχιστεία on the male side is to be that described above at a 6. What needs further specification is the following list of female relations in order of precedence; and this is done at d 1 ff.

**c 6.** L and O<sup>2</sup> have preserved for us in ἵτωσαν the correct version of A and O's senseless πως ἄν.

**c 7.** For κυρίως, "iure," "legitime," cp. 949 c 1.

**d 5.** ὡς ἐμπροσθεν ἐνομοθετήσαμεν: the reference seems to be to the directions given in Bk. V. for the tenure of the κληροί—perhaps in particular those given at p. 740.

**d 8.** μὴ δοκεῖ δὲ σκοπεῖν, "while seeming to overlook." The μὴ goes with σκοπεῖν, otherwise it would be οὐ; doubts as to the μὴ were probably the reason why the correctors of A and O



altered δοκεῖ to δοκῆ, as if ἦν προστάτῃ had gone before.—A respectable variant in O leaves out the ἐν before ἀνθρώποις.

e 1. ἐπιτάγμασιν probably goes with πείθεσθαι; so Fic. (Schn. and Wagn., however, take it with ἐμπόδια.)

e 2. οὐστίνas ὅτιοῦν: cp. *Gorg.* 516 a 8 οὐ δοκεῖ σοι κακὸς εἶναι ἐπιμελητῆς ὅστισοῦν ὄνουοῦν ζῶν ὃς ἂν κτλ. At *Hipp. Mai.* 282 d 4 (and possibly at *Aristoph. Ran.* 39) the simple ὅστις is used, as here, in the sense of ὅστισοῦν.

e 4. From γαμεῖν down to τούτων was omitted by the scribes of A and O, and inserted in the margin of A by A<sup>2</sup>.

e 5. A, by simple haplography, has τάχα in the place of τάχ' ἂν ὁ; i.e. the scribe wrote νο once instead of twice. It was probably this mistake which led, in the next line, to the reading δόξει ἐν in A, instead of the correct δόξειέν. The case is, however, complicated by the fact that the ει of δόξει is in an erasure, and that O reads δόξη ἐν. (Possibly some ancestor of A mistook ἂν with ἄ for ἂν with ᾱ, and altered δόξειεν to δόξη ἄν. O copied this, and A first copied it and then altered it to δόξει ἐν when he found he had written τάχα νομοθέτης.)

e 6. οὐκ ὀρθῶς δοκοῦν, "but it would be a mistake"; a bold use of the neut. absolute participle.

e 7. νομοθετουμένους is masc. as we see from νομοθετουμένοις below.—A further carelessness on the part of the scribes of A and O led to the omission of the words νομοθέτου καὶ ὑπέρ.

e 8. τοὺς ἐπιταττομένους: sc. γαμεῖν ἢ γαμεῖσθαι; cp. above, e 4.

e 9. οὐκ ἂν ποτε δύναίτο διοικεῖν, "he could hardly be expected to control."

926 a 2. εἰκότως qualifies οὐ δύνανται. (Wagner makes it qualify τελεῖν.)

a 3. It was seen by correctors of A and O that the πράττει of ALO and the first four editions is due to a mistake of an abbreviated προσ for π. All edd. from Steph. downwards read προστάττει. Fic. has "quae singularum calamitatum ignarus conscripsit."

a 5. ἐμμετρότατος ἂν εἴη, "would be acting most fairly." A and O have ἐμμετρώτατος, and so Zür. and Schneider.

a 9. πλουσίον πατρὸς ἀδελφιδούς, "a nephew whose father is a rich man."

b 1. τρυφῶν καὶ ἐπὶ μείζοσι γάμοις τὴν διάνοιαν ἐπέχων, "because he is fastidious, and aspires to a greater match."

b 4. Probably the subject to be supplied with ἀναγκάζουσιν ἂν is "any legally appointed bridegroom."

**b 6.** ὡς ἀβίωτον ζῆν κεκτημένῳ, "inflictions which would make life unendurable."—ὁ δὲ νῦν λόγος ἡμῖν περὶ τούτων ὅδε νόμος κείσθω, "what we now proceed to urge on this matter shall count as a law"; cp. 933 d 1.

**b 7.** περὶ διαθηκῆς goes with κειμένοις, "the laws about the disposition of property."

**c 2 f.** All editions before Ast omitted the τόν after αὐτόν, though the MSS. had it; and by a like haplography in the next line A and O omitted the ἄν before ἀναγκάσαι.

**c 5.** φῆ: Stallb. tells us that it was Engelhardt (*Anacoluth. Platon. spec.* pp. 32 sq) who first saw that φῆ (with a comma after it) makes by itself an independent statement—"maintains it"—"asserts that it has to be done,"—and that φάναι, which does duty for an imperative, resumes the λόγος of b 6—"we must represent that etc." (Jowett's "assents to this" ignores the antagonism between the woman's family and the protesting bridegroom.)

**c 6.** τοὺς πεντεκαίδεκα: cp. above, 924 c 1.

**d 1.** With διαδικαζέσθων the Ath. abandons the quasi-oblique inf. construction of φάναι at c 5, and proceeds with a direct imperative.

**d 2.** κύρια τελοῦντες, "carrying out as final," i.e. "regarding them as final and carrying them out." Possibly τελοῦντες is fut.—"with the intention of carrying (their verdicts) out as final."—μείζων, "too great."

**d 3.** τὸ τῶν ἐκκρίτων δικαστῶν δικαστήριον: cp. above, 767 c ff. and 855 c 6.

**d 5.** παρὰ τοῦ νομοθέτου: we are to infer from this that the lawgiver devised some special mark of disgrace or disability for the man who was so wrong-headed as to press a legal point too far.

**d 8.** γένεσις οἷον δευτέρα τις: a fantastic description of the new condition into which children are launched by the premature death of their parents.—A and O omit τις; all edd. have it; probably it is due to Ald.

**e 2.** The παίδεσις of A and O has generally been considered a mistake for παιδείσεις. Schneider is the only editor who preserves the sing.; perhaps he is right. Fic. has "educatio disciplinaque."

**e 4.** ὥς ἥκιστα ἔλεον ἔξει τῆς συμφορᾶς: ἔξει is used in a pregnant sense—" (how the bereaved state of the orphans) may be made to call for the least pity for their misfortune." (Ast says ἔλ. ἔξ. τῆς συμφ. = ἐλαεινὴν ἔξει συμφοράν.)

e5. There is no *φαιμεν* in A or O. It is due to a late hand in the margin of A. It would be possible to do without it, by making *νομοθετεῖν* depend on *προστάττομεν*, or taking it to stand for an imperative, but its insertion improves the construction. Fic. translates "Legum ergo custodes quasi alteros istorum parentes . . . constituimus, et . . . quasi suis providere iubemus." The easiest reading for us would be *νομοθετοῦμεν*, which would correspond to Fic.'s version.

e6. There is *μείωσις* in οὐ χείρους—"at least as good."

e7. καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν: at 924 c it was settled that three of the fifteen νομοφύλακες were to take charge of orphans for a year at a time. The text as it stands would refer vaguely to that arrangement, and give a possible sense of "year by year"; but it is very likely that, as Susemihl supposes, a γ', i.e. τρεῖς, may have fallen out of the sentence. He would put it in before καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν; it might have come after it perhaps more probably. (Quite unnecessarily, Schmidt, *Emend. Plat.* p. 8, proposes to read καθ' ὅσον ἐνι αὐτῶν, and Stallb. καθ' ἕνα ἕκαστον αὐτῶν . . .)

e8. A and O have ἐν μελέτῃ and all editions before Ast follow them, and so do Schneider and Wagner. By all these editors these words are joined to ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, and translated "*studiose*" (Schn.), *mit Eifer* (Wagn.). Ast was the first to adopt (from Cod. Voss.) the reading ἐμμελῇ, which is to be found in the margin of A and O and in some inferior MSS., and to take it with προοιμισάμενοι. Stallb., Herm., and Burnet follow Ast. (Zür. read ἐμμελῇ but still take it apparently with the preceding words. Ficinus takes the expression with προοιμισάμενοι, translating by "*sed imprimis*"). That ἐν μελέτῃ was used in the sense of "diligently" in classical Greek is doubtful. It looks like a Byzantine interpretation of ἐμμελῇ, taken with the preceding words. As the object of προοιμισάμενοι, ἐμμελῇ seems to fall into its right place—"and we add a preamble, suitable both to the officials themselves and to guardians, on the subject of orphan children." The preamble is what follows.

927 a 1. τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν λόγους: i.e. the passage at 865 e, where the Ath. describes the indignation felt by the spirit of a murdered man at the presence of his murderer in his accustomed haunts, and his "worrying" of the murderer κατὰ πᾶσαν δύναμιν . . . αὐτόν τε καὶ τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ.

a 3f. ταῦτα δὲ ἀληθεῖς μὲν μακροὶ δ' εἰσὶν περιέχοντες λόγοι: εἰσὶν περιέχοντες stands for περιέχουσιν—"the legends which contain this belief are true but long." I would put a colon

after λόγοι and remove the comma commonly placed after ἀληθείς μὲν.

a 7. ἄνερ μὴ παντάπασιν ἄφρονες φαίνονται: meiosis; "who" (i.e. οἱ νομοθετοῦντες) "you will admit are no fools." (Ficinus and Susemihl take μὴ π. ἄφρονες to be spoken of *people in general*, Ritter of λόγοι καὶ φῆμαι.)

a 8. ταύτη δέ, "and so," i.e. "on this showing."

a 8-c 7. The first thing to decide about this passage is how we stand towards the transposition, suggested by the French jurist Hérault, of the words καὶ τὰ . . . ἱερωτάτην (b 7-c 3). He would place these words between ἔχουσιν and εἶτα in b 2 on the ground that ὅξυν μὲν ἀκούουσιν βλέπουσιν τε ὅξυν and νεμεσῶσι *must* have been spoken of the *gods*, and not, as the text has it, of *old men*. But, even if it were granted that they fit in better so, this very fitness would make it difficult to conceive how any scribe could transpose them to a less fit connexion. As to the fitness of ὅξυν κτλ. as said of old men cp. above, 715 d 8 νέος μὲν γὰρ ὢν πᾶς ἄνθρωπος τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀμβλύτατα αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ ὄρεῖ, γέρον δὲ ὀξύτατα. There is not a particle of external evidence for the transposition, though the passage is quoted, with some slight verbal alterations, by Eusebius, Theodoret, and Stobaeus. Ast, however, and Hermann follow Hérault, though Herm. finds it necessary further to emend ὅπουπερ in b 6 to ὅπου γάρ. I feel no hesitation in following Schneider, Stallb., and Burnet, who leave the MS. order unchanged.

b 5 ff. Here I would punctuate as follows: ἐν γήρᾳ δὲ ὄντων καὶ ἐν μεγίσταις τιμαῖς, ὅπουπερ πόλις . . . εὐδαιμονεῖ, τούτους κτλ., and put a full stop after ἱερωτάτην. I do not, as do Herm. and I believe most other interpreters, take τὰς τῶν ζώντων to be governed, like τοὺς θεοὺς and τὰς τῶν κεκ. ψυχάς, by φοβεῖσθων, but by φιλοστοργοῦντες. The one irregularity of the sentence is that the obj. τὰς τῶν ζώντων (ψυχάς) is "resumed" by the more intelligible τούτους in b 5. The mention of the affectionate regard in which the younger generation hold the very old is naturally used to enhance the value both of their approval and of their wrath. I would translate: "and then there are the souls of those who are living, but at a great age" (i.e. those of the generation previous to that of the *fathers* of the orphans) "and enjoy great honour where a state is blessed with good laws—these old men their grandchildren take delight to cherish with their affection, and they" (the old men) "have sharp eyes and ears in such matters" (i.e. where orphans are concerned). (Stallb. would like



to have found a γάρ after ὅπουπερ, but is content to regard the clause as an explanatory asyndeton. Wagner would reject τούτους to ἡδονῆς as a "gloss." Burnet marks off ὅπουπερ . . . ἱερωτάτην as a parenthesis. Héroult himself thought that τούτους . . . ἡδονῆς was the remains of a sentence most of which was lost.)

c 2. Ast first saw that the MS. αὐτοῖς was a mistake for αὐ τοῖς.—παρακαταθήκην ἱερωτάτην: the trustees of this deposit are possibly the old men—or they may be the guardians and state officials. Ast well cps. Demosth. *Contra Aph.* ii. p. 840, where παρακαταθήκη is used of entrusting children into the hands of guardians.

c 3 f. Possibly too οἷς . . . πᾶσι only refers to the old men. The gods and the spirits of the departed parents are to be feared by the religious mind, while "the most feather-brained of guardians or officials" can hardly neglect the approval or disapproval of these living trustees of their wards.

c 4. The καί, which much improves the sentence, we owe to O<sup>2</sup>. A and O omit it. All editors accept it.—With ἐνείη Stallb. cps. *Phil.* 60 c 2 ᾧ παρείη τοῦτο . . . μηδενὸς ἑτέρου . . . προσδεῖσθαι; but the parallel is not complete, for there the main verb is ἡμῖν ἂν συνομολογοῖτο, here it is δεῖ. An exact parallel is *Soph. Ant.* 666 ἀλλ' ὃν πόλις στήσσει τοῦδε χρῆ κλύειν, and so is Plato, *Euthydem.* 292 e, though there Burnet adopts Heindorf's emendation of the MS. ποιήσσει to ποιήσει.

c 5 f. ὡς ἔρανον εἰσφέροντα ἑαυτῷ τε κτλ., "just as if he were conferring a benefit upon himself and his family." (Héroult took it to mean "as he would thereby secure the same treatment for his own orphans, should they come to need it.")

c 7. It will be remembered that at 880 a 7, 885 b 3, 923 c 2, and 773 e 5 παραμύθιον was used as a synonym for προοίμιον. This παραμύθιον is here expanded into τῷ.πρὸ τοῦ νόμου μύθῳ. Fic. recognizes this in his translation of it by "hoc ante legem exordio"; he also translates ὁ (δὲ) ἀπειθής by "præfationem hanc aspernatus."

c 8. εἴσεται ἐναργῶς; a poetical expression—it might be Pindar.

d 2. ἡ μητρός: this is the first mention of the mother in connexion with orphans. For all that has been said hitherto she might not have existed. We are still left in the dark as to a widow's legal relationship to her children.—ἀδικῶν: he is here speaking of any wrong done by anybody, not guardians alone, to an orphan.

d 4. τὴν δὲ ἄλλην νομοθεσίαν: an absolute acc. "As for further legislation."—A and O have καί for the περί of L and O<sup>2</sup> and A<sup>3</sup>; clearly καί is an error.

d 5 ff. The MSS., Fic., and all editions without exception down to Ed. Bipont. read εἰ μὲν δὴ . . . ἐκέκτηντο . . . ἔτι δὲ . . . εἶχον, εἶχέν τινα λόγον ἄν. Grou seems to have been the first to see that there *must* originally have been a negative in the εἰ clause. He proposed to read εἰ μὴ δὴ, and Ast adopted this reading. Baiter preferred to read εἰ μὲν μὴ, and this reading Herm. and Burnet adopt. Stallb. and Wagner print the MS. reading while condemning it, apparently because they cannot make up their minds between the two corrections proposed. Bekker, Zürr., and Schneider are content to print the impossible MS. reading without comment.

d 6. Fic. has *exempla* for the MS. παράδειγμα. Hence Steph. conjectured that we ought to read παραδείγματα τε. Stallb. (1860) says, on Bast's authority, that both A and O have the plur. Zürr. (giving O as an authority), Schneider (!), and Stallb. (ed. 1860) print παραδείγματά τε.

e 1. μετρίως διειρημένους, "satis explicitas," Schn. διείρηκα and διείρημαι are of common occurrence in the *Laws*, and are constantly confused in MSS. and the early edd. with the corresponding parts of διαιρέω. Here A has διηρημένους (the first η being in a correction; while in O the same letter is corrected above the line to ει).

e 2. ὡς ὄντας ἰδίᾳ διαφέροντας πολὺ, "as having a very distinct character of their own." διαφέροντας counts as a simple adj., and is predicate to ὄντας. (Schneider, however, translates "tutorias quasdam leges ut per se constantes proponere multum differentes.")

e 3. ποικίλλοντας ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἰδίοις, "marking off in detail, by means of special observances."

e 5. οὐ πολὺ διαφέρον ἢ παρ' ἡμῖν ὀρφανία τῆς πατρονομικῆς: the idea of this whole passage (d 4—e 6) is the same as that of e 5—ὡς ἔρανον εἰσφέροντα ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ; i.e. that the guardian ought to take just the same care of his orphan charge, and of the orphan's property, as he does of his own children and of his own property. πατρονομική is "a house-father's duty," and ὀρφανία is used pregnantly for "the claims of orphanhood." Hence no separate set of rules and laws is needed.

e 6 f. τιμαῖς δὲ καὶ ἀτιμίαις ἅμα καὶ ἐπιμελείαισιν οὐδαμῶς ἐξισοῦσθαι φιλεῖ: (1) in public estimation the guardian's duties

rank far lower than the father's, and (2) guardians as a rule are far more remiss than parents in their performance.

**928 a 1.** Consequently, as he goes on to say, the lawgiver addresses himself to the stimulating of a sense of these duties both in guardians and in the public at large.

**a 6 ff.** μηδὲ τῶν οἰκείων κτλ.: I suspect that ἡ τῶν αὐτοῦ in b 1 is a spurious addition on the part of a scribe who did not see that τῶν οἰκείων is gen. after χεῖρον, and means "than he does of his own." As a further qualification of τῶν τοῦ τρεφομένου χρημάτων, τῶν οἰκείων is otiose; and so is the second τῶν.

**b 1.** ἓνα δὲ τοῦτον νόμον ἔχων: ἓνα is emphatic, "under this one and only law." Cp. below, 929 a 4 ὑπὸ ἐνὸς πατρός.—A had τουτον νομων corrected to τούτων νόμων, which is the reading of O. All editions print τοῦτον νόμον.

**b 5.** τῷ δόξαντι τιμῇματι τῇ δικαστηρίῳ: the court had to estimate the extent to which the guardian or official had been remiss, and to assign to the defalcation a money value; and the plaintiff had to exact twice this sum from the offender.—A and O omitted the τῷ before δικαστηρίῳ.

**c 4.** μέχρι πέντε ἐτῶν ἐξηκούσης τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς, "throughout a period of five years from the termination of the guardianship."

**d 4.** The addition of τῇ χώρα is doubtless due to the desire to give the text of the νόμος a dignified conclusion.

**d 6.** ἐν αἷς, "quarum causa" Fic. For the instrumental use of ἐν, which is to be seen here and at e 3, cp. above on 660 a 4.

**d 7.** ἡγούιντ' ἄν, "facile crediderint" Stallb.

**e 3.** ὁντως qualifies παγκάκων, "they are wont to arise out of the temperaments of men who are thoroughly bad all through."

**e 4.** A's ἐπί has been universally taken to be a mistake for ἐπεί.

**e 8.** ταύτης: Ast treats this as a simple case of the assimilation of the antecedent to the relative; i.e. that it stands for ἐν ταύτῃ. Schneider more correctly makes it governed by the ἐξ in ἐξοικίσσθαι. ἐκ is not prefixed to ταύτης, as it is at 929 b 3 to τοῦ γένους, because an ἐξ has come three words before.

**929 a 3.** τὸν ταῦτα πεισόμενον ἐν δίκῃ: evidently Plato was prepared both to allow sons to be disinherited, and fathers to be pronounced incapable, by legal process.

**a 4.** ἐνός, "alone"; cp. 928 b 1.—ἀπορρηθῆναι: schol. ἀπαγορευθῆναι.

**a 6.** μηδαμῶς εὐτυχής, "most pitiful"; cp. above, 803 b 5.

**a 8.** φαύλως οὕτως: cp. Theaet. 147 c 3 φαύλως καὶ βραχέως ἀποκρίνασθαι (and c 5 φαῦλόν που καὶ ἀπλοῦν), where Heindorf's

note is "φαύλως autem hoc loco idem quod ἀπλῶς de legg. xi. p. 929 a μὴ φαύλως οὕτως κτλ."

**b 2.** μέχρι ἀνεψιῶν: Herm. (*Jur. dom.* p. 26, note 90) thinks that we ought to read μέχρι ἀνεψιῶν παίδων here, to bring the expression into line with other definitions of οἱ ἐγγὺς γένει, 766 c, 877 d, 878 d.

**b 4.** λόγους τοὺς ἴσους, "equal opportunity of speech."

**b 6.** Α's οὔτι for ὅ is an irrational scribe's error due probably to a misreading of the adjacent π.

**b 7 ff.** πλὴν πατρὸς διαψηφισόμενον . . . ἀνδρῶν τέλειοι: so MSS. I would suggest that the simplest emendation of the latter part of this passage is to suppose that μὴ has been accidentally omitted after ἀνδρῶν or after ἄν. In either case the final μ might have contributed to the omission. The existence of τε in c 1 is a stubborn fact. Ast proposed to read διαψηφισόμενους and δέ for τε. Baiter, with more probability, proposed διαψηφισόμενων, and this was adopted by Herm., who further changed τε to γε. Schneider (like Burnet) prints the MS. text unaltered, but he has no comma after φεύγοντος, and his translation is "exceptis patre et matre sententiam ferente etiam accusato et de reliquis quotquot sunt mulierum vel virorum adulti." It is extremely unlikely that the most interested person of all should be allowed to vote; the position too of διαψηφισόμενον forbids us so to take it with τοῦ φεύγοντος instead of with πατρὸς καὶ μητρός.—I would then accept Baiter's διαψηφισόμενων and insert μὴ as explained above.

**c 5.** τὰ τῶν νέων ἥθη κτλ.: Stobaeus quotes this (52. 16) and adds *Sympos.* 181 e 1 ff., and, from Theophrastus, χαλεπὸν καταμαντεύεσθαι περὶ τῶν νέων· ἀστόχαστος γὰρ ἡλικία καὶ πολλὰς ἔχουσα μεταβολὰς ἄλλοι' ἐπ' ἄλλο φερομένη.

**d 1.** The term ἐπίγονοι is used, as above at 740 c 7, to denote any children born in addition to the heir.—τῶν εἰς τὴν ἀποικίαν, "in coloniam destinatorum" Schn. Cp. above, 740 e 6 and 923 d 2.

**d 2.** In the plur. τούτων he generalizes the particular case of the ἀποκηρυχθείς of whom he has been speaking.

**d 4.** ἔκφρονα ἀπεργάξεται διαφερόντως τῶν πολλῶν, "is more than usually effective in unhinging the (father's) mind."—διαφερόντως τῶν πολλῶν—lit. "more than in the case of most (old men)"—does not merely qualify ἔκφρονα. (Jow. translates "more out of his mind than the rest of the world are.")

**d 6.** οἰκοφθορῇ ὥς ὢν τῶν αὐτοῦ κύριος, "uses his right (of ownership) to ruin the family property."—A<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>2</sup> are probably



right in adding the τῶν, which was omitted by the first hands, perhaps owing to the previous ὧν.

**e 9.** μηδαμῇ συμφέρονται τρόπων ἀτυχίᾳ χρώμενοι: this implies more than mere "incompatibility of temper"; it supposes a case where *ill* temper on both sides (cp. below, a 5) has produced a complete rupture.

**930 a 1.** τοὺς μέσους: at 916 c 6 a tribunal was constituted of "the five youngest nomophylakes." At 924 c other duties were assigned to "the fifteen oldest nomophylakes"; what can the class of μέσοι be but the middle-aged ones—the class most suitable for the purpose in hand? And yet Ast, Stallb., Wagner, and Jowett give μέσος here the meaning *impartial*. Is it likely that there should be a *class* of officials out of a body of thirty-seven who were either partial or impartial to certain members of a particular family out of 5040 households? The only support for such a meaning of μέσος is derived from a solitary Greek passage (Lucian, *Conv.* chap. 43), where the context helps greatly to give it that meaning, and copious instances of the use of the Latin *medius* in that sense.

**a 3.** ἐὰν αἱ ψυχαὶ κυμαίνωσιν μείζονως αὐτῶν, "if the storm of their passion is unabated."

**a 4.** ξυνοίσουσιν is the MS. reading, and that of Ficinus. The fact that τὴν συνοίκησιν at b 1 undoubtedly refers back to the fresh union here described led almost all editors from Aldus downwards to change this to συνοικήσουσιν. Only Herm. and Burnet retain the MS. reading. This reading ("qui utrisque convenient" Fic.) leads naturally up to what follows. (Winckelmann ingeniously suggests συνάσουσιν.)

**a 6.** κεχρημένους: κεκραμένους, an early and idiomatic MS. variant, was adopted by all editors but Herm. and Burnet. The former has the best MS. authority and is a quite possible reading.—Plato would not only make the process of divorce more elaborate and difficult than that of the Attic law, but would add the deterrent prospect of a forced union with a probably unsympathetic partner.—βαθύτερα is *sedate*, with perhaps a hint of *heaviness*.—Cp. 773 c 5 for similar precepts as to the choice of opposite temperaments in marriage.

**a 8.** καί here, as below at c 7, introduces a *further reason* for the union.

**b 1.** ὅσοι is subj. of a διαφέρωνται supplied from the former sentence.

**b 6.** μὴ μητρὸν ἐπαγόμενον: the participial clause here con-

tains the more important verb; "spare the children a step-mother!" Fic, or his MS., made the common mistake of missing the μή before μητρύν. Schanz and Burnet in the *Laws* write this word without the *α*.

c 2. αὐτοῦ: i.e. in her old home.

c 3. αἷ is almost "in her new state of life."

c 7. παίδων ικανότης ἀκριβής, "the barely sufficient number of children." Ritter (p. 335) cps. 844 b 6 where ἀκριβεία denoted the smallest supply of water that would suffice.

d 1. The MSS. have γενόμενον, but all editors down to Bekker preferred Aldus's correction to γέννώμενον, as being slightly more explicit. The vaguer expression, however, suits the passage better. Cp. also d 6 τὸ γιγνόμενον.

d 2. τῶν ποιουμένων: all early interpreters took this to mean "those who claim it." The only doubt was whether (with Steph. and Ast) it should be changed to προσποιουμένων, on the ground that ποιεῖσθαι means "to adopt." Latterly, however, Müller and Ritter (p. 335) have called attention to the fact that ποιεῖσθαι παῖδα means "to produce a child" even more often than "to adopt a child," and interpret the sentence to mean "if the child is recognized as the child of its (real) parents"; in other words "if there is no doubt about the child's parentage." The former interpretation supposes a doubt to have arisen, and to have been set at rest by some unexplained process of investigation. It is much simpler, and more natural, to suppose that Plato only means to deal with cases *where there never was any doubt*. The only decision needed, he goes on to say, is with which parent the right of ownership lies.

d 3 ff. The guiding principles of these decisions is that of preventing any chance of a slave's offspring getting a footing in a free family.—L and O<sup>2</sup>'s ἔσεσθαι for A and O's ἔπεσθαι looks like a commentator's correction.

d 6. τοῦ δεσπότου ἔστω τὸ γιγνόμενον: so apparently the MSS. τοῦ δεσπότου is clearly "the slave's master," and Fic. puts in *servi* in his translation: "*servi dominus nati dominus similiter esto.*" Probably it was Fic.'s translation which led Aldus to add a quite unnecessary τοῦ δούλου after γιγνόμενον. All texts have followed him, but it is surely time to eject the added words.

d 7. καὶ περιφανὲς τοῦτ' ἦ: i.e. "and the paternity (in each case) is discovered." This refers more particularly to the latter case, but applies to the former as well. The house-mistress must be spared the presence of such an inmate—A's ridiculous ταύτη

was well corrected by A<sup>2</sup> to τοῦτ' ἦ. We are not told what L and O had.

**d 8 f.** The chiasmus in the arrangement of the two injunctions is noticeable.—The omission of τό by A must have been subsequent to the establishment of the mistaken ταύτη. It is to be concluded that L and O had τό as well as τοῦτ' ἦ.

**e 4.** φρονῆσαι seems to be used as a stronger word for εἶδέναι—"to have the sense to see"—carrying on the idea of the νοῦν ἔχων of the preceding sentence. Cp. *Rep.* 505 b 2 ἢ πάντα τᾶλλα φρονεῖν ἄνευ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ. νοῆσαι, which Stallb. suggests as a substitute for it here, is a more colourless "discern" (that). The object of φρονῆσαι is τοιόνδε προοίμιον ἂν γενόμενον ὁρθῶς συντεταγμένον εἰς κτλ.: "one must realize that the following prelude (on divine worship) is likely to prove well adapted to the subject of respect for parents or its reverse." (Schneider takes συντεταγμένον (εἶναι) to be the main verb of the dependent sentence, and γενόμενον ἂν to mean "si exstet.") As to the construction φρονῆσαι τοιόνδε προοίμιον ἂν γενόμενον (for ἂν γενέσθαι, or ὅτι γένοιτο ἂν) cp. *Thuc.* i. 120. 4 and vi. 78. 1 where ἐνθυμείσθαι, a word of much the same meaning as φρονῆσαι here—which also usually has ὅτι—is followed by the participial construction.

**e 7.** The παρά which correcting hands in A and O prefixed to πᾶσιν looks like a commentator's explanation.

**931 a 1.** ὁρῶντες: cp. 821 b 6 μεγάλων θεῶν, Ἥλιον τε ἄμα καὶ Σελήνης, and the whole of the passage there about the planets.—ἀγάλματα, ἀγάλλειν: Ast suggests with much probability (1) that the root meaning of ἀγάλλειν is *to worship*, and that the meaning *adorn* is derived from this; (2) that ἄγαλμα meant first *an object of worship*—stone, column, or image—and that the traditional derivation of the meaning *object of delight or pride* from the mid. or pass. ἀγάλλεσθαι, *to take delight or pride in* (πᾶν ἐφ' ᾧ τις ἀγάλλεται), is mistaken. If so, ἄγαλμα was originally *an object of worship*, then of *pride and delight*. ἀγάλλεσθαι (mid.) was originally *to respect oneself*; pass. *to be respected*.

**a 4.** L, A<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>2</sup> and Stobaeus are clearly right in reading χάριν for the χαράν of A and O.

**a 5.** κείται κειμήλιοι: Plato doubtless is recalling the Homeric πολλὰ δ' ἐν ἀφνειοῦ πατρὸς κειμήλια κείται *Z* 47.—The fanciful comparison of aged relatives to statues would gain verisimilitude with the Greek reader, because the presence in the house of ancestors' busts was familiar to him.

**a 6 f.** Schneider and Burnet follow Baiter in reading αὐτῷ—

Ficinus's *sibi*. The early printed edd. had αὐτῶν; Stallb. and Herm. read αὐτῷ with the MSS., but if μηδεὶς and αὐτῷ do not refer to the same person, should we not in that case have ἔχοντι instead of ἔχων?—Cobet would reject ἐν οἰκίᾳ as a commentator's explanation of ἐφέστιον. It certainly seems superfluous, and is the less likely to have been used by Plato because he had used ἐν οἰκίᾳ two lines above. (? μηδέν for μηδεὶς.)

a 7. κατὰ τρόπον ὁρθῶς: a stylistic pleonasm like ἕτερος ἄλλος. Cobet would reject ὁρθῶς as the work of a glossator; τὴν ὁρθότητα, however, in the following question gives it some support.

b 1. τίνα δὴ τὴν ὁρθότητα εἶναι φράξεις; "what do you mean by the right way?"

b 2. The little preface added to the ἐγὼ ἐρῶ prepares us for a somewhat lengthened explanation. The Athenian does not at once explain what the "right way" of honouring aged parents is. Only after extolling their power and influence does he say, at 932 a 4, that the only right way is to do it as much as we can—"the best is good enough."

b 6. τέλεα καὶ ἐπήκοα: a remarkable ὕστερον πρότερον.

b 7. O<sup>2</sup>, with probability, suggests ἐπαράσασθαι as a correction of the MS. ἐπαρᾶσθαι. Among recent editors Schneider and Burnet alone retain the impf. inf.

c 1. ὦν: Schneider alone among interpreters perceives that this sentence refers only to Amyntor and Theseus and ἑτέρους μυρίους—that it is, in fact, parallel to the α̃ δὴ καὶ πᾶς ὕμνεί sentence above. ὦν then depends on ἐπηκόους; it is neut. and, like α̃ in b 6, means "which curses." γονεῦσι denotes the persons in whose interest they are heard. (This passage, therefore, should not be cited by L. & S. as an instance of ἐπήκοος c. dat. of direct obj. It is possible even that at *Phil.* 25 b 8, the only other passage so cited, we ought to read ἐν ἐμαῖς εὐχαῖς as below here at c 4. ἐν (ἐμ) might easily fall out before ἐμ.) (Other interpreters, from Fic. downwards, make it a general statement applying to all cases of paternal curses; they make ὦν mean "from which," or "by which facts"—"quibus apertissimum factum est a diis preces parentum adversus filios exaudiri." Ast feels uneasy at so translating the simple ὦν, and would read δι' ὦν; Stallb. sees no need for change.) The real general statement follows in c 2.

c 2. For ἀπαῖος the scholiast's explanation βλαβερός got into an inferior MS.—Bekker's Ξ—and into the printed edd. down to Ed. Bipont.—a typical instance of that kind of corruption.

c 3 ff. πατρὶ . . . ἐπήκοον ἐν εὐχαῖς . . . γίγνεσθαι: πατρί is



the same dat. of person interested as γονεῦσι is at c 1, while ἐν εὐχαῖς stands for εὐχῶν (see above on c 1). O records a varying text which omitted the ἐν. (So Zürr. and Herm. alone among editors.)

c 5. τιμωμένῳ δὲ ἄρα . . . : "per anacoluthon oratio exit in interrogationem." Stallb.—παρακαλοῦντος in c 7 starts a second anacoluthon.

c 6. Stallb. and Schneider follow the early texts in reading ἐν εὐχαῖς here for the simple εὐχαῖς of the MSS., but no comment is anywhere made of the fact.

c 7. For ἐξ ἑσου cp. above, 919 d 7.

d 1. καὶ νέμειν ἡμῖν, "and treat us accordingly." This absolute use of νέμειν is helped out by the cognate νομῆς (ἀγαθῶν) in the following line.—ἀλλ' answers to an English "why! if they did so . . ." Fic. translates "nam aliter."

d 2. The MS. readings here indicate that A and O were both copied from the same original. This original apparently had, by an itacizing error, νομίσειεν for νομῆς εἶεν. A, in copying it, accidentally omitted σαι (νομι stands at the end of one line and εν at the beginning of the next), i.e. he went on after the wrong ι. O copied the impossible νομίσειεν correctly. The corrector of A altered νομι εν to νομείς εἶεν. Ast, Bekker, Schneider, and Burnet prefer the older form νομῆς, which has the recommendation that it more easily explains the MS. mistake. Possibly the phrase is a poetical quotation.

d 5. ὁ σμικρῷ πρότερον εἵπομεν: having established the fact that the favour of Heaven is secured by dutiful attention to aged relatives, he repeats what he said before, i.e. that they are the best kind of ἀγάλματα to set up in a house and to do honour to. (Doubtless Sam Weller did not know that he had Platonic authority for calling his father an "old image.")

d 7. The corrector of A altered his ignorant πρόπατρος to προπάτορος.—τὴν αὐτὴν δύναμιν ἐχουσῶν: Winckelmann by his suggestion of reading ἀδυναμίαν for δύναμιν would rob Plato of the subtle suggestion that the very imbecillitas of the aged is a δύναμις.

d 9. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐπήκοος ἦν αὐτῶν: a sentence like that beginning ἀλλ' οὐκ at d 1; an *aliter* has to be supplied in both.

e 3. τάναντία: i.e. "pray against us."—τὰ δ': i.e. τὰ ἄψυχα ἰδρύματα.

e 5. πρὸς θεοφιλῇ μοῖραν κυριώτατα, "most efficacious in securing divine favour." In κυριώτατα there is a reference to the μάλλον κύριον of a 7.

e 6. Ast's and Bekker's κεκτῆτο is a far better correction of the MS. κέκτητο than O<sup>2</sup>'s κέκτεται (Fic.'s *possidet*). Pempelus of Thurii, in his paraphrase of the passage (Stob. 79. 52), has πεπάσεται for ἂν κεκτῆτο.

e 9. ἐπιτελείς: it is possible that Plato here uses ἐπιτελής in the active sense of *efficacious*. Fic. seems so to understand it—"multis saepe profuisse obfuisseque."

932 a 2 f. καὶ ἀπιόντες νέοι MSS. It is impossible not to prefer Winckelmann's far more apposite νέοις to νέοι, even though his ἀπόντες for ἀπιόντες be not accepted. (He cps. *Lysis* 215 b 4 οἱ μύτε ἀπόντες ποθεινοὶ ἀλλήλοις.) That parents be deeply mourned by the young when they depart fits the passage much better than the suggestion that they will be specially mourned, or missed, if they die young. Pempelus has καὶ ἀφέρποντες αἰζηοῖς [νέοις] σφόδρα ποθεινοί.

a 5 f. εἰ δ' οὖν τινα κατέχοι φήμη κωφὸν τῶν τοιούτων προοιμίων, "but in the case of a man whom 'report pronounces' deaf to such adjurations"—one, that is, deaf by disposition. So, I feel sure, we ought to read for the MS. κωφή, assimilated by a scribe's error to the previous word. In κατέχοι φήμη Plato is consciously quoting Pind. *Ol.* vii. 18 ὁ δ' ὄλβιος ὃν φάμαι κατέχοντ' ἀγαθαί (cp. also *Pyth.* i. 186 ἐχθρὰ Φάλαριν κατέχει παντᾶ φάτις, and Eur. *Hipp.* 1466 φῆμαι μᾶλλον κατέχουσιν). It is a fanciful substitute for "for those whose character is stiff-necked." Such a man is the opposite of the πᾶς νοῦν ἔχων of 931 e 8; cp. *Soph. Aí.* 911 ἐγὼ δ' ὁ πάντα κωφός, ὁ πάντ' αἰδρῖς, κατημέλῃσα. (Various attempts have been made to strain the sense of φήμη κωφή so as to accommodate it to the passage. Wagner translates "eine vergebens gesprochene Stimme"; some make the gen. προοιμίων depend on φήμη, some on κωφή; some making it objective, some subjective. Stallb. takes the sentence to mean "in case a man is overpowered by a public opinion which disregards such adjurations." The scholiast interprets κωφή by ἀσθενής, ἀμβλεῖα, ὡς νῦν, ἢ ἄηχος. Ficinus boldly gives what he feels to be the sense of the passage, "si quis vero surdus ad haec exordia sit." Ast, as boldly, "sensus est, si quis dicitur surdus esse ad haec prooemia." He says φήμη κωφή stands for φήμη κωφὸν εἶναι. Pempelus has εἰ δέ τινα φάμα ἀμύνητος ὥτων ποτὶ κώφωσιν κατίσχει τοιῶνδε λόγων (what follows is evidently a poetical quotation).

a 6. For the gen. with κωφός Stallb. cps. Xen. *Symp.* iv. 12 τυφλὸς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων.—The corrector altered A's careless

δέ το ὅδε. As for the νόμος Herm. (*Comparatio* p. 16) pronounces it about equal in strictness to the Attic law on the subject, though different. Cp. above, 717 d 3 ff. and 881 d 3 ff.

a 7. τούτοις is probably masc. Wagner takes it to be neuter. Schn. makes ἐπὶ τούτοις temporal—"deinceps."

a 8 ff. καὶ μὴ . . . βουλήσεις: i.e. καὶ ἐὰν μὴ ἐπιτρέπων καὶ ἀποπληρῶν ἢ τὰς (τῶν γονέων) βουλήσεις μειζόνως ἢ τὰς τῶν ὑέων . . . καὶ ἑαυτοῦ.

b 1. εἰς ἅπαντα ἐπιτρέπων, "submit to entirely and . . ." The absolute ἐπιτρέπων (cp. above, 802 c 1) stands for ἐπιτρέπων ταῖς τῶν γονέων βουλήσεσι.

b 2. A and O have a senseless ἀποκληρῶν; L has preserved the right reading.—Equally careless is the ἦ of A and O, for ἧ. (Winckelmann very boldly proposes μειζόνως ἀγαπᾷ εἰς ἅπαντα ἐπιτρέπων καὶ ἀποπληρῶν τὰς βουλήσεις. Fic. seems to have imagined, or read, a similar addition, for he translates "nec magis eos quam filios nepotesque et seipsum diligat.")

b 5. The correctors of L and O correct ALO's careless ἐπιμελουμένους to the gen. (Schneider retains the MS. reading, taking it to apply to all the six—"qui in curatione sunt." Steph. and Ast would reject the participle altogether.) For ἐπιμελεῖσθαι with περί τινος instead of with the simple gen. cp. above, 812 e 9, Xen. *Anab.* v. 7. 10.—Probably we are meant to supply τὰς πρεσβυτάτας with τρεῖς τῶν γυν. Fic. "ad tres similiter."

c 1. γυναικες δὲ δέκα πλείοσιν ἔτεσιν: Plato can conjure with the dative. Here he makes it mean "in the ten years above (thirty)."

c 5. Bekker's ἐκατόν for the MS. ἕκαστον puts definite sense in the place of vague nonsense. How could a court be constituted out of "each single one of the citizens who are oldest of all"?—An inferior MS., but not, apparently, O as well, as Stallb. says, has πολιτικῶν for πολιτῶν. The writer of this seems to have thought it too democratic a measure to choose the court from all the citizens.

c 8. O has ὅσον, but mentions A's idiomatic ὅσων as a variant.

d 1 f. ὁ πυθόμενος . . . ἐξαγγελλέτω: Stallb., by a quotation from Harpocration, p. 160, shows that at Athens it was in anybody's power to prosecute on a charge of κάκωσις γονέων.

d 3. ὑπόδικος . . . βλάβης: not (as Jow.) "be liable to pay damage," but "damni illati accusetur" Fic.

d 4. τῶν κακούντων ἢ κακουμένων: neither of these "parties" is to be compensated for the loss of the slave; the latter, because

he had already benefited materially by his action, the former, because he deserved the loss (and the slave would not be safe with him).—For the omission of the second article cp. above, 728 c 4 ὁ τε τυχὼν καὶ μὴ τυγχάνων.—A and O have καὶ for ἣ which is the reading of L and the correctors of A and O. Possibly Cod. Voss. is right in giving ἣ καὶ as the original reading.

e 2. διείρηται: all kinds of murder have been dealt with in Bk. IX.

e 5. ἐπίσχουσιν τὴν διάρρησιν: this answers to our modern "we must here pause to consider."

933 a 1. A carelessly wrote εἶπωμεν for εἵπομεν in this line, and ἣ for ἥ in the next. A<sup>2</sup> corrected the former.—The addition of κατὰ φύσιν to the instrumental σώμασι excludes *philtres* and the like; though such things are corporeal substance—σῶμα—their virtue is not κατὰ φύσιν, but depends on magic art. Cp. *Charm.* 155 e 7 ἀνευ δὲ τῆς ἐπωδῆς οὐδὲν ὄφελος εἶη τοῦ φύλλου.

a 3. τοὺς τολμῶντας βλάπτειν αὐτούς: αὐτούς further emphasizes the contrast expressed by the μέν and δέ between the would-be injurers who are to be persuaded that the magicians can really bewitch, and the intended sufferers (τοὺς δέ), who are to be persuaded that the direct calamities attend the magicians' incantations. (Ast takes αὐτούς closely with βλάπτειν—"qui ipsi alteri nocere volunt"; Stallb. finds αὐτούς inexplicable, and proposes ἄλλους for it.)

a 4. A and O have πάντως for παντός, another careless mistake, as is A's ταῦτόν for ταῦτ' οὖν in the next line. The correction was made in A by a late hand. We are not told about L and O. παντός μᾶλλον is not (as Jowett) "above all persons," but "beyond everything," "quam maxime," Schn.

a 7 ff. ταῖς δὲ ψυχαῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων . . . περὶ αὐτῶν: that this passage was long ago found difficult is indicated by the variant δυσωπουμέναις in L and the corrector of O. The scholiast in his interpretation ἐφορωμένους, ὑπόπτως ἔχοντας supports the δυσωπουμένους of A and O. The main difficulties are (1) what is the construction of the dat. ψυχαῖς? (2) what is the relation of the two infinitives πείθειν and διακελεύεσθαι? and (3) what is the logical connexion of the ἔχουσι clause with the main sentence? As to (1) I follow Schneider and Wagner in making ψυχαῖς depend on δυσωπουμένους—"men who are in their souls suspicious of each other." (Stallb. makes it governed by ἐπιχειρεῖν—ἐπιχειρεῖν ταῖς ψυχαῖς (ὥστε) πείθειν (αὐτάς).) As to (2) I follow Stallb. in supposing an explanatory asyndeton. (Schramm would very



plausibly read *κάν* in b 1.) . As to (3) is it “because they” (the suspicious ones) or “although they hold no sure opinion on the subject”? Or is it possible that *ἔχουσι* agrees, not with the dat. which is assumed with *διακελεύεσθαι*, but with that assumed with *οὐκ ἄξιον* (ἔστι)—i.e. the Ath., Cleinias, and Megillus—“when we (ourselves) hold no sure opinion in the matter”? I incline to the first of these three views. It gives a reason for neglecting magic; i.e. it is very uncertain whether there is anything in it.—In any case the *τῶν ἀνθρώπων* in a 8 remains enigmatical. Is it not possible that it is the marginal explanation of a commentator who feared that *ψυχαῖς* might be taken to mean some *supernatural spirits*?

b 3. A and O wrote *εἶτε μνήμασι*, but all editors have accepted the corrected *εἴτ’ ἐπὶ μνήμασι* of A<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>2</sup>. Possibly A and O were right.—*τινες* stands for *ἐὰν ἴδωσί τινες*.

b 6. The *ὅποτέρως* clause is explanatory of *διχῇ*—“according to which of the two ways the offender does his drugging.” *φαρμακεία* and *φαρμάττειν*, as at c 5, are stretched to include all kinds of witchcraft as well as the natural (*κατὰ φύσιν*) use of medicaments.

b 7. *πρῶτον* (μὲν), “antequam legem scribimus” Ast.

c 1 f. *μηδὲ καθάπερ παῖδας τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων δειμαίνοντας φοβεῖν*: if the MS. reading is sound, this means “and (that they ought) not to frighten people, most of whom are (already) as timid as children.” I cannot help suspecting, however, that *δειμαίνοντας* is a misreading of *δειματοῦντας*.—This gives a more natural sense: “and (that they ought) not to try to frighten the common herd by their bugbears, as if they were so many children.”—*τοὺς πολλοὺς* implies that there are a few who would be proof against all such attempts.—A and O omitted *παῖδας*; a late hand in the margin of A was the first to replace it—probably as a conjecture. Fic. and all editors accept it.

c 4 f. *τὸν ἐπιχειροῦντα φαρμάττειν οὐκ εἰδότα*: acc. absolute. —The implication is that a *layman* will be powerless for harm, owing to his ignorance; and that this consideration will hinder him from attempting it.

d 1. *λόγος ὅδε νόμος*: cp. 903 b 1 *ἐπωδῶν . . . μύθων*, and 926 b 6 *λόγος . . . ὅδε νόμος*.

d 3. By a curious misapprehension Ficinus, Zür., and Hermann read the passage with a pause after *σμηνῶν*. If we remove their comma after this word, all becomes plain. Cornarius first translated, and Ast first punctuated the passage correctly.—Only Baiter, Schneider, and Burnet are bold enough to print the MS. *μήτε ἀνθρώπων ἐκείνου*; all others accept O<sup>2</sup>’s mistaken insertion of

τῶν after ἀνθρώπων. The text stands for μήτε αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου μήτε ἀνθρώπων ἐκείνου.—Probably the ἐπί was “supplied in thought” with ἄλλη βλάβη—ἄλλη being, of course, “other than mortal.”

d 6. Zürr. accept O<sup>2</sup>s correction of the MS. ἀποτίσαι to ἀποτίνειν, which brings the phrase into line with 928 c 6, but not with *Apol.* 36 b 5; at e 5 below and at 934 b 8 we have πάσχειν ἢ ἀποτίνειν.

e 1. ἡ τῶν τοιούτων φαρμακείων ὀντινωοῦν: Ast thinks τῷ must have fallen out before τῶν; Stallb. agrees, but thinks its place was after τῶν. Such an omission is possible, but it is also possible that Plato meant τῶν τοιούτων φαρμακειῶν to depend on a mentally repeated τισιν from the previous line. (Herm., rejecting the quite unobjectionable φαρμακειῶν—used here, as at e 3 and d 1 in the general, not the medical sense—for ὀντινωοῦν reads ὀντινωῶν, which Ritter accepts.)—ὁμοιος εἶναι βλάπτοντι is a neat phrase for “to come under suspicion of injuring.” Ritter (p. 414) thinks the phrase shows Plato’s disbelief in the existence of magic.

e 3. ἐὰν δ’ ἄνευ μαντικῆς ὣν τῆς φαρμακείας ὄφλη: τῆς φαρ. is “the witchcraft in question,” a perfectly normal use of the article. Aldus altered τῆς to τις, and all subsequent editors except Zürr., Schn., and Burnet follow him. (Herm., followed by Wagner and Ritter, reads ὃ ἂν τις, taking ταῦτόν to refer to ὃ, and ignoring the fact that τις has no MS. authority.)—ταῦτόν: the following γάρ clause guards against the assumption (made by Stallb.) that ταῦτόν γινέσθω means τεθνάτω; it is the latter of the two penalties which he incurs.

e 6. The MSS. have ὃς ἂν τις ἂν ἕτερον ἄλλον: Schneider’s text comes nearest of all to this, for he only changes ὃς to ὅς. All other editors read ὅσα τις for ὃς ἂν τις, and probably they are right. The unusual “Doric” arrangement of ὅσα τις ἂν (cp. on 890 a 5) may well have given rise to the alteration. Further, all editors but Schneider and Stallb. (1860) read ἕτερος for ἕτερον—Herm., moreover, rejects ἄλλον. There is no reason why the MS. ἕτερον ἄλλον should not stand. See Stallb.’s note, and cp. above on 780 d 8 and 875 d 7, also *Dem. De Rhod. lib.* 198. 21. (Herm. pref. p. xx. declares that at 875 d 7 ἕτερον is neut. Ritter defends ἕτερος ἄλλον by a ref. to ἄλλος ἄλλον at 932 e 1.)

e 7. For the MS. μείζων Fic. and all editors read μείζω—“si in magnis nocuit” Fic. The μ was due probably to the following μ.

e 8. The MSS. read μὴ ζημιώσας; Fic. and all editors omit the μὴ. (Herm., comparing 925 d 5, holds that μὴ is a mistake for δῆ.)—παρὰ πάντα: not “in omnibus,” as Fic., Wagn., and Jow., but

"above all," "especially," as at *Tim.* 53 b. Schneider *utique*. It is particularly necessary that the damage done should be completely made good. Cp. the παντελῶς τῆς ἀξίας (ἐνεκα) below at b 6.

**e 10 f.** πρὸς ἐκάστω τῷ κακουργήματι . . . συνεπομένην: there are two things which raise doubt here: (1) the (συνεπομένην) πρὸς c. dat. instead of the simple dat., and (2) the τῷ after ἐκάστω. Heindorf on *Phaedr.* 274 e 2 περὶ ἐκάστης τῆς τέχνης says "malim art. τῆς abesse." All editors down to Ast rejected πρὸς. If we rejected πρὸς ἐκάστω we should get rid of both difficulties, and improve the sentence as well. "But every man must go further and pay the penalty which is attached to his offence as a corrective." The πρὸς ἐκάστω may have been put in by a commentator who understood συνεπομένην to mean not "adiunctam" (Schn.), but *convenientem* (Stallb.), and wished to emphasize this meaning, which was not Plato's but his own.

**934 a 1.** We can only guess at the reason why Plato used the out-of-the-way Doric form σωφρονιστός. Possibly the thought of soul-medicine suggested a Hippocratean form.—For the sense cp. above, 854 d 4, and the name σωφρονιστήριον given (908 a 4) to the reformatory prison.

**a 2.** Herm. was the first to see that ἀλλοτρία qualifies ἀνοία and not πειθοί. Wagn. and Burnet follow him.—In Plato's view all *vice* was a form of *folly* (cp. above, 689 b 3). ἀνοία here, like the old English *folly*, is used almost in the sense of κακία.—πειθοί διὰ νεότητα ἢ τι τοιοῦτον χρησάμενος, "and has, from youth or some such cause" (e.g. *inexperience*) "given way to persuasion."

**a 4.** The ἢ before δι', which all editors have adopted, is due to the correctors of A and O. As the words δι' ἀκράτειαν ἢ δ. ἢ λυπῶν are not an alternative to διὰ οἰκείαν ἄνοιαν, but describe impulses which may have given rise to the οἰκεία ἄνοια—want of self-control in the face of pleasure or pain—the ἢ is not necessary. If it stands it is *either*, not *or*. The γιγνόμενος ἐν clause which follows is a further asyndetic specification of the various divisions of the ἡδονή and λύπη motives; θυμός and φόβος come under λύπη (cp. 864 b 3), φθόνος possibly under ἡδονή as well.—The MS. δεινῶς, which comes after φόβοις, is corrected in both A and O to δειλίας, while L has δειλιάσας. If the latter were accepted we should either have to put in ἐν before τισιν or retain the discarded MS. γιγνομένοις in the next line. Palaeographically δεινῶς is a possible mistake for δειλίας—a less likely one for δειλοῖς which Winckelmann suggests (and Herm. adopts); he compares 870 c 8 οἱ δειλοὶ καὶ ἄδικοι φόβοι. After all the MS. reading may be



right. Cp. *Phaedr.* 273 c 7 δεινῶς ἀποκεκρυμμένην τέχνην, *Symp.* 207 a 8 ὡς δεινῶς διατίθεται πάντα τὰ θήρια ἐπειδὴν γεννᾶν ἐπιθυμήσῃ.

a 5. ALO have γιγνομένοις: this reading survived into Bekker's text, but has since been discarded by all but Schneider for the variant γιγνόμενος given by the correctors of L and O.

a 6. οὐχ ἔνεκα τοῦ κακοურγήσαι: the heaviness of the punishment does not depend on the greatness of the crime—there is no reducing that—but on the severity of the mental disease which gives rise to the crime. This a proper punitive treatment may reduce, and it may benefit onlookers as well. Cp. above, 728 c.

a 7. The ἔνεκα which governs τοῦ μισῆσαι is curiously inserted in the phrase εἰς τὸν αἰθέρις χρόνον; δίκην in b 5 shows a similar hyperbaton.

b 3. συμφορά is here used with the same μείωσις as above at 854 d 2, 873 a 5, and 877 c 8, for *criminality*.

b 3-6. ὦν δὴ πάντων ἔνεκα . . . καὶ παντελῶς τῆς ἀξίας: in other words, "what has just been said is enough to show that the main points the lawgiver must keep in view are (1) the πάσχειν must be carefully attuned to the moral obliquity of the offender, and (2) the ἀποτίνειν must be such as to satisfy the injured man."

b 5. στοχάζεσθαι—a favourite Platonic metaphor—ordinarily governs a simple gen.; at 693 c 8, and below at 962 d 3, it takes πρὸς c. acc.; here its object seems to be very abnormally expressed by ἔνεκα c. gen. Is ἔνεκα spurious? or does ἔνεκα go with ἐκάστων only—"as punishment for each offence"?

b 6. παντελῶς τῆς ἀξίας (ἔνεκα, or στοχάζεσθαι) repeats the insistence on correct estimation of damages noted above on 933 e 8. As the following words declare, the judge must in this work hand in hand with the lawgiver.

b 6-c 6. ταῦτ' ὁ δ' ἔργον δρῶντα . . . νομοθετεῖν, "for this work the lawgiver must also have at command the services of the judge, in cases where a law leaves it to the judge to fix the severity of the punishment and the amount of the damages, while the lawgiver, painter-wise, must sketch out actual cases (for him) on the lines of the written law. That is the task, Megillus and Cleinias, which we have now to perform in the best possible way, and to give, for all thefts and deeds of violence, the sentences, pronounced as they should be, as far as the divine powers allow us to lay them down." In this difficult passage the point on which the most serious difference of opinion has arisen is, does τὸν δέ in c 1



mean the lawgiver or the judge? Ficinus, Schneider, and Jowett hold that it is the judge. Against this it seems to me conclusive that the Ath. goes on to say that the task of doing what has been described is just the one which they three, as *legislators*, have to perform. Besides, these critics strain the meaning of ὑπογράφειν; Fic. makes it mean "copy," Schneider merely "*pingere*," and Jowett "fill up the outline with suitable details." Surely ὑπογράφειν must describe a preliminary, outline sketch, which is to guide the judge in his decision. Stallb., Wagner, and Ritter, though differing in other important points, rightly, I think, take τὸν δέ to be the *lawgiver*.

c 6. It is surprising that the projected list of cases is not now given. Was Philip of Opus unable to find the passage because it was lost, or did Plato fail to supply it? Or, again, did he mean on second thoughts to assign this, as a minor task, to younger legislators, as on former occasions—τοὺς δευτέρους (νομοθέτας) 835 b 2 and 846 c 4 οἱ νέοι—and omit to say so? The addition of ὅπως ἂν ἡμῖν παρέικωσιν θεοὶ νομοθετεῖν may possibly like the ἐὰν θεὸς ἐθέλῃ at 739 e 5 be a formula of *postponement*. In that case we must understand the Ath. here to say that it must be borne in mind that such detailed "sketches" will be *wanted*.

d 1. Herm. was the first to print ἐπίστωνται for the MS. ἐπιστῶνται; even Schneider fails to make the correction here. Cp. 689 d 3.

d 6. οὓς μὲν νῦν εἴπομεν: i.e. those who were to be kept out of sight—the *really* mad, as we should say.

d 7. κακήν, which is the predicate to γενομένην, governs both φύσιν and τροφήν; "owing to a natural tendency to and cultivation of anger, both (of which have been) disastrous"—"owing to a disastrous native and acquired tendency to anger." Plato is not here describing *fits* of passion—Themistius's ὀλιγοχρόνιος μανία, Horace's *furor brevis*—but the habitual state of mind of one whose unusually strong instinct of retaliation has been nursed by constant indulgence. The "great voice" produced on a "little" occasion gives us the type in a flash.

e 5. L's ἄλλον for the ἄλλω of A and O is clearly a correction made by someone who felt uncomfortable because διδασκέω was separated by another verb from its object. Not only is ὁ ἀμφισβητῶν the better for the dat. ἄλλω to complete its sense, but the τοὺς παρόντας could hardly accompany ἄλλος ἄλλον. Steph. aptly cps. *Phaedo* 94 d τὰ μὲν ἀπειλοῦσα, τὰ δὲ νοθετοῦσα ταῖς

ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ ὀργαῖς καὶ φόβοις (though some take these datives with the following διαλεγόμενην).

**935 a 1.** γυναικείους φήμας, "a scolding style," which the angry ones "bring to bear" (ἐπιφέρειν) in using terms of abuse (δι' αἰσχρῶν ὀνομάτων). So at 1 *Hen. IV.* i. iii. 237, when Hotspur "scolds" he is said to be in a "woman's" mood. (Ast, Stallb., and L. & S. take γυν. φήμ. to be *gossip*, or *scandal*).—ἐαυτοῖς clearly stands for ἀλλήλοις.

**a 1 ff.** πρῶτον μὲν . . . ἀποδεχόμενος: in this highly coloured and elaborately rhetorical passage Plato seems himself to be "raising his voice"—perhaps on purpose to show us what sort of language it is which he deplores.—πρῶτον μὲν corresponds to the δὲ αὖ in a 7; first they make *brutes* of themselves, next they make *fools* of themselves by trying to make fools of their opponents.

**a 2.** With κούφον πράγματος and the antithesis cp. 717 d 1 κούφων καὶ πτηνῶν λόγων βαρυτάτη ζημία.

**a 3.** πράγματι ἀχαρίστῳ, θυμῷ, χαριζόμενος, "opening his heart to such a heartless thing as anger." χαρίζεσθαι, like φιλοφρονεῖσθαι at c 6 and χάριν ἀποδέχεσθαι at a 7, is a term of intimate friendly relationship.

**a 4.** ἐμπιπλὰς ὀργὴν κακῶν ἐστιαμάτων, "regaling his wrath with noxious viands"—i.e. with tirades full of hatred and scorn of his adversaries.

**a 5.** τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ τοιοῦτον: i.e. τὸ ἡμέρὸν τῆς ψυχῆς—"all the gentleman there is in him." This stands in the place of the expected τοσοῦτον.

**a 6.** θηριούμενος ἐν δυσκολίᾳ ζῶν γίγνεται κτλ.: this marks the climax, "until a lifelong rancour turns him into a brute—a sorry return for all his favours."

**b 3.** τοῦ σπουδαίου τρόπον ἦτοι τὸ παράπαν διήμαρτεν κτλ.: a man cannot, he says, constantly make jokes against an opponent without partially compromising his dignity, or at least lowering his self-respect.—The ἦτοι ought, logically, to come before the τοῦ. Its postponement gives the latter alternative the character of a qualifying afterthought.—The ὅς οὐ of L and O<sup>2</sup> is clearly correct as against the ὅσοι of A and O.

**b 6.** Cp. above, 868 a 7 ἀγοράν τε καὶ ἀθλα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἱερὰ μαινῇ.

**b 8.** [ἀνατί]: Schneider rejects this addition of the correctors of A and O, and Wagner agrees. It is inconsistent with what follows. Who would think of promising *immunity* to a man who does his duty, especially if he be the lawful president of a sacred

σύλλογος? The same correctors who inserted ἀνατί altered ἕκαστος to ἕκαστον; here Burnet, as well as Wagner, follows Schneider in disregarding the correction.

c 1. ἀριστείων περί φιλονικίῃ: Ritter (p. 340) aptly cps. 952 d 3 ὄνειδος ἀποκείσθω τοῖς ἀρχουσιν εἰς τὴν τῶν ἀριστείων διαιδικασίαν, the occasion being doubtless, as he says, that of the statutory εὐθύναι, to which every magistrate had to submit on vacating office.

c 6. The best attempt at explaining the MS. ἐτέρῳ, which I take to have been substituted by a common scribe's error (cp. 919 a 5, *Symp.* 183 c, *Ep.* vii. 325 b 6) for ἐταίρῳ, is Ast's, who makes ἐτέρῳ κακῷ an instrumental dat. to φιλοφρονουμένους—"show kindness to one evil (anger) by means of another," i.e. the abuse in which they indulge it. Other interpreters make the one evil the *stripes*, and the second the *anger* which they chastise. θυμῷ, ἐταίρῳ κακῷ, φιλοφρονουμένους falls easily into line with the metaphor of χαρίζομενος in a 3 and χάριν ἀποδεχόμενος in a 7—"those who take up with such an ill-chosen companion as anger."

c 7. In λέγωμεν L and O<sup>2</sup> have doubtless preserved the right reading, as against the λέγωμεν of A and O. What follows is a repetition of the μετεκβαίνειν . . . φθέγγεσθαι of a 7 ff.—"I tell you," says the Ath., "when a man is in the clutch of the abusive impulse, he can't help trying to make men laugh." The object of χρῆσθαι is a (supplied) λοιδορίαῖς.—Almost all editors adopt O<sup>2</sup>'s insertion of ὁ after ὡς, though Steph., who wants to keep λοιδορίαῖς for χρῆσθαι because he doubts whether συμπλεκόμενος could take a dat., would put the ὁ immediately before συμπλεκόμενος. Schneider and Burnet omit it.

d 2. τοῦτο is τὸ γελοῖα ζητεῖν λέγειν, and γιγνόμενον ᾗ stands for γίγνηται.

d 3 ff. τί δὲ δῆ; κτλ., "on the other hand, the desire to excite ridicule *may* exist without an angry motive; e.g. in a comic poet. He shows us our fellow men in ridiculous situations just to amuse us. As it is, we Greeks generally do allow this (ᾗ παραδεχόμεθα), where we suspect no personal spite to be influencing the poet."—I think the note of interrogation which all editors put after λέγειν is a mistake, as is also the very generally accepted correction (by Fic. and Steph.) of the MS. παραδεχόμεθα to παραδεχώμεθα. Schn. and Burnet retain the indic. Herm., it is true, does not place a (:) after λέγειν, but he only places a comma there; i.e. he treats παραδεχώμεθα and διαλάβωμεν as two alternative deliberative subjunctives, which they manifestly are not;

for, if both are questions, the second *repeats* the first. The "we" of *παράδεχόμεθα* is the general Greek public: that of *διαλάβωμεν* is the three who are conversing.—All editors have accepted A<sup>2</sup>'s insertion of *τὴν* before *τῶν*; possibly we ought to read *τὴν κωμῳδῶν*.—Fic. unaccountably amplifies the Greek into "comico-rum satyrorumque sales et ridiculosa convitia." His *admittemus* shows that he read *παράδεχόμεθα*; Steph. was the first to print it.

d 6. ἡ διαλάβωμεν δίχα τῷ παίζειν καὶ μὴ: i.e. "are we then (as lawgivers) to make the deciding question, 'is he in fun or not?' the (only) object, or is there another?"

d 7. τινὲ περί του: in the previous statement the object of the comic poet's satire was "men in general," and "his fellow-citizens"; here it is significantly narrowed down to the abuse of an individual by an individual.—All editors but Stallb. have rightly accepted van Heusde's correction of the MS. *συντεταγμένῳ* to *συντεταμένῳ*. He well cps. *Euthyd.* 288 d 3, where *συντετάμενον* and *σπουδάζοντα* are used to describe the same state of mind.

e 1. καθάπερ εἶπομεν: i.e. "as in the above-mentioned case."

e 2. τοῦτο . . . οὐδαμῶς ἀναθετέον, "this proviso" (that there must be no *anger* in the ridicule) "must by no means be withdrawn." (So Stallb., Schn., and Wagn.; Ast, however, and L. & S. take it to mean "this matter" (the decision of this matter) "must on no account be deferred."—The MSS. give us *ὃ δ' ἐξέστω καὶ μὴ δέ*. All previous editors omit the *δέ*. Burnet in his second edition accepts R. W. Chapman's proposal to omit the *δ'*. Cp. Burnet's preface to vol. v., l. 14 of the last page.

e 3. Bekker first restored the MS. *δὴ* for the vulgate *δέ* after *ποιητῇ*.—*κωμῳδίας ἣ τινος ἰάμβων*: cp. *Arist. Pol.* 1336 b 20 where Aristotle likewise joins *κωμῳδίας* and *ἰάμβων* (*θεατὰς*).—The curious *τινος ἰάμβων* seems to stand for *τινος ἰαμβικῆς ποιήσεως*. Ast, however, makes the likely suggestion that the *τινος* has been placed after the wrong *ἦ*, remarking that while there are several kinds of lyric poetry—e.g. the choric part of a satyric drama, songs for choruses, or for non-dramatic songs—there is only one kind of "iambic" lampoon. A.M.A., referring to Williams-White, *The Verse of Greek Comedy*, §§ 80–94, 184 n., takes *κωμῳδία* to be the spoken iambics, and *ἰάμβων μελωδία* to be the "melic" or sung iambic dimeters, trimeters, or tetrameters (e.g. *Frogs* 416–430, 398–402, *Ach.* 1008–1017, *Peace* 1305–1314). If this is correct, Plato is here



speaking of Comedy alone, and the λόγῳ in e 4 is "the words (said or sung)."

e 4. μήτε λόγῳ μήτε εἰκόνι: εἰκόνι refers, chiasmically, to κωμωδίας—it is the actor's figure and "make-up"—and λόγῳ to ἰάμβων and μουσῶν μελωδίας.

e 5. μηδένα: here again it is the individual citizen who is to be protected.

e 6. The mention of ἀλοθέται shows that Plato has here in mind the performance of plays and choruses at a public festival.

936 a 2. Schn. and Burnet alone refuse to print the *ο* which the vulgate added to ἀγών; ought we not to read ἀγών?—οἷς δ' εἴρηται πρότερον: Stallb. and Wagn. think this refers to the permission given at 816 d e for the representations of comedies. But the question here is that of the licensing of ποιήματα and ποιηταί. Clearly then (as Ritter says, p. 410), the reference is to 829 c 2—e 5. The mention of the παιδείας ἐπιμελητής in both cases incidentally confirms this. At 816 e 2 ποιεῖν is not used in the technical sense of *compose poetry*, but at 829 c 3 it is, as are ποιητής at c 6 and ποιήματα at d 3.

a 3. The MSS. have περὶ τοῦ ποιεῖν; Burnet accepts Steph.'s alteration of περὶ τοῦ to περὶ του. Probably Ast is right in rejecting the words as a mistaken repetition of the περὶ του above at d 7. So too Wagner.—εἰς ἀλλήλους, which Burnet quite unnecessarily joins to the following words (he puts the comma before the two words, not after them), and for which Ritter (p. 410) would read εἰς ἄλλους, is also a reminiscence of the earlier passage. At 829 c 3 we read (δεῖ) ἐγκώμιά τε καὶ ψόγους ποιεῖν ἀλλήλοις. Not only the poet but the butt must be of unexceptionable character.

a 6. All editors adopt A<sup>2</sup>'s insertion of the τῷ (before τῆς) which was missing in the MSS.

a 7. For ἐγκρίνειν cp. above, 802 b 4, and below, 952 a 6.

b 1. Herm. and Wagn. rightly adopt Bekker's μηδέ for the MS. μήτε before ἐλεύθερον—"no one else, whether slave or free." At 816 e 5 it was stipulated that comic actors were to be either δοῦλοι or ξένοι ἔμμοσθοι.

b 3 ff. The argument of this paragraph is that it will be "safe" (c 1) in a decently ordered state to prohibit begging, because in such a state none but the absolutely undeserving could be reduced to abject poverty. So the Jewish psalmist (xxxvii. 25) says that he has never seen the seed of the righteous begging bread.

b 3. A and O have πίνων for πεινῶν and τοιούτο for the more

usual τοιοῦτον. The former, a good instance of pure itacism, was corrected by A<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>2</sup>; the latter survived till Burnet altered it.

b 5. κεκτῆται: till Schaefer suggested the correction to Ast—too late for insertion in his text—the MS. κέκτῆται appeared in all texts. Even Bekker preserves the indicative.

b 8. καὶ μετρίως, "vel mediocriter," Schn.

c 3. εὐχαῖς ἀνηγύτοις: L. & S. are wrong in giving ἀνηγύτοις here the meaning it has above at 735 b 7 and 780 c 9 of *ineffectual*. Here, as at 714 a 5, it means *endless*.

c 8. τῶν ἀλλοτρίων καὶ ὅτιοῦν, "any kind whatever of property belonging to another." W. R. Paton would read τὸν ἀλλότριον here, but the *personal* injury by another man's slave has already been dealt with on similar lines at 879 a. The present book deals mainly with *property* law. So at e 3 the damage done by an animal is damage to property, not person.

d 2. χρεῖαν μὴ σῶφρονα, lit. "treatment that is abandoned," is pretty nearly translated by our "culpable negligence." μὴ σῶφρονα here is used for the *opposite* of σῶφρων, just as μὴ ἐνδεῶς in the following line is used for the *opposite* of ἐνδεῶς—"completely."

d 4 f. ἐπαιτιώμενος . . . φῆ, "becomes the accuser in his turn and alleges."

d 6. κακοτεχνία is a law term denoting subornation of witness, and trumped up charges of any kind; here it takes the form of "conspiracy."

e 4. κατὰ ταῦτά, "on the same principle." There could of course be no question of *conspiracy* here, but a man might e.g. let a neighbour's horse into his own field on purpose.

e 6. μὴ 'θέλλῃ here and ἐθέλλῃ in e 8 are almost equivalent to our semi-auxiliary *won't* and *will*.—τις is anybody who may be supposed able to furnish either incriminating or exculpating testimony. Such a man is bound, when summoned, to come forward (below, 937 a 2 f.). When once in court it is not conceived as a possibility that he should hold his tongue. His only way of escaping is to swear that he has no evidence to give. If this can be disproved he will be liable to conviction and punishment for perjury.—Cobet is probably right in holding (*N.L.* 377) that the MS. προσκαλίσθαι is a scribe's error for προκαλίσθαι, the technical legal expression. So Burnet. προκαλίσθαι is to summon a man to answer to a criminal charge; προκαλίσθαι to challenge or summon as a witness.

e 7. προσκληθεῖς, which stands in all texts except those of Schneider and Burnet, is due to an early correction in O and a

late correction in A. A and O have *κληθείς* both here and below at a 2, and *καλεσαμένῳ* at a 2.

937 a 1. *ἀπομόσας*: for "swearing ignorance" *ἐξομνῦναι*, as at 949 a 5, is more common.

a 2 f. *τῆς βλάβης ὑπόδικος ἔστω*, "must stand an action for damages."

a 3 f. *τινα δικάζοντα ἀναστήσεται μάρτυρα*, "calls up one of the judges as a witness."

a 5 f. *μαρτυρεῖν καὶ συνηγορεῖν* here and at b 1 probably describe a single action—that i.e. of giving witness in person before a court, and *μαρτυρῆσαι* at a 8 stands for *μαρτυρῆσαι καὶ συνηγορῆσαι*. L. & S. say that *συνηγ.* here means "act as advocate," i.e. plead professionally on one side or other. But we are expressly told below at e that the professional advocate is to be abolished; only those who are sure that the party to a suit is in the right may speak for him. This in effect, among outsiders, confines the permission to *μάρτυρες*. Below at a 8 we are told that a child may *μαρτυρεῖν καὶ συνηγορεῖν*; clearly a child could not be a professional advocate.

a 6. *ὑπὲρ τετταράκοντα ἔτη*: above at 785 b 5 we are told that women magistrates must be over forty, i.e. not likely to have any more children.

a 8. *φόνου μαρτυρεῖν* is probably correct; it stands for *δίκη φόνου μαρτυρεῖν*; cp. above, a 3 *βλάβης ὑπόδικος*. Ast would alter it to *φόνον* (or *φόνῳ*). Wagner would follow Steph. in reading *περὶ φόνου*.

b 2. All subsequent editors except Stallb. have accepted Steph.'s *μενεῖν* for the MS. *μένειν* here. Cp. above on 856 a 7. In the present case the waiting could not be said to begin till after the current trial was over.—*μέχρι δίκης*: i.e. until the trial which would be the result of the *ἐπίσκηψις ψευδομαρτυριῶν*. This is the trial referred to in the *διάκρισιν* of b 7, but *πρὶν τὴν δίκην διακρίσθαι* in b 5 refers to the original trial in which the false witness is said to have been given—one of the *τῶν ἔμπροσθεν δικῶν* of d 4.—The MSS. had *ἐπισκεφθῇ* and *ἐπισκέπτεσθαι*, but all texts have naturally accepted A<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>2</sup>'s correction of the second *ε* to *η*. In *ἐπισκήψεις* in b 5 there is indication that in A the *η* was a correction for a previous *ε*—*ἐπισκηφθῇ* is an impersonal passive.

b 3. With *ἐπισκήπτεσθαι* we must supply *ἐξέστω* from b 1.

b 4. *καὶ* is "or."—Herm. *De vest.* (pp. 68 and 69) thinks it likely that all these regulations as to witnesses, except those granting facilities to women, were taken from Attic legal procedure.

He cites Antiphon, *De caede Herod.* 48 for the statement that a slave might give evidence in a murder trial, and reminds us that Aristotle (*Pol.* 1274 b 5) tells us that the ἐπίσκοψις ψευδομαρτυριῶν was the invention of Charondas.

c 1. δις ψευδομαρτυρῶν: a single lapse from truth in a witness might be due to an unavoidable mistake; two such lapses denote at least a careless habit of mind—such a man is *no good* as a witness—but three stamp him as a knave. It is a curious state of disability in which the careless man finds himself. He cannot be the object of a πρόκλησις to appear as witness.

c 5 ff. ὁπόσων δ' ἂν . . . πεποιηκέναι, "in the case of all such witnesses whose testimony is condemned" (in the δίκη ψευδομαρτυριῶν) "so that they are judged to have given false testimony, and to have secured the victory of the winner of the suit." Of course, if the false witness was given on the *losing* side there could be no need of a fresh trial. That is the significance of the addition καὶ . . . πεποιηκέναι. (Though Ast is wrong in taking δίκη with μαρτυρεῖν instead of with ἀλώσιν, he is probably right in regarding δοξάντων as virtually expressing the *result* of the conviction, and in making μαρτυρεῖν and πεποιηκέναι both depend on it. Schneider, putting no comma after δίκη, makes πεποιηκέναι depend on ἀλώσιν, translating καί by *etiam*. The "being thought to have given false witness," according to Schneider, took place at the original trial.)

c 6. L and O's δικῶν for the δίκη of A and O is condemned as a short-sighted correction by the following δοξάντων, which stamps ὁπόσων as masc.

c 7 f. ἐὰν τῶν τοιούτων ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν μαρτυριῶν καταδικασθῶσιν τινες, "if a majority of such pieces of evidence are pronounced false." The subject of καταδικ. is ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τινες. For ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν cp. 929 b 6; for the addition of τις to a numerical expression cp. 686 a 1 χρόνον τινὰ πολύν, 683 a 7 τετάρτη τις . . . αὕτη πόλις. "Some half or more." So Ast and Stallb. (Schn. and Wagn. make τινες masc., and so A.M.A.). Cp. also b 4.

d 1-5. The question to be decided by the new trial was whether among the minority of pieces of evidence not so condemned there was enough to justify the previous verdict. If not it would be reversed.

d 2. The δ' before εἶναι was omitted in A and O, and added by the correctors.

d 3. A has ἀδικασίαν corrected by A<sup>2</sup> to διαδικασίαν; the last two letters of the καί must have looked like ΔΙ, and caused its omission.



d 4. All subsequent editors have adopted Steph.'s correction of the MS. *ὁπότερος* to *ὁποτέρως*; Fic. too read *ὁποτέρως* apparently, translating "et quomocumque iudicatum fuerit." The words *ὁπότερος δ' ἂν κριθῇ* were omitted in A and O, and added in the margin of O by the corrector, and in that of A by a later hand still. The cause was the resemblance of *ἐκρίθη* and *κριθῇ*.

d 7. *τοῖς πλείστοις αὐτῶν οἶον κῆρες ἐπιπεφύκασιν*: Valckenaer, in a note on *ἀκήρατον* at Eur. *Hipp.* 1114, quotes, among other passages, from "Hipparchus the Pythagorean" (in Stob. cviii. 81) *ιδόντα ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ κῆρες κατὰ πάντα τὸν βίον πεφύκанти*.

e 2. *οὐ* was omitted by A and O, and added above by A<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>2</sup>.

e 3 ff. *ταῦτα οὖν . . . πεπραγμένα*: A and O had apparently *διαβάλλη*, O<sup>2</sup> apparently *διαβάλλει* and *διαβολή*, A<sup>2</sup> *διαβολή*. It was recognized by the three Zürich editors that the MS. evidence, though not clear, is in favour of *διαβάλλει*, but the three all differ as to the rest of the passage. Baiter reads *διαβάλλει τις κακή* (sc. *τέχνη*), Orelli *διαβάλλει τις κάκη*, Winckelmann *διαβάλλει τις δικανική*. Wagner and Burnet (rightly, I think) adopt Orelli's *κάκη* (Stallb. approves, but does not print Orelli's reading). One of the merits of this emendation is that it affords a satisfactory account of the origin of the *διαβολή* which later became the accepted reading. Hermann alters *τέχνην* in e 4 to *τέχνη* and reads *διέβαλέ τις κακή*.

Further, in e 5 the MSS. have *αὕτη*, with a variant *ἔχειν δ' ἂν αὕτη* recorded by L<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>2</sup>. This Cornarius altered to *αὐτήν*, which correction was adopted by all subsequent editors except Schneider who read *αὐτή* and Burnet who follows Schneider. Another alteration of Cornarius was that of the *τοῦ*, of the MSS. and the early texts, in e 5 to *τῷ*; this again all editors but Schn. and Burnet adopted. Ast's solution of the earlier difficulties was the omission of the *ῆ* in e 4, and the addition of *τήν* after *αὐτήν* in e 5. Steph. altered *ῆ* to *ῆν*. Winckelmann in e 5 would read *ἔχειν δ' αὐτή* as a parenthesis, Burnet adopts the idea of a parenthesis, but his is—*εἶναι δ' αὐτῇ τοῦ τε δικάσασθαι καὶ συνδικεῖν ἄλλῃ*. Adopting Burnet's version we may translate: "These blessings have acquired a bad character from a vice which veils itself under the fair name of art, which begins by declaring that there is such a thing as a contrivance for managing lawsuits—going on to state that it is *itself* (the contrivance) for conducting a suit and aiding another man to conduct one—(a contrivance) which can procure victory, whether the actual conduct (of the litigant) in each suit has been righteous or not."

**938 a 1.** All editors have adopted O<sup>2</sup>'s correction of the αὐτῇ of A and O. A<sup>2</sup>'s correction was αὐτῇ τε, but a late hand adopted O<sup>2</sup>'s αὐτῆς. (O<sup>2</sup> also recorded αὐτῇ τε.)—δωρεὰν εἶναι τῆς τέχνης means "that the art was to be had as a gift."

**a 3.** εἴτε ἄτεχνός ἐστιν τις ἐμπειρία καὶ τριβή: cp. *Gorg.* 463 b 4, *Phil.* 55 e 6, *Phaedr.* 270 b 5.

**a 4.** For μάλιστα μὲν . . . δέ cp. 758 d 1, 830 d 4.

**a 7.** σιγῇ . . . φωνῇ: there is a touch of the rhetorical in this antithesis. See above on 935 a 1.

**b 3.** τῶν τοιούτων: it is hard to fit in these words with πολυδικεῖν (as Schneider and Wagner do—"multas eius generis lites"), or with τις (as Stallb.). Steph. would reject the words, and Stallb. agrees. Fic. leaves them untranslated. Ritter (p. 341) well suggests that they may depend on παρὰ καιρόν and stand for τῶν δικαίων—"turn the power of right into that of wrong, and engage in suit after suit, or help others in them when righteousness bids you abstain"—(or "to the disadvantage of justice").

**b 8.** μηδενί with λαχεῖν δίκην means "against no one"; with συνδικεῖν it means "to the assistance of no one."

**c 3.** ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου = πάντως, here "devotedly"; cp. above, 745 e 7.

## BOOK XII

**941 a 3.** τὰς οὔσας πρεσβείας ἐφ' αἷς πέμπεται, "the real message he is sent to deliver." (H. Richards not improbably suggests that πεμπόμενος has got out of place, and that it ought to come after ὡς πρεσβευτής.)

**a 4.** A by a slip of the hand wrote πόλιν for πάλιν.

**a 6 f.** Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Διὸς ἀγγελίας καὶ ἐπιτάξεις . . . ἀσεβησάντων: the crime, being raised to the rank of a sacrilege, becomes a sort of high treason. Cp. above, 921 c 2 ff., where a similar sacrilege is spoken of as "loosing mighty civic bonds."—The use of the passive ἀσεβηθῇ above at 877 e 2 ὅταν . . . τις . . . ἀσεβηθῇ τῶν οἴκων is a sufficient warranty for the construction ἀγγελίας . . . ἀσεβεῖν here. Winckelmann would read εἰς Ἑρμοῦ ἀγγελίας, and Stallb. suggests the much less significant ἀμελησάντων for ἀσεβησάντων. Fic. translates "quasi . . . contempserit."

**a 7.** τίμημα is here used, not in the usual sense of value (price, penalty), but in that of valuation, a fixing of the penalty.

**b-d.** The first paragraph in the twelfth book enjoins strict integrity upon public ambassadors, the second a rigid respect for all state property. The mention of Hermes reminds the Ath. that poets represent Hermes as himself delighting in fraud, and even theft. Consequently he feels it necessary to give the poets the lie. "The lawgiver knows better about this than all the poets put together."

**b 2.** κλοπή and ἄρπαγή correspond respectively to δόλοις and βία in b 3, to the κλέπτων and βιαζόμενος of b 6 and 7, and the μικρόν and μέγα of c 5.

**b 4-8.** καὶ οἴεσθω (not μηδὲ οἴεσθω) is merely explanatory of ἀναπειθέσθω; "let no one then, when sinning in that way, be deceived by poets or by story-tellers either, and induced to imagine that when he steals or robs he is not doing anything disgraceful, but doing what gods do themselves." The construction is improved by the adoption of Baiter's πλημμελεῖν for the MS. πλημμελῶν, but it weakens the sense. The poets are more naturally represented as excusing a theft when committed than as urging its commission.—It will be observed that the μηδέν in b 7, though coming after μηδεῖς . . . οἴεσθω, counts as a separate negative.

**b 8.** Baiter, Schneider, and Burnet rightly prefer the ὅς τι of A and O to the ὅστις of L and O<sup>2</sup> and all other editors.

**b 9.** ποτε, "at all."

**c 3.** εὐτυχοί: the imperatival opt.—ὁ ἀπιστήσας, "if a man disobeys orders." So Ast and Stallb., who cites Hesych. ἀπιστεῖ· ἀπειθεῖ, and Favorinus ἀπιστεῖν· τὸ ἀπειθεῖν· οὕτω Πλάτων; this meaning suits the tense, and the μαχέσθω in c 4.

**c 4.** μαχέσθω: there is the same half-playful suggestion of an antagonism between the lawgiver and the ordinary citizen as we find at 924 d in the words συγγνώμην τῷ τιθέντι τὸν νόμον ἔχέτω. In our modern equally playful form of expression it would be "he will find himself up against some such law as the following." Steph. conjectured from Fic.'s "arcebitur" that he had read κατεχέσθω for μαχέσθω; Ast finds the "festivitas" "frigida," and proposes ἐνεχέσθω, which Herm. also prints.

**c 5.** τῆς αὐτῆς δίκης: cp. 857 a 4 μία δίκης τιμωρία σύμπασιν.

**c 6.** Zürr., Herm., and Wagn. adopt O<sup>2</sup>'s and Stobaeus's τε for τι.

**d 1.** τὸ μείζον is "the greater of the two things," i.e. the τι δημόσιον μέγα of c 4 f., put for variety's sake instead of the strictly parallel μέγα τι. (Wagner translates "den grösseren Theil

von Etwas," and for ὅλον ἀδικεῖ has "thut Unrecht am Ganzen"; Jowett "takes up anything more than he has deposited.")—κινῶν οὐ καταθέμενος: cp. above 844 e 9, 913 c 4.—ὅλον ἀδικεῖ, "sins to the full"; ὅλον marks the contrast with the case of the other man, who does not sin *as much as he wants to*.

d 2. δίκης ἐλάττωνος: this gen. goes with ἀξιοί, ζημιούν being added = ὥστε ζημιούν; cp. below, 944 d 1 f. τῆς δὲ εἰρημένης . . . μὴ ἀμελείτω σκοπεῖν.—μεγέθους: here used in the sense of *size*; so Hdt. ii. 74 μεγέθει ἔοντες σμικροί.

d 3. O mentions a variant ἅμα for ἀλλά.

d 5. The scribes of A and O, going on after the wrong -φ, omitted ἔλγῃ ὡς ἰασίμῳ; A<sup>3</sup> and O<sup>2</sup> added the words in the margin.

d 6. ὄντι: so L and A<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>2</sup>; A and O have ὄτι. Down to Ast all editors had εἰκότων ὅτι χρή. As this dative is governed by γιγνέσθω, and τί χρή παθεῖν depends on κρίσις, there should be no comma between ὡς and γιγνέσθω.

942 a 4. ζημιούν is the legal imperatival infin.—This law is totally inconsistent with 857 b 1, where a *public* theft is treated on much the same terms as a theft of private property.

a 5. στρατιῶν κτλ.: it is common to find MSS. divided between στρατιά and στρατεία (e.g. *Rep.* 404 a 12 and b 11); here the MSS. give στρατιῶν, but all editors, except Stallb. (1860), Schneider, and Burnet, print στρατειῶν. Shilleto on *De fals. leg.* § 278 lays it down that στρατιά does not occur in the sense of στρατεία outside Aristophanes. (στρατεία is never found in the sense of στρατιά.) If so we must either alter all cases of στρατιά, where it seems used in the sense of *expedition*, into στρατεία, or find some special use or sense of στρατιά to suit the passage. (Cp. Classen on *Thuc.* viii. 108. 4.) Here στρατιά is "military organization (Fic. "militiae gratia"); "for armies much devising and a crowd of rules are in order." It is implied that it is specially for making the *rules* that the devising is needed.—κατὰ τρόπον is predicate to γίγνονται. (Schn. and Stallb. make the words qualify γίγνονται adverbially—"multaeque leges dantur merito," Schn.) It will be remembered that at 832 e it was laid down that only such gymnastic contests as were useful for military purposes were to be encouraged. So here it is only with a view to military training and to the protection it gives to the state that habits of discipline and concerted action are enjoined on every citizen.

a 6. μέγιστον δέ (cp. d 6 below), "but the most important point of all is . . ."



**a 8.** μήτ' ἐν παιδιαῖς : for the importance of *games* cp. 797 a7 ff.

**b 4.** ἐστάναι and the following infinitives are in apposition to καὶ τὰ βραχύτατα.—A<sup>2</sup> corrected A's ἐστίν to ἐστάναι.—ὅταν ἐπιτάτῃ τις : a natural variety for the normal passive construction. Bekker and Baiter would reject τις, leaving the subject to be supplied from the previous ἄρχοντα. Wagn. would read ἐπιτάττηται.

**b 6.** (εἰς) παραγγέλσεις : probably, as Wagn. and Jow., "for the carrying of messages"; Schn. "ad mandata." Fic. "det signa et vicissim excipiat," apparently taking the words to apply only to those already on guard.

**c 1 ff.** τὸ χωρὶς τι . . . τὸ παράπαν, "to teach one's soul by long habit not to dream of doing, in fact to be quite incapable of doing, anything independently." "To teach a person *not to be able to do something*" is a hyperbolical way of saying "to make the refusal to do it instinctive."

**c 4.** Burnet is probably right in marking off τούτου γὰρ . . . νίκην as a parenthesis, and so making τοῦτο in c 7 "resume" the τὸ διδάξαι κτλ. of c 1 ff. The words ἄρχειν κτλ. in c 7 are added as an alternative expression of what is meant by τὸ διδάξαι κτλ.

**c 7.** O<sup>2</sup>'s καί before ἐν εἰρήνῃ is a mistaken addition.

**d 1 f.** τῶν ὑπ' ἀνθρώπου θηρίων : cp. Plato's humorous picture at *Rep.* 563 c of the masterful demeanour of dogs, horses, and asses in the streets of a democracy. There we have τῶν θηρίων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις; Herm. shows by exx. that both constructions are possible.

**d 3.** βλεπούσας : this quasi-personification of the choric dance enlivens the sentence. There is no need with W. R. Paton to read βλέποντας. All dances should be so conducted, the Ath. says, as to declare their object to be deeds of martial prowess. Cp. above, 796 b c, 815 a, 829 b c. (Wagner translates as if the text were τὰς εἰς instead of εἰς τὰς; this makes not nearly so strong an injunction to keep war always in view.)—ὅλην εὐκολίαν τε καὶ εὐχέρειαν, "every kind of suppleness and dexterity." At *Alc. I.* 122 c εὐχέρειαν καὶ εὐκολίαν are used of mental characteristics. (Winckelmann thinks that, because in Phot. and *Etym. Magn.* εὐκολος and εὐχερής are given as an explanation of εὐμαρής, εὐκολίαν τε καὶ εὐχέρειαν are here a commentator's explanation of the single word εὐμάρειαν.)

**d 5.** L and O<sup>2</sup> have σιτίων for the σίτων of A and O. So above at 789 d 5 O<sup>2</sup> corrected σίτων to σιτίων.—O<sup>2</sup> also added τε after the word. σίτων καὶ ποτῶν stands for "the pangs of hunger

and thirst." Cp. the description of Spartan training given above at 633 b-6 ff.

d 6. There is no MS. authority for the γε which all edd. before Burnet inserted after τό, and which Stallb. defends against Bernhardt (Synt. p. 327).

d 7. δύναμιν here stands for "possibilities"; through the sense of "faculty" δύναμις acquired the meaning "potentiality."

d 8. τὴν τῶν οἰκείων ἀπολλύντας πέλων τε καὶ ὑποδημάτων γένεσιν καὶ φύσιν: hair is the material of which πέτασοι are made, and the use-hardened skin of the soles of the feet takes the place of artificial ὑποδήματα. This is his warrant for speaking of the "growth and substance of their own (natural) felting and sandalling," which was spoilt by the artificial substitutes. Perhaps too Plato had in mind the similarity in sound between ὑποδήματα and a possible ὑποδέματα.

e 2. ἔχει μεγίστην δύναμιν παντὸς τοῦ σώματος: in the interpretation of this difficult expression, we must keep in view the following καὶ τοῦναντίον ἐναντίως, and make the positive expression fit the negative one. Ficinus tears out the heart of the meaning in his masculine way, but his "maximas toti corpori vires praebent" is not a literal translation. I would suggest that τὴν has dropped out, as it easily may have done, after μεγίστην and that the meaning is "keeps at its highest the power of the whole body." Even without the <τὴν> I would translate so. The feet, Plato goes on to explain, are the servants of the whole body, and the head its master and director. If neither master nor servant are kept in good case, the household's δύναμις is the opposite of μεγίστη. Hdt. iii. 12 says Egyptians have good crops of hair, and their skulls are hardened by early exposure. Persians' skulls, on the other hand, are brittle, because they wear hats all their life—σκιητροφέουσι ἐξ ἀρχῆς πέλους τήρας φορέοντες.

e 4. With ὑπηρετικώτατον and ἀρχικώτατον we must supply ἐστί.

943 a 1 ff. ἔπαινον μὲν . . . νόμον δ' αὖ τούτῳδε, "the young man ought to have considered himself to be listening, in the above, to the praises of a soldier's life, but, in what follows, to its laws." Both the δοκεῖν and the tense of χρῆν are difficulties. Fic. ignores both, and translates as if he had a bare χρῆ ἀκούειν. Schneider's "audire sibi videri iuvenis debet" ignores the tense of χρῆν. Possibly χρῆν means "he was bound (while I was speaking)." (Ast would read ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, Winckelmann χρῆ διδάσκειν, Stallb. χρῆ δεῖν.)

a 2. A<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>2</sup> added *πέρη* after *πολεμικοῦ*, and so Schneider ; Bekker omits it ; all other editors write it as *περί*.

a 3. *στρατεύεσθαι* . . . *τεταγμένον*, "all who are on the roll, or who have been promoted to any rank must serve as soldiers" ; cp. on 945 a 1. (Stallb. thinks that *τὸν ἐν μέρει τινὶ τεταγμένον* means "anyone who has been put in some extra-military but auxiliary service.")

a 5. *πρός* used to denote the court which tries a suit is uncommon ; cp. Demosth. *Παραγρ. πρὸς Ἀπατούριον* p. 892 *εἶναι τὰς δίκας πρὸς τοὺς θεσμοθέτας*.

a 6. *ὅταν ἔλθωσιν* : this refers to the whole army, not (as Stallb.) to the deserters ; *ἔρχεσθαι* can be used for *to return home* ; cp. *Od. π* 461 *ἦλθες δὲ Εὐμαιε*, so *ἦκειν* Xen. *Anab. ii. 1. 9* *ἐγὼ δὲ αὐτίκα ἦξω* "I will be back directly."

a 7. *ἐκάστους* and *ἕκαστα* here and *ἐκάστων* below at b 8 clearly mean each separate branch of the forces. Ast quotes Lysias, *Adv. Alc.*, where it is stated that at Athens it was the military law that desertions were to be established before courts of fellow-soldiers—no doubt presided over by their officers. Cp. also Herm. *De vestig.* p. 60, note 253.

a 8. A has *ἐνπολεμια* : Ruhnken (*Tim. s.v.*) was the first to see that this was a way of writing (or a mistake for) *ἐμπολέμια*, "military classes," cp. 756 a 3. The early edd. print A<sup>2</sup>'s *ἐν πολέμῳ*, Ficinus cannily omits it.

b 3 f. *μήποτε τῆς ὅλης ἀριστείας ἀγωνιστῇ γενέσθαι*, "to be debarred from all kinds of distinction"—an illogical form of expression.

b 4. A and O by a sheer blunder wrote *μᾶλλον* : L has *ἄλλον* and this was recognized by Fic. and all editors as correct.

b 5. A carelessly wrote *περιγενέσθαι* as one word.

b 7. The edd. before Steph.—but not Fic.—had *στρατείας* for *ἀστρατείας*.

b 8. *ἐκάστων*, "of each of the classes" ; cp. on a 7. Fic. expands it into "*peditum equitumque et aliorum.*" O<sup>2</sup> added a quite unnecessary *τούτων*, which is adopted by all editors but Burnet.

c 1. Ficinus and Jowett invent a middle sense for the passive *κρίνεσθαι*, translating "iudicet," "shall give judgement."—Herm. and Burnet have rightly accepted Baiter's *αὐτῶν* for the *αὐτῶν* of previous edd.

c 2. A and O have *ἔθεσι*, and so the first four edd. Cornarius saw that it ought to be *ἐθνεσι*, and so Steph. and all subsequent

edd. The correction, however, had previously been made by O<sup>2</sup> and Vat. 1029 (Bekker's Y), and accepted by Fic. who translates "inter ordinis sui participes."

c 3. μαρτύρων πιστώσεις λόγων, "testimonials"; lit. "confirmation in the shape of the words of witnesses."—δέ, "but only."

c 6. γράψαντα, "with an inscription."

c 7. εἰς = "so as to be ready for."—All editors have accepted Steph.'s (and Ast's) correction of the vulgate (and MS. ?) ἀριστείων ("virtutis" Fic.) to ἀριστείων "virtutis palmae."—παντὸς τοῦ βίου, (to last) "as long as he lives."

c 8. Winckelmann would read δευτερίων and τριτείων as being more explicit. Perhaps he is right.—The vulgate reading στρατεύση survived down to Bekker's text, though Steph. knew of and preferred the more correct MS. στρατεύονται.

d 1. ἀπαγαγόντων: the earlier edd. down to Bekker followed Ald. in reading ἀπαγόντων.

d 2. λιποταξίον: all texts but Schneider's and Burnet's have, like the MSS., the incorrect form λειποταξίου. Burnet tells us that in A the εἰ is a correction of a previous ι.

d 3. οἷς περὶ τῆς ἀστρατείας: so L and O<sup>2</sup> and a late hand in A. A and O omitted οἷς by simple haplography. Bekker was possibly right in thinking that οἷς περὶ is a mistake for an earlier οἷσπερ; the simple gen. seems in better style, though the near occurrence of αἶπερ in d 4 is a little in favour of περὶ.

d 4. μὲν δὲ, "of course."

d 5. The μήτε corresponds, not to the two following μήτε's, but to the τε in e 3. Herm. unnecessarily reads μή for μήτε here.

d 6. ψευδή, "undeserved." By a similar stretch of the use of ψευδής at *Phil.* 36 c φόβοι, ἡδοναί, and λύπαι are said to be (ἀληθεῖς or) ψευδεῖς.

e 1. παρθένος γὰρ Αἰδοῦς Δίκη: cp. Aesch. *Septem* 662 ἡ Διὸς παῖς παρθένος Δίκη. Because Hesiod (*Op. et Di.* 256 ff.) says that the παρθένος Δίκη is αἰδοίη θεοῖς—"cherished of Heaven"—Steph. concluded that Αἰδοῦς here is a scribe's mistake for αἰδοίη, and Ast, Stallb., Zürr. and Herm. agree. But the use by Hesiod—in a different sense—of this common epic epithet is not likely to be referred to in the words λέγεται τε καὶ ὄντως εἶρηται. The following αἰδοῖ καὶ δίκη νεμεσητόν presupposes a previous mention of both Αἰδώς and Δίκη as personalities. Probably a current legend made Δίκη daughter of Zeus and Αἰδώς. According to Hes. (*Op. et Di.* 200) Αἰδώς καὶ Νέμεσις fled from earth to heaven (like Astraea and Pudicitia in *Juv. Sat.* vi. 19 f. Δίκη—Astraea



—is the Virgo of the Zodiac). On an inscription on an Athenian tomb (*Bull. d. Inschr.*, 1870, 147) Σωφροσύνη is called θυγάτηρ μεγαλόφρονος Αἰδοῦς. Cp. αἰδῶ καὶ νέμεσιν II. N 122, and αἰδοῖος νέμεσητός A 649; at *Prot.* 322 c αἰδῶς καὶ δίκη are said to have been sent on earth by Zeus. παρθένος then here stands for “virgin daughter.” (Ficinus’s “virgo quaedam pudica” is probably a translation of παρθένος αἰδοῦς; Winckelmann would read αἰδοίη Διός for αἰδοῦς, comparing Aesch. l.c.)

**e 3.** From παρθένος to φύσιν being—as Burnet first marked it—a parenthesis, there is no need of the δεῖ which all editors follow the “manus Constantini” in adding after εὐλαβεῖσθαι. Like φοβεῖσθαι in d 5, εὐλαβεῖσθαι depends on χρή in d 4. (The parenthesis also explains the τε in e 3 which Stallb. wrongly takes with the following δέ; see above on d 5.)—τῶν τε . . . ἄλλων . . . περὶ . . . διαφερόντως δὲ καί, “cum in reliquis . . . tuum praecipue” Schn.

**e 5.** διαμαρτῶν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀποβολῶν, “forming a mistaken judgement about compulsory rejections of arms,” i.e. failing to see that they *were* compulsory, and treating them ὡς αἰσχροάς.

**944 a 1.** κατὰ μέρη = “from each other,” “particulatim” Schn.

**a 3.** ἔμπρους ἐγένεθ’, “had revived” (not, as Jow., “had been still alive”). O<sup>2</sup> gives a variant ἔκπρους; Fic.’s “semimortuus” looks as if he read ἔκπρους.

**a 5.** The first four edd. followed Aldus’s misreading of the MSS. and substituted the meaningless ἀπηλεῖ for ἀ Πηλεῖ. Steph. and Ast (in their texts) accepted Cornarius’s Πηλείδου for ἀπηλεῖ, but Steph. in an excellent note defends his conjecture ἀ Πηλεῖ, which turned out to be the MS. reading. Cp. P 195 and Σ 84.

**a 5 f.** προῖκα . . . ἐπιδοθῆναι Θέτιδι, “to have been given as dowry with Thetis.”

**a 7.** τούτοις (as Stallb.), and not τινί (as Ast), is what is left unexpressed before τῶν τότε ὅσοι κακοί.

**b 1.** Burnet, Wagn., and Susemihl rightly accept Stallb.’s emendation of the weak MS. τόποις to κόποις—“or when suddenly encountered by a huge waterflood amid the buffetings of storms.” (Madvig conjectured χειμάρρων ἐν τόποις; probably he took κατὰ θάλατταν with what follows, and not with ῥίφεντες.)—ὑποδεξαμένης is simply “meet” (in a sinister sense), not “lie in wait for,” as L. & S.

**b 2 ff.** μυρί’ ἄν . . . καλλύνων, “there are countless excuses to conjure with and grace an ugly looking misfortune.”

b 4. The asyndetic *τεμείν δῆ* resumes the similar *μίθω δῆ* of a 2.

b 5. ALO<sup>2</sup> have *δυσχερέστερον*, O *δυσχερέστατον* and so the vulgate and Schneider. Fic. has "maius graviusque malum."

b 7. *ρίψασπις . . . ὅπλων* is quoted by Pollux, *Onom.* vi. 36.—*ἐν πᾶσιν*: cp. 728 b 1, *Rep.* 603 c 6.

c 2. *εἰκνίας*, "decent," "adequate."

c 3. With *ὅλον καὶ τὸ πᾶν* cp. above, 779 b 6 *ὅλῳ καὶ παντί*, 808 a 6 *ὅλην τε καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκίαν*, *Phaedo* 79 e 3.—O mentions a purely erroneous variant *διαφθείρει* for *διαφέρει*.

c 6. The MSS. have *μετὰ τάχους* ("velocity" Fic.), but this forms a poor contrast to *μετ' ἀνδρείας*. Photius has three notes on *κάκη*, the third of which is: *βαρέως ἢ κακία· ἐν Νόμοις Πλάτων· μετὰ κάκης μᾶλλον ἢ μετὰ ἀνδρείας*. Burnet is the only editor who has the courage to accept *κάκης* as the correct reading for *τάχους*, though Stallb. in his note calls it "*unice vera lectio*." The origin of the mistake is mysterious. (Sauppe's *μετ' αἰσχύους* is palaeographically probable, but it could not stand after *αἰσχράν*. Is it possible that *μετὰ τάχους* was a mistaken reading of a commentator's *μετ' αἰσχύους* given as an explanation of *μετὰ κάκης*?)

c 7. Schneider alone prints the *μεταβολῆς* of A and O for the *ἀποβολῆς* of L and O<sup>2</sup>.

d 1. *ἔστω δίκη*, "there must be punishment for" = the following *δεῖ κολάζειν*.—*ὁ δικάζων μὴ ἀμελείτω σκοπεῖν*, "the judge must take the trouble to investigate." (The gen. is governed by *ἀμελείτω*, and *σκοπεῖν* = *ὥστε σκοπεῖν*; cp. 941 d 3. H. Richards would read *σκοπῶν*.) Where, that is, the abandonment is "willing," punishment must follow, but where it was *compulsory* the amount of compulsion must be investigated in court. (All editors but Ritter and Burnet follow Ald. and Fic. in omitting the MS. *μή* before *ἀμελείτω*. They take *ἔστω δίκη* to mean "there must be a judicial investigation of.")

d 3. For *οὐδὲν πλεον*—"what's the good?"—cp. above, 751 b 8, 697 d 3, *Symp.* 217 c 3.

d 4. *εἰς τοῦναντίον* (with *ἀφέντι*), "in the opposite way," i.e. in the coward's way. (Jowett leaves the words out; Fic., Corn., Ast, Schneider, and Wagner try to find in them the idea of the perversion of bravery, or of the use of arms.)

d 6. Apparently *τοῦναντίον* ὧς here stands for *τοῦναντίον ἧ* ὧς. Steph. conjectured *φ*, and Ast *ὦν* for ὧς. H. Richards

thinks that ἦ has fallen out before it. Herm., Stallb., Schneider, and Burnet are content with the MS. reading. It is as if we were to say, not only "the same as," but also "the opposite as." Stallb. gives several instances of Plato's use of ὡς, ὥσπερ or καθάπερ in the place of a relative after ὁ αὐτός.

d 8. ἦν γὰρ <ἄν> ἀνδρί: the impf. here cries out for the ἄν which Winckelmann supposes to have dropped out (by haplography) before ἀνδρί. Zürr., Herm., and Wagn. accept <ἄν>; Stallb., objecting, says ἦν ἄν πρέπουσα would mean "would have fitted the case but does not," but he fails to see that the protasis is "if it *had* been inflicted as a punishment on that man" (τιμωρία τούτῳ γενομένη in e 2).—For the punishment cp. *Tim.* 90 c τῶν γενομένων ἀνδρῶν ὅσοι δειλοὶ καὶ τὸν βίον ἀδίκως διήλθον κατὰ λόγον τὸν εἰκότα γυναῖκες μετεφύοντο ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ γενέσει.

e 2. νῦν δ' ὅτι τούτων ἐγγύτατα φιλοψυχίας ἔνεκα, "but to come as near as we can in real life (νῦν) to this state of things in the matter of self-preservation." (Ast, Schn., and Wagn. take ὅτι to be the neut. indefinite put for the simple relative—"quod huic proximum sit, propter vivendi cupiditatem" Schn.)

e 4. ζη δὲ ὡς πλείστον χρόνον ὦν κακὸς ὀνειδεί σὺννεχόμενος: so L and O<sup>2</sup> (A and O have κακῶς for κακός); "that his coward's life may be prolonged to the utmost with its branded shame." Herm. would omit ὦν and read κακῶ, finding some warrant in the -ον for the omission of ὦν and in A's κακῶς for the -ῶ. This seems greatly to improve the sentence in style, and is a very tempting emendation.—The ὀνειδος was to be the incapacity for military service, which is the counterpart of the feminine disability.

945 a 1 f. μηδ' εἰς τάξιν κατατάξῃ μηδ' ἡντινοῦν: cp. 943 a 4.

a 2. Above at 809 a 5 and 847 a 7 κατευθύνειν, in the sense of *guide*, takes an acc., but here, in the sense of "condemn," it follows the construction of καταγιγνώσκω.—τὸν εὐθνον: Aristotle, *Const. of Athens* § 48 κληροῦσι δὲ (οἱ βουλευταὶ) καὶ εὐθύνους, ἕνα τῆς φυλῆς ἐκάστης, καὶ παρέδρους β' ἐκάστῳ τῶν εὐθύνων.

a 5. ὁ δὲ ὀφλὼν τὴν δίκην: this refers, not to the ἄρχων πολεμικός who has been rebuked by the εὐθνός, but to the ῥύψασπις (cp. above, 944 e 6).

a 6. κατὰ φύσιν, "secundum naturam suam" Schn.

b 1. καθάπερ οἱ πρόσθεν: i.e. as in the case of the πολεμικὸς ἄρχων.

b 5. ἐκ προκρίτων: for instances of προβολή cp. 755 c 4 ff. and 765 b 1 ff.

**b 6.** ἂν τις τι εἴπη σκολιὸν αὐτῶν καμφθεὶς ὑπὸ βάρους μὲν πράξῃ: so A and O. Fic. assumes that the two verbs εἴπη and πράξῃ represent alternatives, for he translates "dixerit feceritve," and the vulgate and Burnet follow Cornarius in introducing <ῃ> after αὐτῶν—the following κ might have led to the loss of the ῃ, the characters for the two in uncials being very similar—λ and υ. Further, L and O<sup>2</sup> introduce τὴν ἀρχὴν before πράξῃ, and these words Burnet feels bound to accept. Zürr., Herm., Schn., and Wagn., rejecting τὴν ἀρχήν, accept Baiter's (also palaeographically reasonable) emendation of εἴπη to πῃ. The general sense of the whole passage would then be: "where shall we find a straightener of the straighteners, in case one of them, bent by the weight (of his office), or his own inadequacy for it, takes to crooked courses?" With some doubts I would follow Baiter's reading of the text of A and O. There does not seem enough point in the alternative between εἴπη and πράξῃ. For σκολιὸν τι πράττειν cp. *Theaet.* 173 a ἡ . . . δουλεία . . . ἀναγκάζουσα πράττειν σκολιά. (Steph. and Stallb. accept Cornarius's τῆς ἀρχῆς for the doubtful τὴν ἀρχήν.)

**c 3.** καιροὶ πολιτείας λύσεως: the later amplification of this phrase into "opportunities for preservation or ruin" (c 7 f.) explains that it is the *weakness* of these "tendons" that undoes the structure.

**c 4.** Stallb., with Ritter's support, would substitute πλοίου for the MS. ζῶον, and so keep the comparison of the state to a ship only. (Cp. *Menex.* 240 a 7 ἐν τε πλοίοις καὶ ναυσίν.) In that case νεύρων ἐπίτονοι would be, he says, "tightly stretched ropes." But, apart from the testimony of the MSS. to ζῶον, the subsequent νεύρων ἐπίτονοι is more naturally translated "tendons of the sinews," i.e. the thicker sinews in which the smaller ones end. Cp. *Tim.* 84 e 6. The πολλαχοῦ πολλοῖς ὀνόμασιν also suggests the wider comparison.—Because (the adj.) ἐντονος ("stay") is not elsewhere found as a subst. Steph. wanted to read τόνος for it. But the analogous use of the adjacent ἐπίτονος is quite enough to make Plato's meaning clear even if no one had so used the word before.—For ὑποζώματα cp. Adam's note on *Rep.* 616 c 3.—καθάπερ νεὼς ἢ ζῶον τινός then stands for "as (there are opportunities for the undoing) of a ship or an animal frame."

**c 5.** μίαν οὖσαν φύσιν διεσπαρμένην, "which are one in nature wherever they are found."

**c 6.** Fic., Ast, Schn., and Wagn. prefer to take πολλαχοῦ with διεσπαρμένην, Stallb., Zürr., Herm., and Burnet take it with



πολλοῖς.—εἷς is put with οὐ σμικρότατος just as it might have gone with μέγιστος, to which οὐ σμικρότατος is equivalent.

d 2. καὶ τοῦτ' ἐν δίκῃ ἀμέμπτῳ τε καὶ ἀμέμπτως, "and this duty (is discharged) with a justice that is beyond all reproach." Neither the somewhat difficult omission of the verb, nor the pleonastic τε καὶ ἀμέμπτως is foreign to the conversational style of the *Laws*. It is unnecessary, therefore, either with Zürr. to adopt O<sup>2</sup>'s insertion of ᾗ before ἡ, or with Winckelmann or Herm. to reject ἀμέμπτῳ, or with Orelli to substitute ἀμιάντῳ for it. (If any change were thought necessary I would suggest substituting ἀπεργάζονται for ἀμέμπτῳ τε.)

d 5. τὰ πάντα πολιτεύματα συνεχούσης εἰς ἓν, "which harmonizes all political activities."

d 7. A and O, which almost always agree, here differ; A has νεύουσαι with an erasure between εν and ου; O has an inexplicable νέαι οὔσαι; a late hand wrote νέουσαι in the margin of A, and O<sup>2</sup> corrected νέαι οὔσαι to ναίνουσαι. Whatever reading Ficinus had, he, as usual, made apt sense of the passage, translating "ipsique (magistratus) ex uno multi iam facti, ex una multiplicem civitatem efficiunt." It is not easy to decide whether the metaphor in νέουσαι is that from *the agreeing nod*, or that of *the inclining line*; Ast and L. & S. say the latter.

e 2. *Etym. Mag.* gives πάντας for the πάντως of all editions. Fic. translates neither. Felsen's collation of A (Peipers, *Qu. Cr. de Plat. legg.*) gives πάντας as A's reading, and I have satisfied myself by inspection of A that *Etym. Mag.* and Felsen are right. We probably owe πάντως to Ald.

e 3. A and Θ both omit αὐτῶν; O<sup>2</sup> and A<sup>3</sup> add it in the margin. Fic. translates it by "ipsorum."

e 6. τῷ θεῷ ἀποφανομένους, "to present to the god."

946 a 1. All subsequent editors have adopted Ast's correction of the vulgate αὐτῶν (after ἄνδρας) to αὐτῶν; it corresponds to the αὐτῆς at b 7. Fic. omits it.—ὅν ἂν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἡγῆται . . . γεγονότα: Ritter is clearly right in holding that these words imply that each citizen only named *one* man. (Stallb. and Burnet, wrongly, I think, place a comma after εἶναι. This comma implies that πλὴν αὐτοῦ goes with ἀποφανομένους, and that each man was to write three names.)

a 2. πλὴν αὐτοῦ: not necessarily, Plato would perhaps say, because he *was* not the best, but because he could not possibly *know* it.

a 3. ἐνέγκωσι, "vote for."

a 5. ἐλάχισται: sc. ψῆφοι, as the following ψήφων shows.

a 7. There is the same contradiction of terms in τὸν ἥμισυν ἀριθμὸν πλείω ποιῶσιν as in our phrase "the larger half."

a 8. ἀποκρίναντας νεότητι: i.e. beginning from the youngest, enough were removed to leave only the desired number.

b 1. φέρειν αὖθις: at this second voting each citizen has to vote for one of the selected half, which would then be halved again by the same process.

b 2. Critical opinion was early divided between λειφθῶσιν (which seems the more natural expression) and ληφθῶσιν. ALO read ληφθῶσιν, but there are signs that A's η has been altered from ει, and O<sup>2</sup> writes ει above η as an alternative. Fic. apparently read ληφθῶσιν, as do Ast and Zürr.

b 7. ἀκροθίνιον is the selected portion of the spoils of war which "ancient custom" dedicated in the temples of the gods; so here the word implies that these men were "the pick of the nation."

c 2. ὅσονπερ ἂν ἔπωνται χρόνον τῇ κρίσει: this is universally taken to mean "during such time as they answer to the judgement (passed upon them at their election)," in other words, "as long as they prove themselves worthy of their high office." It would suit the context better if we might slightly stretch the meaning of ἔπωνται and translate "during such time as they devote themselves to the duty of judging." It is more natural to mention their retirement or superannuation as terminating their occupation of their sacred residence, than their deposition.—τούτους δὲ πρώτῳ μὲν ἐνιαυτῷ δώδεκα εὐθύνους ἀποδείξαι: this is generally understood to mean that the three εὐθνοὶ first appointed are, in the course of the year in which they are elected, to *co-opt* twelve others—some say nine others so as to make twelve in all, which we judge from c 5 f. to be the correct number of εὐθνοὶ; but the Greek will not bear that interpretation. I suggest that τούτους is a mistake for τοιούτους; δώδεκα τοιούτους εὐθύνους will then be the object of ἀποδείξαι—"in the first year we must elect twelve such examiners." We thus get the sense which Ritter (*Kommentar*, p. 342, *Darstellung* 162), following Müller, sees to be necessary to the whole context. But this sense can hardly be got out of this sentence if we read τούτους.

c 3. μέχριπερ ἂν κτλ.: we learn afterwards that when they ceased to serve "on the rota," they vacated their official residence (c 7 f.), but did not lose their rank and honour (c 5 ff.). Possibly the youngest were the only twelve on the rota.

c 5. L has *προσγενέσθων* for A and O's *προσγιγνέσθων*.

c 6. A<sup>3</sup> and O<sup>2</sup> prefix *κατά* to *δώδεκα*; all editors but Schn., Herm., Wagn., and Burnet adopt it; for the construction of the simple *δώδεκα* Herm. cps. *Tim.* 35 b 2 *ὅλον τοῦτο μίρας ὅσας προσήκεν διένειμεν*.—*βασάνοις ἐλεύθεραις*: the tests used, and the questions asked, must be such as will be no dishonour for free men either to put or to answer. For this use of *ἐλεύθερος* and *ἐλευθερικός* ("gentlemanly") cp. 919 e 2 ff.

d 2. *ἐν ᾧπερ ἐκρίθησαν*: this is further slight evidence that there was no such co-option as most interpreters of c 2 ff. have supposed. The *εὐθνοὶ* are all spoken of here as having been *elected* by the ordinary *κρίσις* above described (945 e 3 ff.).—All editors have adopted L's *ἕκαστος* for the meaningless *ἐκάστω* of A and O.

d 3. O mentions the fact that some MSS. omitted *καί*, which is almost equal to an English "sometimes."

d 7. *εἰς τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς δικαστάς*: cp. above, 938 b 4 and below, 948 a 3, 956 d 1, and *Ep.* viii. 356 d 7 ff. The constitution of this court was described at 767 c 2 ff.

e 2. The scribe of A left out the *-μη-* in *τετιμημένον*, and A<sup>2</sup> put it in above the line.

e 3. It is best to suppose that *τῶν ἄλλων τιμημάτων* depends on *ὧν*; so Steph., Zürr., Herm., Wagn., and Burnet. Ast, Stallb., and Schn. put a comma after *τιμημάτων*, making it depend on *διπλασίαν*. With *διπλῆν* and *διπλασίαν* we must supply *τιμὴν* in thought.

e 4. *τὰς δ' εὐθύνas αὐτῶν τούτων*: characteristically Platonic is the adaptation of the phraseology of the recent description to the cognate subject now introduced. The public recognition, whether honourable or the reverse, of the conduct of the *εὐθνοὶ* themselves is very naturally called *their εὐθύναι*. The "figure" resembles that in "quis custodiet ipsos custodes?" (Ast thought that the text as it stands was a mistake, and that words had fallen out which showed that the honours now to be described were to be paid, not to the *εὐθνοὶ*, but to those magistrates who were "passed" without censure at the yearly examination. Schramm (*De loc. nonn. legg. Platt.* iv.) thought that for *εὐθύνas* here we ought to read *αὐ τιμάs*, and for *τοῖs τὰs εὐθύνas διαφυγοῦσιν* at 947 e 6 to read *τοῖs τὰs εὐθύνas ἀεὶ εὐθύνουσι*. Wagner alone accepts Schramm's view.

e 6. *τοῖs παρὰ πάσης τῆs πόλεως ἀριστείων ἡξιωμένοιs*: this description exactly applies to the *εὐθνοὶ*, cp. 945 e 5 *πάσαν τὴν πόλιν* and 946 b 5 *τὰ ἀριστεία ἀποδόντας*, but it is

not so applicable to the magistrates who had passed a successful examination, whom Ast supposes to be here described.

**947 a 1.** A and O have προεδρειαί, corrected to προεδραί by A<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>2</sup>.

**a 2.** εἰς τοὺς, and not ἐν τοῖς, because of the coming θεωριῶν and ἐκπέμπειν.—κοινῇ goes probably with θυνσιῶν only, and with it forms a quasi-compound noun such as later Greek formed in numbers beginning with κοινο-.—Grammatically these genitives depend on ἀρχοντας in a 3, where the added τῆς θεωρίας ἐκάστης shows that only θεωριῶν does so logically.

**a 3.** A<sup>3</sup>LO have ἐτέρων. A has ἐτέρῳ ("share with somebody else"). Bekker, Zürr., Herm., and Schn. adopt the latter reading.—ἐκ τούτων, "from among the εὐθύνου."—The ἀρχων of a θεωρία was called ἀρχιθέωρος (Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1122 a 25).

**a 5.** For εἶναι O mentions a variant ἰέναι, which Zürr. adopt. The following sentence is loosely constructed. It is not clear whether we are supposed to continue the εἶναι with the following infinitives or to supply (from ἐκπέμπειν) some word meaning *to elect*; probably the former—"while all are to be priests . . . the one who gets most votes at the yearly election is to be chief priest and give his name to the year."

**b 1.** τῶν ἱερέων: as all εὐθύνου were priests of Apollo and the Sun, if the reading is sound these words are synonymous with τῶν εὐθύνων, as ἱερέας is put for εὐθύνους at c 1. Steph. would not unnaturally reject the τῶν, and Ast, Zürr., Stallb., and Herm. follow him. I would rather reject both words, as a "gloss" on τῶν γενομένων.

**b 3.** For καί O<sup>2</sup> writes τε καί.

**b 4.** τῶν stands, as often, for a cacophonous τῶν τῶν.—Burnet, following Stallb., puts a (·) after πολιτῶν; what follows is an explanatory asyndeton.—The subject of ἔχειν and γίγνεσθαι is "the funeral ceremony," and the "white" applies doubtless to all trappings and mourners' dresses. (Stallb. says τοὺς πολίτας is the subj., Wagn. τοὺς εὐθύνους.)

**b 5.** Down to Bekker all texts had τε for the MS. δέ.—Above at 671 d 7 we have another instance of χωρίς as a prep. coming after its case.

**b 6.** ἀπρένων ἕτερον leaves the number fifteen to be supplied.

**b 7.** The first ἐκατέρους goes with περισταμένους, and so is equivalent to "the boys on one side and the girls on the other"; the second ἐκατέρους of course goes with ἐν μέρει ᾄδειν.—οἷον ὕμνον, "in the form of a hymn."



c 2. ἔωθεν : i.e. at dawn on the following day.

c 3. O records a variant ἑκαστον for ἑκατόν ; its author rather naturally thought 100 an unreasonably large number. Fic. omits the ἑκατόν.

c 4. ἐπιόψονται : the forms of the fut. and aor. of this verb in which the ι is not elided mean *choose* ; those in which it is elided mean *inspect*. This aor. form occurs elsewhere only in poetry. The MSS. have the incorrect form ἐπόψονται (cp. Buttm. *Gr. Gr.* ii. 201) which the first four printed edd., following O<sup>2</sup>, further corrupted into ἐπόψονται. Steph. corrected this to ἐπιόψονται, and so it remained down to Bekker. Zürr. first gave the correct form. Schn. still follows the MS.

c 5. τοὺς ἡθέους : we are left to guess whether this means all the unmarried youths, or only a select body of them.

c 6. σὺν τοῖς ἵπποισι κτλ. : a good example of an explanatory asyndeton.

c 7. Probably the boys who were to sing in the procession "immediately in front of the bier" were the fifteen mentioned above, and the girls behind it the fifteen girls also mentioned there. The girls doubtless were to sing too, as before, in turn with the boys.—A and O, by a typical scribe's error, wrote ἄλλως ; O<sup>2</sup> corrected this to ἄλλους.

c 8. τὸ πάτριον μέλος, "the national anthem" ; τὰ πάτρια means what is hereditary to the whole state, unless a smaller body is specified.—A wrote ἐφνμιν ; A<sup>2</sup> corrected it to ἐφνμνείν.

d 3. ἄρα adds a dramatic touch to the εἰάν . . . καὶ—"yes, even though." In the following line however εἰάν καὶ means "if (the Pythia) also." Ast "nempe si."

d 6. Ast first restored to the text the MS. reading ψαλίδα ; all previous texts have the synonymous ἀψίδα. We have here a good instance of the "glossator's" work on a MS. Suidas gives us ψαλίδα ἣν ἡμεῖς ἀψίδα φαμέν. Νόμων ιβ', and so other lexicographers.—ποτίμων : originally, when used in an active sense, the word seems to have meant "absorbent," and it came to designate a kind of volcanic tufa which made a much-valued marble. This word also is verified by the lexicographers. Suidas has λίθων ποτίμων . . . οἱ πίνοντες τὸ ὕδωρ ἰσχυρότεροι γίνονται . . . , and so too Photius. Down to Bekker the texts read προτίμων, and Pollux ix. 49 gives πολντίμων for it. (W. R. Paton would read πορίνων.)—καὶ ἀγήρων εἰς δύναμιν : i.e. "of as durable kind as can be found." (Fic. "ex durissimis pulchrisque lapidibus.")

e 2. πλὴν κώλου ἑνός, "except at one extremity" ; i.e. at this

end of the *προμήκης ψαλῖς* there was to be no heaped earth (probably only a door), and a broad clearing was to prolong the line of the sepulchre through the surrounding grove.

**e 3 f.** ὅπως ἂν . . . τοῖς τιθεμένοις, "that the sepulchre may extend in this direction (*ταύτην*), an extension which will remain permanently with no mound of earth to cover the buried ones." *ἐπιδεῖ* is the reading of A and O, but in both it is corrected to *ἀνεπιδεῖ*. Probably the correctors thought that it was better to say that the sepulchre "did not *need*" any mound at this end, than to say (as Plato did), that it would never *have* any there. Hermann with great ingenuity (but unnecessarily) reads ἂν ἐπιδέη, putting a comma after *χρόνον*. The *τήν* is against this, as well as the best MS. authority. Ast substitutes *ταύτη* for *ταύτην*. Schneider and Burnet are the only editors who print the MS. reading *ἐπιδεῖ*; all others but Herm. give *ἀνεπιδεῖ*.

**e 4.** For *τίθημι*, "bury"—our "put away"—cf. 717 e 1.

**e 6.** τοῖς τὰς εὐθύνας διαφυγοῦσιν: the metaphor of 946 e 4 is still preserved; the *εὐθυνοί* who, on retiring from active service, are honoured, are spoken of as "having passed their examination." Schn. translates "correctionem nullam commeruisse visorum."—Schn. and Burnet alone restore A's *ταῦτα* here; all other texts read *τοιαῦτα*—we are not told on what authority.

**e 7.** πιστεύων τῷ κεκρίσθαι, "deriving confidence from the fact that he has been elected (*εὐθυνος*)"—not, as Jowett, "trusting to the scrutiny being over." The *κεκρίσθαι*, and the *κρίσεως* of the next line, both refer to the same occasion.—*τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν ἐπιδείξῃ κακὸς γενόμενος*, "lets it be seen that he has deteriorated as men may"; Schneider, however, translates "humanam naturam ostendens malus exstitit."

**948 a 2 f.** αὐτῶν τούτων οἱ ζῶντες: *αὐτῶν τούτων* denotes the same men as *τοῖς τὰς εὐθύνας διαφυγοῦσιν* at e 6 above, i.e. the superannuated *εὐθυνοί* who lived in honourable retirement—"all the retired *εὐθυνοί* who were left alive."

**a 5.** γραφέσθω has two acc., (1) the antecedent to ὃν, (2) the "cognate" *γραφὴν*.—τὸν καὶ τόν: A omitted the second *τόν* and A<sup>2</sup> added it.

**a 7.** δοθεισῶν = "assigned to him by law."

**a 8.** A miswrote *διώκων* as *δικων* but A<sup>2</sup> corrected it.—A also inserted a *μέν* before *τό*; A<sup>2</sup> marked the *μέν* as an error.

**b 1.** L and O<sup>2</sup> have *τινέτω δ' ὁ*, and so A<sup>2</sup> but with the *δ'* marked as an error. A and O have *τινέτω ὁ*, which is clearly right.

**b 3.** In the face of (1) the great variety of constructions of ἄγασθαι, and (2) the frequent use of περί with gen. or acc. in the *Laws*, it seems rash to question the possibility of the construction (ἀνθρώπου) τινὸς ἄγασθαι περί τι, though this seems the only instance of it. (Ast would reject περί, and Winckelmann reads τὰ περί.)

**b 4.** ἐναργῶς ὁρᾶν is "to see distinctly," and so ἐναργῶς ἠγγείσθαι is "to be quite sure" about anything. Stallb. and A.M.A. take ἐναργῶς with εἶναι.—Rhadamanthus's jurisdiction was so perfect because he could rely on the sanctity of an oath, to say nothing of his prestige as a son of the gods. The oath he administered called in, as it were, the gods as his assessors, and secured truthful statements from the litigants; so that it was really the gods (b 8) who decided the case. It has been thought that the tradition that Rhadamanthus forbade men to swear, in their daily life, by anything higher than a dog or a goose, is directly controverted by this account of Rhadamanthus's judicial proceedings (see Stallb.'s note). On the contrary it curiously confirms it. The judge may well have wished to keep oaths by the gods for solemn occasions, and so wisely banished them from daily life.

**b 6.** Ast well cps. *Tim.* 40 d 8.

**c 2.** O<sup>2</sup> and a late hand in A mention a variant which transposes (1) δὴ and ὅτε, and (2) τι and μέν. Zürr. and Stallb. adopt the former transposition. The μέν was omitted from all texts before Bekker's.—O also mentions an incomprehensible variant φησιν for φαρμέν.

**c 3.** Down to Ast's all texts inserted οἱ before τὸ παράπαν, but no MS. supports it.

**c 4.** Even Bekker followed all previous editors in omitting the δὴ which is in all MSS.—καὶ κακίστων: cp. 907 b 1 ff. τῶν τε περὶ πᾶσαν ἀσέβειαν ὄντων κινδυνεύει πᾶς ὁ ταύτης τῆς δόξης ἀντεχόμενος πάντων ἂν τῶν ἀσεβῶν κεκρίσθαι δικαιοτάτα κακιστός τε εἶναι καὶ ἀσεβέστατος.

**c 5.** σμικρά . . . θωπείας, "for a few poor offerings and flatteries."—A wrote πολλὰ at the end of the line, and began the next line with λὰ; a late hand added s πολ at the end of the line, so as to make πολλὰς πολλὰ. Evidently the antithesis between σμικρά and πολλά should be left untouched; the dittography of λὰ was a common scribe's error.

**c 6.** κατὰ πολλὰ, "multifariam" (Schn.).

**d 2.** δεῖ: so the MSS., and so all texts before Bekker; he, probably confusing this with ἐξαιρεῖν χρή in d 4 (where the

vulgate down to Ast had δέι for the MS. *χρή*), wrote *χρή* here, and so all subsequent texts except those of Schneider and Burnet. Stallb. is doubtless right (as against Wagn.) in taking *μεταβάλλειν* to be intransitive.

d 3. ἐν λήξεσιν δικῶν = "for the institution of private suits," or, more generally, "in legal procedure." Cp. 846 b 6 f.

d 6. ὄρκον δὲ μὴ ἐπομύναι: cp. *Julius Caesar* II. i. 114 "No, not an oath!" etc. The reference here is particularly to the "sworn affidavits," *ἀντωμοσῖαι*, of the *ἀνάκρισις*, but there were other occasions during a trial or lawsuit when oaths might be administered, e.g. to witnesses; cp. 949 b 1.

e 1. A and O have δέι for δέιν—a short-sighted blunder in which Schneider alone follows them.

e 2. εὐχερώς, "unhesitatingly," "frankly."

949 a 1. δι' ὄρκων . . . δρᾶν ἀεὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον, "that on each occasion when he does so he should vote (*φέροντα*) under oath, or by fetching his voting-pebble from a sacred spot." For ἀφ' ἱερῶν cp. 753 c 1 f. and 755 e 6; going to a place sanctified by a deity's presence was equivalent to calling on the deity to come and witness a declaration. Ficinus omits this passage.—A and O have δέι for the ἀεί of A<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>2</sup>; early texts—even Ast and Stallb.—read ἀεὶ δέι. The δέι quite unnecessarily disturbs the construction; Bekker first banished it.

a 3. Pollux (p. 141, as Stallb. tells us) says that *βραβέας*, which elsewhere is confined to poetry, is a Platonic peculiarity for the more common *βραβεντάς*.

a 4. O had *φέρη*, and so apparently had A; in both MSS. it is corrected to *φέρει*. The vulgate till Bekker gives *φέρη*, and Ast reads *όπόσ' ἄν*.—There is a subtle touch in *κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην δόξαν*. It safeguards the philosopher's beliefs (1) that *money* is not a real *gain*, (2) that there is nothing which a distorted fancy might not consider *gain*.

a 5. τῶν δὲ όπόσα: the *ἀπάντων* in a 4 may be supposed to follow, loosely, the construction of the previous *ἄθλων*, and to depend on *ἐπιωτάτας καὶ βραβέας*, but the *τῶν* has only a shadow of connexion with the previous genitives; consequently the construction is broken in the following line when the "resuming" *ταῦτα δέ* provides an object for *κρίνεσθαι*.—For *ἐξομοσάμενος* cp. on 937 a 1.

a 6. There is the same suggestion in *εἶναι δοκεῖ*, where we should have expected *ἐστί*, that there is in *κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην δόξαν*.—A and O miswrite *διὰ δικῶν* as *δι' ἀδικῶν*.



**b 1.** μήτε ὀμνύντι λέγειν: in this and the two following clauses the participles are the principal verbs in meaning.

**b 2.** ἱκεταίαις . . . ἀσχήμοσιν μήτε οἴκοις γυναικείαις: Stallb. cps. *Apol.* 34 c, *Aristoph. Plut.* 383 ff., *Vesp.* 563 ff. Such groveling supplication is not only the degradation of language proper only when addressed to the deity, but it is also *ill-omened*; cp. μετ' εὐφημίας below.

**b 5.** In grammar λέγοντα would have been more regular, but for variety's sake a gen. abs. without its subject word is preferred. —Ficinus concisely renders the following eleven words by "ad rem a magistratu reeducatur."

**b 7.** εἶναι = ἐξεῖναι, and εἶναι . . . κυρίως is "may be lawfully allowed."

**c 1-7.** Schneider was the first to see that the words δικῶν τε . . . τὴν κρίσιν belong to the regulations about ξένοι, and not, as Fic. and all other editors had thought, to the following ὅσα τις clause. Consequently he puts a full stop at κρίσιν in c 5, and a comma at θανάτου in c 7. Wagner, Ritter, and Burnet follow him. From οὐ γάρ to συντρόφους is a parenthesis, and the immediately following words still refer to aliens. (Ritter would have no parenthesis, but connects δικῶν τε περὶ λήξεως with κυρίους and takes εἶναι in the sense of ὥστε εἶναι. Stallb. and Herm. retain the old arrangement throughout.) What follows has clearly nothing to do with δικῶν λήξεις—the institution of private suits between man and man—but with public delinquencies.

**c 1 ff.** οὐ γάρ . . . συντρόφους: there are two reasons why it will not matter to the state if aliens do ratify any statements (commercial or otherwise) with an oath: (1) they won't be here permanently, and (2) they won't be leaving equally demoralized families behind them.

**c 2.** A, writing οὐ at the end of a line, went on at the beginning of the next with δνεοττεύοντες; perhaps he was copying a previous οὐδὲ νεοττεύοντες, but A<sup>2</sup> is manifestly right in doubling the ν; the ἐν is necessary to the sense, the point being that the aliens will not have families in *Magnesia*.—ὡς τὸ πολὺ is added to cover the few cases in which aliens are allowed to establish themselves in the country. See above, 850 b f.

**c 3.** κυρίους τῆς χώρας is "naturalized," "with a right to live in the country" (Wagner "who will have power in the country"). —συντρόφους, "of like manners with themselves."

**c 4.** τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον εἶναι, "shall be after the same fashion," i.e. they may give sworn testimony.

c 8. *πόμπευσις* is equivalent to *πομπῆς φοίτησις*; *πομπεύς* at Thuc. vi. 58. 1 means *a member of a procession*.—*ἡ πομπεύσεων* was originally omitted in A and O.—*κοσμήσεων* is almost “ceremonies.”

d 1 f. *ὅποσα . . . εἵνεκα*: a parenthetic explanation of *λειτουργγιῶν*, *ὅποσα* being “such cases, for instance, as . . .” The *θυσία εἰρηνική* would be the occasion of an ordinary (*ἐγκύκλιος*) liturgy, the *πολεμική εἰσφορά* of an extraordinary one.

d 2. *πάντων τῶν τοιούτων* “resumes” the *ὅσα τις ἐλεύθερος ἀπειθεῖ*.

d 3. *τὴν πρώτην ἀνάγκην ἱατὴν εἶναι τῆς ζημίας*: if the reading *ἱατὴν* is correct, the word must be used in an active sense—that of *ιατικήν*, which Stallb. suggests as possibly the right reading—and *ἀνάγκη* must have been used in the sense of *demand, constraint*, or even *penalty*—“the first demand must be one that will make good the loss to the state.” But it is easier to acquiesce in Ast’s substitution of *ἴασιν* for *ἱατὴν* “let the first requisite be the remedy of the loss.” Whatever Fic. read he sees that this is pretty much the sense; his translation is “in his omnibus quamprimum *damnum restituitur*.” (Winckelmann reads *τακτὴν* for *ἱατὴν*, and this Herm. accepts. In that case *ζημία* means *penalty* as it does at d 8, but the construction is not clear. Schneider translates the MS. reading “*prima multae necessitas sanabilis sit*.”)

d 3 ff. *τοῖς δὲ μὴ πειθομένοις κτλ.*: those who fail to obey this demand have to give pledges (cp. 820 e 4) to the state-appointed legal recipients. Stallb. refers to Antiphon, *De choreuta*, § 11, from which it appears that members of a chorus at Athens had to give *ἐνέχυρα* for their attendance.

d 4. With *ἐνεχυρασίαν* we must supply *εἶναι* from the previous clause.—*τούτοις* is governed by *ἐνεχυρασίαν* (cp. on 837 e 4); so *ἐπιμειξία πόλεσιν* at e 8.

d 7. *ἐὰν δὲ ζημίας δέωνται πλείονος*: i.e. “in case the performance in answer to the summons is inadequate.” The subject to *δέωνται* is probably the defaulters, not the authorities.

e 3. O records a variant *μή* for *μήτε*.

e 4. *ἐαυτῶν* = “of its own citizens.”

950 a 1. L has here preserved what all editors recognize to be the right reading in *δίῃ*, where A and O have *δέ*.

a 4. *φύρεσθαι*: *φύρω* here seems to be merely used for variety’s sake, in the sense of the previous *κεράννυμι*—i.e. to a state which has no advantage over others in its laws and manners the mixture of foreign and native in them which will result from the

intercourse with foreigners will not matter. For a similar use of *φύρεσθαι* cp. *Hipp. Mai.* 291 a 8.—*αὐτοῖς*: Stallb., with great probability, proposes to read *δεχομένους τ' ἐν αὐτοῖς*. Schneider is content to suppose that *αὐτοῖς* means *ipsis*, i.e. that the *emphatic* pron. is put for the *reflexive*. (Winckelmann substitutes *ἄστοις* for it, and Herm. and Wagn. agree. Ast takes *αὐτοῖς* with *φύρεσθαι*.)

a 5. *ἐπικωμῶντας*: a lively expression for a "holiday visit"—as we might say "to go gallivanting, or junketing abroad."

a 8. *οὐκ ἐγχωρεῖ τό γε παράπαν*: the insertion of *γε* shows us that *τὸ παράπαν* does not here, as usually, emphasize the preceding negative, but only qualifies the *ἐγχωρεῖ*—"it is not possible to carry out the principle in every case."

b 2 ff. *ὀνόμασιν τε χαλεποῖς . . . ὥς δοκοῖεν ἄν*, "for (if they did so) they would be adopting not only the evil repute which attends the ill-sounding word *ξενηλασίαι*, but also, to all appearance, a crabbed and ill-favoured temper." *χρωμένους* agrees with the subj. of *δέχεσθαι* and *ἀποδημεῖν*. *ξενηλασίαι* nearly always occurs in the plural. Pericles (Thuc. ii. 39. 1) gives it as a mark of the frank and open-hearted temper of the Athenians that the Spartan custom of *ξενηλασίαι* is abhorrent to them, as akin to cunning and deceit. Cp. also *Protag.* 342 c.

b 5 ff. *οὐ γὰρ ὅσον . . . καὶ τοὺς χείρονας*: i.e. "people 'in the lump' may be 'bad,' but they have a wonderfully keen eye for real virtue, and the most abandoned villains can both distinguish it accurately and praise it enthusiastically."—*οὐσίας ἀρετῆς* describes the same quality as *ὄντα ἀγαθὸν ἀληθῶς* below at c 5; it has not the technical sense of *τῆς τῷ ὄντι ἀρετῆς*.

b 7. With *τοῦ κρίνειν* we must of course supply *ἀπεσφαλμένοι τυγχάνουσιν* from the preceding clause.—A and O have *οἱ* corrected by A<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>2</sup> to *ὅσοι*, but all texts down to Stallb.'s early edd. and Herm. retain the *οἱ*; i.e. they make it, with the following adjectives, the subject of the (supplied) *τυγχάνουσιν*. Further, though A and O and L<sup>2</sup> have *χρηστοί*, L and O<sup>2</sup> and all the above-mentioned texts have *ἄχρηστοι*. This looks like a correction made to suit the *οἱ*. This is all wrong; it spoils the sentence to have two different subjects for the two *τυγχάνουσιν* clauses; *οἱ πονηροὶ καὶ ἄχρηστοι* is no synonym for *οἱ πολλοί*. Schneider first restored sense to the passage by *οἱ* for *οἱ*. I judge from his translation that he meant to show his usual trust in A and O by reading *χρηστοί*, but his text has *ἄχρηστοι*. Stallb. and Burnet follow him, but adopt, instead of *οἱ*, the *ὅσοι* of A<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>2</sup>. Fic. gets the passage right, and so does Jowett.

**b 8.** For the ἐστι of ALO a variant ἔνεστι is mentioned by O. This reading is supported by the ἐνι which occurs in its place in the quotation of the gist of this passage by the rhetorician Aristides (*Or.* ii. p. 150), as well as by Fic.'s *inest*, and Stallb., Zürr., Herm., and Burnet adopt it.

**c 3.** The dat. ταῖς πολλαῖς πόλεσι goes with καλόν (as Fic.), not (as Schneider) with παρακείμεμα; "most cities are therefore rightly exhorted (to set store by a good reputation)," not (as Jowett) "the generality of cities are right in exhorting (their citizens)."

**c 4.** προτιμᾶν: this imperatival infin. is explanatory of τὸ παρακείμεμα.—πρός, "in the eyes of." Down to Steph. the texts had πρό; Ast first corrected it; Fic. "apud multos."

**c 5 f.** οὕτω and χωρὶς δὲ μηδαμῶς emphasize the following words; "the *only* proper way to get a good name is to be really good yourself."

**d 1.** ὅτι καλλίστην . . . πρὸς ἀρετὴν: cp. 647 d τέλεον πρὸς ἀνδρείαν, 969 c 3 οἴους πρὸς ἀρετὴν, *Alc.* I. 120 e τελέους . . . πρὸς ἀρετὴν (*Rep.* 360 e τέλεον . . . εἰς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιτήδευμα).

**d 2.** ἄνπερ κατὰ λόγον γίγνηται, "if constituted according to our plan"; cp. the end of the quotation from the *Rep.* on d 3 below.

**d 3 f.** μετ' ὀλίγων . . . ἐν ταῖς εὐνόμοις πόλεσι καὶ χώραις, "among quite the best ordered of cities and countries."—Fic., Ast, Schneider, and Jowett ed. 2 (rightly, I think) make αὐτὴν the *subject* of ὄψεσθαι; Stallb. and Wagn. make it the *object*. Ast refers to the Homeric ὄρᾶν φάος ἡελίοιο—e.g. E 120, Σ 61 and 442—also to *Rep.* 473 e οὐδὲ αὕτη ἡ πολιτεία μήποτε πρότερον φυῆ τε εἰς τὸ δυνατόν καὶ φῶς ἡλίου ἴδῃ, ἣν νῦν λόγῳ διεληλύθαμεν.—Ast further says (rightly too, I think) that τοὺς (ἄλλους) θεοὺς means "the (attendant) moon and stars." Cp. 822 a 5, and c 1 and 5, where, after speaking of ἡλίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄστρον, he called them all θεοὺς.

**d 4.** O's variant ἐννόμοις for εὐνόμοις is more likely to have been a mistake than a correction.

**d 7.** μηδαμῇ; i.e. μήτε ἰδίᾳ μήτε δημοσίᾳ. He afterwards explains that a warlike expedition is *not* an ἐκδημία πολιτική.

**d 8.** ἢ καὶ τισι θεωροῖς: cp. on 643 b 8.

**e 2.** πολιτικάις, "authorized by the state" (Jowett). Warlike expeditions have "no claim to count" among the ἀποδημίαι now under discussion. The inference to be drawn from this remark is that the restriction as to age given at d 6 does not apply to soldiers on a foreign campaign.—Steph. would insert a δέ after



Πυθώδε (A Πυθῶδε), and Ast follows him. But the asyndeton is not unnatural. It explains by instances what is meant by theoric embassies.

**951 a 1 f.** τοῖς περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἀντίστροφον ἀποδιδόντες δόξης παρασκευήν, "for they will furnish a supply of renown fully comparable to (that which comes from) feats of war." τοῖς is neut., and the usual "telescopic" form of comparison allows τοῖς to stand for τῇ δόξης παρασκευῇ τῇ τῶν. (Jowett translates ἀντίστροφον by "the converse." A.M.A., perhaps rightly, takes τοῖς to be masc. and δόξης to mean *display*: "exhibiting a brilliant turn-out comparable to the lustre of warriors.")

**a 4 ff.** θεωροὺς δὲ ἄλλους κτλ., "there are other θεωροί whom we must send out (when the permission of the νομοφύλακες has been obtained), and they are the following; any citizens who wish to study foreign ways more at their leisure must not be stopped by any law from doing so." Fic. omitted ἐκπέμπειν χρεών, and Ast and Wagn. reject the words. It is true that there is a slight irregularity in the asyndeton that leaves χρεών (ἔστι) and ἀπειργέτω μηδεὶς νόμος side by side with no connecting link. There is, however, no contradiction (as Wagn. thinks there is) between the latter injunction and "getting the permission of the νομοφύλακες." There might be objections to particular countries, or to particular emissaries. The "Foreign Office" must be allowed to decide, in each case, who is to travel, and where he may go. παρεμένους agrees with the subject of ἐκπέμπειν, but we need not ask too curiously if the same persons who arrange for the "sending forth" are the persons to ask for the "leave." For the sense of the verb παρίεσθαι cp. 742 b 4 where the "leave" is for the same object.

**a 5.** A and O have ἃ τινες which all editors have rightly discarded in favour of the ἄν τινες of L and O<sup>2</sup>. Constantine in A altered ἐπιθυμῶσι to ἐπιθυμοῦσι.

**a 6 f.** κατὰ τινα πλείω σχολήν: more, that is, than they could get when attending games or a festival. (Ast put only a comma after παρεμένους, and Constantine's hand in A inserted a δέ after ἀπειργέτω.)

**a 7.** All texts have of course adopted A<sup>2</sup>'s correction of the νόμους of A and O to νόμος.

**b 1.** ἀνομίλητος οὔσα repeats and explains ἄπειρος οὔσα ἀνθρώπων κακῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν—"in this state of isolation."—ἥμερος, "civilized."

**b 2.** All texts accept Constantine's correction of A's αὐτούς to

*αὐ τοὺς*.—*γνώμη λαβεῖν*: for this “reasoned” acceptance, which is the only sure foundation for law in a community, comparison of different laws is necessary. L and O<sup>2</sup>s *γνώμη* has been universally accepted for the *γνώμην* of A and O.

**b 3.** Zürr., Herm., and Burnet rightly adopt the *ἔθουσιν* of L<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>2</sup> for the *ἤθουσιν* of A and O. All other texts have *ἤθουσιν*, which Schn. translates by “*moribus*,” and Stallb. by “*moribus et ingenii*.”—*εἰσὶ γὰρ . . . θεῖοί τινες*: Ritter (p. 344) well cps. *Phaedo* 78 a 3 ff., where Socrates tells Cebes that he may find, if he searches through Hellas and among barbarians, an *ἐπωδός* who will take his (Socrates's) place in exorcising the fear of death.—*ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς* “*vel in vulgo et multitudine*,” Fic.; “in the crowd.”

**b 4.** Schn. and Burnet alone follow the MSS. in omitting the *δ'* which the vulgate inserts after *παντός*.—*παντὸς ἄξιοι συγγίγνεσθαι*, “invaluable associates.” Burnet marks off *οὐ πολλοί* with parenthesis marks.

**b 6.** *ἡ καὶ μή*: a conventional brachylogy for *ἡ καὶ ἐν ταῖς μὴ εὐνομ.*—*ὧν κατ' ἔχνος . . . ζητεῖν*, “to track them down”; “*quorum vestigiis . . . oportet . . . insistere*,” Schn.

**c 1.** *ὅς ἂν ἀδιάφθαρτος ᾖ*: cp. 952 c 5. Clearly it is the traveller—the man who is to study foreign ways, and find the few wise men among the multitudes he meets—who must be “proof against corruption,” and not, as Stallb. and Jow. think, the wise men themselves. I would therefore remove the commas which Burnet, like Stallb. and Herm., places after *οἰκοῦντα* and *γῆν*, and, with Schn., place a comma after *ζητεῖν*.

**c 2.** *αὐτοῖς*: i.e. “among his own people.”

**c 4.** Wagner suggests with some probability that we ought to read *μενεῖ*.—*οὐδ' ἂν κακῶς αὐτὴν θεωρῶσιν*: *αὐτὴν* (for which O<sup>2</sup> suggests *ταύτην*) is acc. of inner object with *θεωρῶσιν*—“nor will it survive either if the investigation be badly carried out.”

**c 5.** *ἀμφοτέρα* denotes the two objects just mentioned: (1) the sending of the commission of investigation, and (2) its right conduct. The two points are again mentioned at 952 d 5 in somewhat similar terms.—Schneider, following Cod. Voss., would give this question and its answer to the Ath. Before Steph. the vulgate added *τῇδε* to the question, and ed. Lov. gives the question in this form to the Ath. Fic. arranges the words as all recent editions do.—The *ἂν*, which is in all MSS., was first restored to the text by Bekker.

**c 8.** *ἔστω γεγεννημένος*, “he must have made himself.”

d 1. εἰ μέλλει . . . μεθήσειν, "if he is to represent abroad the stamp of his order." (Ritter, p. 344, considers that τὸ τῶν νομοφ. is subj. and δέϊγμα a predicative acc., supplying "him" as direct obj. to μεθήσειν.)

d 3. A<sup>2</sup> corrected A's ὅπως to ὁπόσ'.

d 4. τὸν σύλλογον: cp. the further description of the constitution and functions of the remarkable νυκτερινὸς σύλλογος below at 961 ff. It is a kind of expansion of the order of Law-wardens. Ritter (p. 350) suggestively compares it with the χάρος τοῦ Διονύσου of Bk. II. It was foreshadowed at 818 a, and mentioned cursorily at 908 a 4 and 909 a 3. It is only mentioned in this place because some knowledge of it is necessary for the understanding of the procedure to be taken by the returned travellers.

d 5. As at d 3, A wrote an ω for an o, and A<sup>2</sup> corrected it—οὔτως to οὔτος.

d 7. Herm. was the first to recall the MS. ἀνάσχη in place of the vulgate ἀνίσχη, which survived in the texts of Bekker, Zürr, and Stallb.'s early edition.—πρῶτον μὲν τῶν ἱερέων: the enumeration of the different constituents of the "night council" presents a series of unblushing anacolutha. First we have a gen. which follows the lead of νέων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων at d 5; then a bold acc. (as if the previous construction had been χρή παρῆναι), then an equally bold and groundless nom. (Wagner, comparing 961 a 4, imagines the words ἅπαντας συνιέναι to have fallen out after εἰληφότων; Ast would write οἱ . . . πρεσβεύοντες "ac si παρέστωσαν praecesserit.")—It might be thought, on a comparison of 961 a 3—where τοὺς ἀριστεία εἰληφότας πάντας seems to imply that there were several kinds of components of this class—that we ought here to read τῶν ἱερέων τῶν τ' ἀριστεία εἰληφότων, and this is possibly Ritter's view (cp. p. 348 l. 19); but a consideration of 947 a 5 is enough to refute it. There the εὐθυνοί, who are τοῖς παρὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως ἀριστείων ἡξιωμένοις (946 e 6), are definitely stated to be (*ex officio*) all of them priests of Apollo and the Sun. It is not unreasonable therefore to conclude that this high rank of ἀριστεία εἰληφότες, or οἱ πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἔγκριτοι as it is called at 966 d 2, conferred the priesthood on all its members. (There were evidently several ways of attaining to this rank.)

e 1. The MSS. do not recognize the δέ inserted in the vulgate after ἔτι. Schn. and Burnet rightly omit it.

e 3. For ἵτω A and O have ἦτω; A seems actually to have altered another letter—probably ι—to η, for it is in an erasure.

e5. τὴν συνοουσίαν . . . τούτοις καὶ τοὺς λόγους, "their mutual discourse."

952 a 1. πόλεως πέρι is a variant for the simple gen. The τε . . . καὶ is "both . . . and."

a 3 ff. περὶ μαθημάτων . . . ἀσαφῆ, "about all such investigations as are found helpful in connexion with this study towards clearing the minds of the investigators, while ignorance of them would make the nature of Law seem obscure and indistinct." Herm. thought it would be much better if συμφέρειν had a straightforward dat. to go with, so he rejects the ἐν, while, like Schn. and Bur., he follows A and O in rejecting the ἀ which A<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>2</sup> wrongly inserted before the first μαθοῦσι. εὐαγέστερον γίνεσθαι is impersonal, and expresses the point where the "help" comes in. Grammatically the following φαίνεσθαι has nothing to depend on.—A and O omitted the final ν in συμφέρειν—probably because of the following μ.

a 5. Like αὐτόν at 625 a 3, αὐτοῖς here is superfluously added.—The τά after σκοτωδέστερα was accidentally omitted in A and O, and added by A<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>2</sup>.

a 6. For ἐγκρίνω cp. 802 b 4, 820 d 9.

b 2. Again A makes a careless mistake, writing the senseless ἀποπλέοντας in place of ἀποβλέποντας; A<sup>2</sup> corrected it. The plur. agrees with an implied τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας.

b 3. τιμᾶν: as Ritter says, one way of showing this honour would be the voting for them when they were candidates for various public posts.—From διαφερόντως to κατορθοῦντας is omitted by Fic. and the first six printed texts. Ast first restored the line from Cod. Voss. Steph. mentions it in the margin.

b 6. ἀφικόμενος εὐθύς, "directly he arrives."

b 7. τινα φήμην τινῶν (governed by φράζειν, not, as Schn., by ἔχοντας), "any doctrine that people have held."

b 8. A and O have εὔρειν, L and A<sup>2</sup> εὔρεν; Schneider prints εὔρεν, Burnet ἠῦρεν; all other texts εὔρε.

b 9. ἦκοι, κοινοῦτω: this, which is given as a variant in O—ἀπ' ὀρθώσεως—was seen by Bekker to have been the original reading of A, which has ἦ κοι | \*\*\*νοῦτω, and Zürr., Herm., and Burnet rightly adopt it. The vulgate down to Steph. has ἦ κοινοῦτω, Stallb. (1860) and Schn. are content with ἦ, κοινοῦτω; Ast reads ἦν, κοινοῦτω.—The opt. ἦκοι marks the supposition as a more unlikely one than that of the almost gnomic ἠῦρεν.

c 1. μηδὲν . . . ἤκειν, "to have come back no whit better or worse than he went."



c 4. ἡ τῶν συλλεγομένων δύναμις: a periphrasis for ὁ σύλλογος.

c 5 f. For διεφθαρμένος cp. on 951 c 1 ὃς ἂν ἀδιάφθαρτος ᾖ.—  
μηδενὶ συγγιγνέσθω προσποιούμενος εἶναι σοφός: συγγίγνεσθαι,  
like συνουσία, connotes the idea of "holding forth." He must  
not set up as a sophist.

d 1. A and O have δέ; A<sup>2</sup> corrected this to τ' ἐν, and Steph.  
substituted γ' for τ'. Bekker, and all subsequent edd. except  
Schneider, accept Steph.'s γ' ἐν (Schn. reads a simple ἐν). The γε  
limits the sense in which ceasing to be an ἰδιώτης will be a capital  
offence. The disgraced "observer" must at all events not meddle  
with Law or Education.

d 2 f. ἄξιον ὄντα . . . εἰσάγειν: to us the more usual pass.  
infin. seems to be necessary; but the expression is not more  
remarkable than our "fair to see." Cp. 844 a 2.

d 5 f. "Now that we have finished with our observer we must  
prepare for the reception of foreign visitors."

d 7. ὦν δεῖ περί: the hyperbaton is curious.

d 8. πρῶτός τε καὶ διὰ τέλους αἰεί, "first and for ever"; cp.  
*Phil.* 36 e 1. The travelling merchant is naturally the first to be  
mentioned because his visits are perennial.

e 1. διατελῶν ταῖς φοιτήσεσιν, "ventitare perseverans" Schn.—  
These noms. never find a verb; the ὦν in e 4 changes the construction.

e 2. Burnet conveniently marks off καὶ τούτων . . . πόλεις  
as a parenthesis. Most of these visitors "really" are "like birds,"  
inasmuch as they flit over sea when summer lets them go.

e 3. πετόμενοι counts as a subst., and is = "winged creatures";  
cp. *Euthyphr.* 4 a πετόμενόν τινα διώκεις;

e 4. ἔτους ὥραν πέτονται, "keep flying during the summer."  
Schn. and Bur. alone have the courage to print the MS. ὥραν; all  
other editors presume that ὥραν is a mistake for ὥρα.

e 5. Steph. (but not Ald. nor Lov.) by a common printer's error,  
has οἰκοδομήσασιν which ed. Bipont. copies.

e 6. τούτοις is probably masculine; certain officials are to be  
specially appointed superintendents of the travelling merchant  
aliens. These officials would be the only citizens who would have  
any intercourse with the merchants beyond mere business rela-  
tions, and such intercourse, we are further told, must be as far  
from intimate as the duties of their office will allow.

953 a 1. O<sup>2</sup> is doubtless right in adding the τι which A and O  
omitted.

a 2. A reads ὀλιγοστά, and O gives it as a variant for ὀλίγιστα.  
See Jebb's note on *Soph. Ant.* 625.

a 3 f. ὁ δὲ δεύτερος . . . θεωρήματα, "the second kind is a real θεωρός; he goes to see spectacles with his eyes, and hear such displays of the Muses' art as entertain the ears."—ὥσιν ἔχεται is literally "are held," or "entertained," or "perceived by the ears." Steph. adopted Cornarius's conjectural δέχεται in place of ἔχεται, and Ast, in his text (but not in his *Lex.*) blindly follows him. Bekker too printed ὥσὶ δέχεται, or rather his printers did. Wagner is the only later editor who would accept δέχεται. "Such displays of the Muses as he takes in with his ears" certainly fits the passage at least as well as "such displays of the Muses as are entertained by the ears," but the voice is in favour of ἔχεται; it suits the general statement better than the active with θεωρός as its subj.—ὅσα τε stands for the fuller πάντων τε ὅσα.

a 5. φιλοξενίαις ἀνθρώπων: I suspect that this ἀνθρώπων does not, as usually explained, mean merely "for people," but is the same ἀνθρώπων which, when added (e.g. at 629 a 6) to superlatives, corresponds to our "in the world." Cp. such expressions as τὰ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων πράγματα, "the work of the world," *Theaet.* 170 e 2, γραφὰς τὰς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, "a world of pleas," Lysias, *Contra Agor.* 73. If so, it means "the best possible (means of) or all kinds of entertainment." (Is it possible that ἐξ has dropped out before ἀνθρώπων?) Fic. translates "quae suscipiendis hospitibus commodissima sint." He saw at any rate that a strong expression was needed.

a 6. παρεσκευασμένας: A inadvertently wrote the dat. and O mentions this as a variant, while giving the correct reading in the text.

a 7. In ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ τημελεῖν there is the same sort of hendiadys as was observed at 738 d 7 in φιλοφρονῶνταί τε . . . καὶ οἰκειῶνται.—The ἕως ἄν and the μέτριον both give the hint that these θεωροί must not overstay the occasion.—In all three MSS. a corrector has substituted ὅπως for the perfectly satisfactory ἕως—an alteration adopted by Fic., and all editors but Herm., Stallb. (1860), and Burnet. The cause of the alteration was probably the frequency of a ὅπως construction after ἐπιμελεῖσθαι.—A and O write τό for τόν (corrected by A<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>2</sup>); a similar slip will be noticed at b 7.

b 2. δικαστάς: the mention of possible harm done or received leads naturally to the mention of legal facilities to be provided for these visitors, as for the merchants.

b 5. τοῖς τοιοῦτοις is probably masc. like τῶν τοιούτων at a 6; "suits in which such guests are concerned."

b 7. Again A writes  $\delta$  for  $\delta\nu$ , and A<sup>2</sup> corrects it.

c 1. μετὰ τῶν πρυτάνεων: these were τὸ δωδέκατον μέρος τῶν βουλευτῶν whose duties were described at 758 b-d. He here uses the Attic title πρυτάνεις as if it were a common noun meaning "select committee men." One of their duties mentioned in the former passage was ἰόντι τινὶ ποθεν ἄλλοθεν ἐτοίμως ἐπιτυχεῖν. We may perhaps conclude from this rather sketchy description that the πρυτάνεις were to receive the visitors in public audience, and assign to particular military officers the duties of private entertainer.—παρ' ὅτῳ τις ἄν: cp. on 890 a 5.

c 4. τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν θεωρῶν: i.e. those described at 951 a 4 ff.

c 6 ff. ἀξιῶν . . . ἄλλη πόλει, "he must claim that he wants to examine something good which surpasses in excellence the good things to be found in other states, or perhaps that he wants to reveal something in like manner to another state." τῶν is, I think, governed by διαφέρον. Ast, Wagn., Jowett, Schn., Stallb., and A.M.A. take it to be dependent on τι καλόν. Ast would read διαφερόντων.

c 7. A and O wrote δόξαι, O<sup>2</sup> saw that it was a mistake for δεῖξαι.

d 1. A and O omitted ὁ τοιοῦτος, probably owing to the -τος coming before them. We owe the words to O<sup>2</sup>, and a late hand in A.—ἔτω ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν πλουσιῶν θύρας: this "semi-proverbial expression," as Adam calls it on *Rep.* 364 b 5, corresponds to our English *wait upon*, *pay a visit to*, also sometimes to *pay court to*, *dance attendance on*. Here it is simply "pay a visit to." Cp. also *Rep.* 489 b 6.

d 2. τοιοῦτος ἕτερος, "just such another," "as wise as he." "Pronomen ἕτερος sic solet, praecipue nomini τοιοῦτος, apponi ut sit *itidem*," Ast on 780 d 8.

d 5. ξένῳ, ἦ: A has ξένῳ followed by an erased letter; Fic. and the vulgate, down to Bekker, have (what was probably O and L's reading) ξένων. Baiter first saw that ξένῳ, ἦ which is given as a correction in the margin of all three MSS., is the correct reading, and all subsequent editors follow him. It is clear, as Stallb. says, from τούτων τισὶν in d 6 that there were alternative hosts suggested.—O records as a variant the omission of ἦ.

d 7. δώροις . . . τιμηθεῖς: cp. 919 a 5 φιλικὰ παράσχη ξένια ἐπόμενα ταῖς ὑποδοχαῖς.

e 1. καὶ ξένας: an unexpected revelation of the extent to which Plato upheld the "equality of opportunity" between the sexes.

e 2. *μὴ βρώμασι καὶ θύμασι τὰς ξενηλασίας ποιουμένους*: i.e. not making eatings and festivals a means of keeping foreigners at a distance.

e 3. *θρέμματα Νείλου*: cp. Aesch. *Pers.* 33 ὁ μέγας καὶ πολυθρέμμων Νείλος.

e 4. Possibly in *κηρύγμασιν ἀγρίοις* there is a reference to the Spartan way of getting rid of foreigners; cp. 950 b 2 f.

e 5. *ἐγγύην ἐγγνᾶσθαι* is "to give a security," as L. & S., not as Jowett "to become surety."—*τὴν πράξιν . . . μαρτύρων* explains what is meant by *διαρρήδην*.

e 7. *μὴ ἔλαττον τριῶν*: only Schneider and Burnet follow the MSS. here; all other texts unnecessarily insert *ἦ* before *τριῶν*.

954 a 1. ὁ προπωλὼν ὅτιοῦν, "a broker in a sale."

a 2. *τοῦ μὴ ἐνδίκως πωλοῦντος* is clearly a professed, but not the real owner, but the *μηδαμῶς ἀξιόχρεω* has been variously interpreted. Ast, Schn., and Stallb. take it to be a description of the position of a seller who has it not in his power to produce the object sold; i.e. not only is he not the legal owner, but he is not the actual holder of it—the transaction was imaginary as far as the seller goes. Jowett ed. 2 supposes it to describe an inability to make good the loss to the purchaser (by returning the purchase money). But this necessitates the further supposition that he has already spent it. The former explanation seems more reasonable, though "unable to pay" is the most natural meaning for *ἀξιόχρεω*. Wagner translates it by "generally untrustworthy."

a 5. There is no MS. authority for the quite unnecessary *τι* which the vulgate adds to *τις*.—*γυμνὸς [ἦ] χιτωνίσκον ἔχων*: Herm. (*De vest.* p. 65, note 280) clearly establishes it that *γυμνός* is the regular description of a man who has taken off his *ἱμάτιον* and is clad in nothing but a *χιτών*. He cps. Aristoph. *Nub.* 966, Plato, *Rep.* 474 a, Dem. *Contra Mid.* 583 *μικροῦ γυμνὸν ἐν τῇ χιτωνίσκῳ γενέσθαι*, Lucian, *Hermot.* § 23. Hence he rightly concludes that the *ἦ* of the MSS. is a mistaken insertion on the part of a commentator who did not know this. To an Athenian the *ἦ* would have been unmeaning. The searcher here described must have nothing on but a short *χιτών*, and must wear no belt. He will thus be unable to bring any object with him, and can carry away nothing concealed about his person.

a 6. Boeckh (*Minos* p. 114), and subsequently Ast saw that the MS. *ἐλπίζων* was a mistake for *ἐλπίζεν*. Fic. has "sperare."

b 2. A and O have *τόν*, evidently a careless scribe's error; it remained, however, in the texts till Ast corrected it. Even



Bekker's text has τόν, though Bekker himself approved of the correction, which he found in O<sup>2</sup> and the MS. which he calls r. Fic. translates τό.

**b 3.** βλάβην, "by way of damages."

**b 5.** A and O have παρασημανάσθω, which O<sup>2</sup> corrects.

**c 1.** μετά c. gen. is here used in the sense of the Epic μετά c. dat.; "in the presence of."

**c 3.** A and O have simply χρόνου ὅρος, and this is the reading of all printed texts, which suppose, with Steph., that ἔστω has fallen out, or must be supplied in sense. (Ast thinks the original reading may have been ὀριζέσθω.) W. R. Paton, however, seems to have discerned the right reading from a consideration of the χρόνου δέ which is the reading of L and O<sup>2</sup>. He suggests that the δέ is a relic of ὅδε. The Ath. does in fact proceed to fix limits (according to the circumstances of the different cases).—ὄν of course is "during which."

**c 5.** τῇδε: i.e. in the new Magnesia.

**c 6.** For ἐκτημένος ἦ, ἐάν A reads ἐκτημένος· ἦ ἐάν.

**c 7.** ἐπιλάβηται: L. & S. and translators generally say this means "lay claim to"; but why not give it its ordinary meaning of "seize"? The meaning "seize" is even more apposite to the μὴ ἐξέστω ἐπιλαβέσθαι at d 2 and d 6.—For φῆ we can easily get a supplied τις as subject, by supposing the previous μηδεὶς ἐπιλάβηται="and a person does not seize hold of it"—("but only says afterwards that he has been looking for it all that time").

**d 2.** ALO have μηδὲν ἀπελθόντος, and this was the reading of the vulgate before Ast, who reads μηδενί for μηδέν, appealing to Ficinus's *nemini liceat*. L and O record a variant μηδένα παρελθόντος. Zür. and Herm., I think rightly, adopt this variant. Burnet reads μηδέν' ἀπελθόντος, which Stallb. suggests in his note, though in his text he prints μηδένα ἀπελθόντος. Bekker and Schneider preserve the original MS. reading; i.e. they suppose (1) that ἐπιλαβέσθαι could be used with an acc., and (2) that "eiusmodi nihil" (Schn.) is a natural expression in the circumstances!

**d 4 f.** μὴ προστυχῆς δὲ . . . γένηται τις; "and nobody confronts him." The τοῦτω of the next line establishes the personality of the τις; we may perhaps translate "no owner confronts him." The word προστυχῆς occurs at *Polit.* 264 c1, "and in the *Laws* and *Epinomis* and nowhere else in Plato, or indeed in Greek" Campbell on l.c. "Notat dictionem tanquam Platoniam Harpocrat. p. 207. 31 ed. Bekk." Stallb.

d 5. The words τοῦ λοιποῦ χρόνου come from the margin of A and O; we could do quite well without them.

d 7. κατ' οἰκίας, "at home," "indoors"; cp. above, 788 a 5 ἰδία καὶ κατ' οἰκίας.

e 1. ἐν ἀφανεί describes the same condition as κατ' οἰκίας.

e 2. τοῦ παντός χρόνου . . . ἐπιλήψεως, "however long it is before the owner finds it anywhere, there must be no limit to the time within which he may seize it." τοῦ παντός χρόνου is gen. of "time within which," and goes rather with ὅταν ἀνέυρῃ πον than with προθεσμίαν (as Schn., Wagn., and Jow. take it).—A<sup>2</sup> repeats in the margin the rare word ἀλλοδημία, as if to forestall the notion that it was a mistake for the ordinary ἀποδημία.

e 6. ἀτελῇ καὶ ἄκυρον, "null and void"; the same pair of synonyms occurs at Andoc. *Contra Alc.* § 9 σώσαι δ' ἀκύρους καὶ ἀτελεῖς φαίνεσθαι.

955 a 1. πρὸς τῷ ἀτελῇ: i.e. πρὸς τῷ ἀτελῇ γίγνεσθαι τὴν δίκην—a large draft on the reader's power of supplying something from the context.—Winckelmann surmises that ἓνα may have dropped out accidentally between μέν and ἐνιαυτόν; its insertion would rather spoil the rhythm of the sentence. Stallb. cps. the simple Lat. *annum* ("matronae annum ut parentem eum luxerunt," Livy ii. 7).

b 1. The subject of διδόναι and γράφειν would be τοὺς ἀθλοθέτας.

b 4. The MSS. and the early editions have ἡττηται, for which Boeckh (*Minos* p. 168) would substitute ἡττάται; this Bekker, Herm., and Zürr. accept, but subsequent editors prefer Ast's and Schmidt's ἡττήται.

b 5. ALO insert τέ before τις. Steph. rightly conjectured that it was a mistake due to the previous εἰάν τε. L and O both mention that some texts omitted it.—L and O read κλεμμάδιον ὅτιοῦν, and this all editors but Zürr. and Schneider have accepted. Schneider's sturdy faith in A leads him to print κλεμμάδιον ὅτι, which is A's reading. In the margin of L and O is κλέμμα δι' ὅτιοῦν (accepted by Zürr.), and in the margin of A the word κλεμμάδιον is repeated—probably as a protest against L and O's marginal variant.—κλεμμάδιος is a rare adj., only occurring here and in the *Lexx.*—Pollux, *On.* iii. 34, says it occurs in Plato.

b 6. Stallb. is the only modern editor who puts a full stop after κλέψαντι. Fic. treats τὸν . . . πόλει as if it were explanatory of the preceding law about sheltering an exile. Burnet treats τὸν . . . πόλει as the beginning of a fresh subject, and,

like most editors, sees a connexion intended between the ideas of receiving stolen goods and sheltering exiles. The *καὶ τούτῳ*, however, in c 1 seems to point to a connexion such as Fic. imagined. It would be best, perhaps, to ignore Burnet's distinction of paragraphs here. The asyndeton itself is not enough to establish a new paragraph.

c 1. ἀνευ τοῦ κοινοῦ: cp. Thuc. iv. 78. 3 καὶ ἀδικεῖν ἔφασαν ἀνευ τοῦ πάντων κοινοῦ πορευόμενον.

c 7 f. πρόφασιν δ' εἶναι μηδεμίαν μηδὲ λόγον ἐπαινούμενον, ὥς . . . : apparently εἶναι is to be repeated in thought with ἐπαινούμενον; "and there is no excuse to be made for it, nor must the statement be praised that . . ." (Or is λόγον ἐπαινούμενον "a belauded speech, a panegyric"?)—The δ' which all editors have adopted we owe to A<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>2</sup>.

d 1 ff. τὸ γὰρ γινῶναι . . . διακονεῖν: the meaning seems to be "it is hard (for a public servant) to make up his mind as to the right course and to stick to it when he has; if he wants to be really safe he must loyally (ἀκούοντα) obey the law which tells him never to take a reward for any service." Stallb. cps. Dem. *De fals. leg.* 343. 7 ὁ μέντοι τὸν νόμον τιθεῖς . . . ἀπλῶς εἶπε μηδαμῶς δῶρα λαμβάνειν.

d 3. Ritter (p. 345) interprets ἀπλῶς to mean "whether the service for which pay was taken was valuable or not"—"let him die without more ado."

d 5 f. μὲν . . . καὶ here is "not only . . . but also."

d 7. ἐν γράμμασιν ἀποφέρειν, "furnish a written record of."—*φυλέτας*: i.e. each locality would give an account of its year's harvest—probably through some tribal official who would be responsible for the separate items.

d 8. δνοῖν οὔσαιν ταῖν εἰσφοραῖν, "there being two kinds of contribution" (Wagn.). These two kinds or sources of contribution are explained at e 2 f. to be (1) τὸ τίμημα ὅλον, and (2) ἡ γενομένη ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸν πρόσδοδος. In a bad year the authorities would doubtless compute the tax on the basis of the former, in a good one on that of the latter. (Jowett boldly translates εἰσφοραῖν by "valuations"; even if εἰσφορά could bear the meaning, it is unlikely that the word would be used within a few lines in two quite different senses.)

e 1. βουλευομένων: other instances of solitary participles in the gen. abs. occur at 763 e 1, 829 d 5, 967 c 5. Herm. cites *Phaedr.* 254 d, where Thompson's note is "the gen. abs. δεομένων needs neither alteration nor apology." (Ast reads βουλευόμενον

and Zürr. follow him, and Wagner would like to.)—The plur. is used κατὰ σύνεσιν for the public authorities implied in τὸ δημόσιον.

e 2. εἰν τε τοῦ τιμήματος ὅλου μέρει (χρῶνται), “whether they take a fraction of the whole property.”—A and O have εἰν τοῦ; for this O<sup>2</sup> has a variant εἰν τε τῷ τοῦ, which the vulgate down to Ast and Zürr. adopt. Bekker and all other subsequent editors read εἰν τε τοῦ—i.e. they suppose the almost necessary τε to have been accidentally omitted before τοῦ, but consider the indefinite μέρει preferable to O<sup>2</sup>s τῷ μέρει. Besides, τε τῷ τοῦ is cacophonous.

e 5 ff. This passage is translated by Cicero, *De legg.* ii. 18, and quoted, as Ast tells us, by Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 11 p. 584 T. ii. p. 692, Potter, Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* iii. 8 p. 99, Theodoret, *Therapeut.* Serm. iii. p. 519, Apulei *Apol.* p. 316 ed. Elmenh. “Cf. Zenonis dictum ap. Originem *Adv. Cels.* 1. 5 T. i. p. 324 ed. Paris. ubi v. Spencer, et ap. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 1. 1.”—ἔμμετρα here = “of the right kind,” and τὸν μέτριον ἄνδρα is “every reasonable man.”

e 6. A and O have an inexplicable τῇ for the γῇ of L and O<sup>2</sup> and Eus., and ἐστία for the ἑστία of L and Eus.—ἱερὰ πᾶσι πάντων θεῶν, “all men hold sacred to gods in general.”

e 7. δευτέρως ἱερὰ καθιεροῦν, “to consecrate afresh what is sacred already.”—A carelessly repeated πᾶσι πάντων θεῶν after the ἱερὰ in e 7, but either he or his corrector marked the repetition as a blunder.

e 8. ἐν ἄλλαις πόλεσιν = “which you see displayed in other states.” He is doubtless thinking of ostentatious oriental magnificence.

956 a 1. ἀπολελοιπότης ψυχὴν σώματος, “belonging to a body which has lost its soul.” Orelli’s ἀπὸ λελοιπότης is in some respects an easier reading, but ἀπολείπειν seems to have been used in the sense of *lose* as well as *desert*, while λείπειν is only *desert*. Cp. Pind. *Pyth.* iii. 180 ἀπὸ ψυχὰν λιπών. H. Richards, in rejecting Badham’s ἀπολωλεκότης for ἀπολελοιπότης, well cps. Virgil, *Aen.* iv. 385 “cum frigida mors anima seduxerit artus,” iii. 140 “linquebant dulces animas.”

a 2. All MSS. have (οὐκ) εὐχερὲς (ἀνάθημα). Clemens and Eus. have εὐαγές and Cic. translates by *castum*. Stallb. quotes Lact. *Inst. Div.* vi. 25 “ebur . . . non castum donum dei.” εὐχερὲς is an impossible epithet here; it means “ready to hand” or “handy,” and like our “light-fingered” easily acquired a sinister meaning. An indistinctly written αγ and familiarity on



the part of the scribe with the phrase οὐκ εὐχερές may have been the source of the error. The annotator of Ed. Lipont. first called attention to Cicero's "castum," remarking "legisse adeo videtur οὐκ εὐαγές." Of subsequent editors only Stallb. and Schn. preserve εὐχερές.

**a 3.** μονόξυλον, "made of one piece" (as Cic.). (Stallb. alone thinks it may mean "made of wood alone"—with no metal or other material added or inlaid.)

**a 4.** ὡσαύτως means apparently "also of one piece." The mention of the public temple in this connexion suggests that Plato meant the wooden image for the *house* or *hearth*, and the marble statue for the *temple*.

**a 5.** μὴ πλέον ἔργον γυναικὸς μιᾶς ἔμμηνον: this is not grammatical. Stallb. says ἥ has been accidentally omitted after ἔργον. It is possible that the mere presence of a gen. in the sentence made the comparative sound right. Cp. the usual brachylogy, e.g., in τὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων . . . ἐπὶ πλέον ἡμῶν κεκαίνωται, Thuc. i. 71. 3, which is only one step removed from the present case. I think, however, that it is more likely that μὴ πλέον was not originally in the text, but was a marginal explanatory comment. I therefore bracket it.

**b 1.** ὄρνιθές τε καὶ ἀγάλματα: Fic., Schn., and Wagner translate literally—"birds and pictures." Ritter (p. 345) seems to leave it open to us to choose whether ὄρνιθες means actual birds brought to be slaughtered—like the cock which Socrates had vowed to Aesculapius—or "figurliche oder gemahlte Nachbildungen von solchen." Stallb., following Haas (*Palaeologus* p. 94), makes the expression a sort of hendiadys—"leaf-designs, or tracery, with bird-figures interspersed." Jowett "figures of birds and similar offerings." We have hardly warrant in our knowledge of ancient temples to go beyond the literal interpretation, and we may suppose that he means birds (for sacrifice) and frescoes for the internal or external walls of the temple. The pictures are not to be too elaborate.

**b 4.** ὅτε with a perf. is rare; cp. Lysias xix. 5 (p. 152) ὅτ' οὖν τοιαῦτα πολλὰ γέγονται; with a pres. or perf. it first means *now that* (as here), and so passes readily into *since*.—μέρη πόλεως might mean either "districts of the city or country" or "classes in the state," official or otherwise; probably it is the latter.

**b 6.** τῶν μεγίστων πέρι πάντων, "on all important matters"; cp. 922a 6 τὰ μὲν δὴ μέγιστα τῶν συμβολαίων, which is a different expression for the same thing.

**b 7.** δίκας: above at 766 d ff. he has given us what he calls οἶον περιγραφὴ τις ἔξωθεν περιγεγραμμένη of the classes of δικασταί, and of the constitution of the courts, while reserving details of court procedure for a later part of the work (768 c 6). Both that reservation and a similar one below at 957 c 1 seem to indicate some uncertainty on the part of the author as to the proper division of his subject.—δικαστηρίων . . . γίνονται ἄν: first among tribunals will come the privately chosen judges (766 e 4, 767 b 3).

**c 1 f.** δαιτηται . . . τοῦνομα . . . ἔχοντες: the construction is the same as in δαιτηται ὀνομαζόμενοι; the hyperbaton is remarkable.

**c 2.** From this vague description we may perhaps conclude that the second court consisted of the twelfth part of the tribesmen serving in rotation a month at a time; "fellow-villagers" are mentioned, not as constituting a separate element in the court, but because some of the court would most likely be residents in the litigant's own village. Cp. 766 e 3 ff. and 762 a 6.

**c 4.** ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις: as at d 3, "before the first tribunal."

**c 5.** τὸ πεμπτημόριον: in addition, that is, to the full penalty, for we are distinctly told that in the second court the penalty is increased.

**d 1.** For the ἐκλεκτοὶ δικασταί cp. above, 767 c ff.

**d 2.** τὴν ἡμιολίαν: this does not, like τὸ πεμπτημόριον at c 5, denote the *excess* above the original damages. The same love of variety in expression which leads him not to repeat each time the whole τοῦ τιμήματος τῆς δίκης, but to put at d 2 τοῦ τιμήματος and at d 5 τῆς δίκης in its place, leads him in this case to put τὸ πεμπτημόριον at c 5, with τὸ πέμπτον μέρος, and ταῦτὸν μέρος at d 4 and d 5 in the same sense, and also τὴν ἡμίσειαν at d 8 in the sense of "one half more," while here, and where it is repeated at d 8, he calls the penalty "one and a half times" the original one—i.e. at one time he calls it "half as much again," and at another "one half more." (Stallb. holds that τὴν ἡμίσειαν at d 8 means that the plaintiff only pays *half* the penalty, if he loses.)

**e 1.** κληρώσεις: probably only *some* of each monthly rota sat in each case, and were selected by lot. Or does this word describe the drawing lots among the litigants, which court they shall appear before?

**e 2.** ὑπηρεσιῶν . . . καταστάσεις, "the composition of the staffs,"—i.e. the officials and attendants of each court.—χρόνους ἐν οἷς, "intervals at which." O<sup>2</sup> has a variant χρόνοι, but as all

these accusatives are governed by εἵπομεν in e 7, it is difficult to see how it arose.

e 4. ἀναβολῶν, "adjournments."—For διαψήφισις cp. 855 d 3 ff.

e 6. Whatever παρακαταβάσεων stands for it is evidently some procedure which could be enforced by the court, or perhaps by a litigant. L. & S. guesses that it means *right of rejoinder*, Stallb. that it is "the compulsory attendance of the defendant in court," Schn. that it is a mistake for παρακαταστάσεων, which is another word for παρακαταβολή, a deposit paid into court by a litigant who put in a claim to a property in some other hands; Cornarius translates *condescensus*. The word occurs nowhere else.

e 7. εἵπομεν καὶ πρόσθεν: specially at 766 d 3–768 e 3, and incidentally here and there in Bk. IX. when discussing crimes and their penalties—e.g. 855 d e, 871 c 6 ff., 876 b ff.; cp. also 846 b 6 ff. He said, however, at 768 c 6 that the δικῶν ἀκριβὴς νόμων θέσις would come most properly πρὸς τέλει τῆς νομοθεσίας. He now proceeds to absolve the head lawgivers from fulfilling this task in detail, on the plea that many of the matters to be treated may be left to younger assistants (cp. 846 c 3 ff., and 855 d 2), and that perfection may be sought in the works of other lawgivers and the legal proceedings of other states. Stallb. well suggests that this last remark is probably equivalent to saying that *Athenian* legal proceedings were a good model for imitation.—καλὸν δὲ τό γε ὄρθον καὶ δις καὶ τρίς: cp. 754 c 2 δις γὰρ τό γε καλὸν ῥηθὲν οὐδὲν βλάπτει, *Gorg.* 498 e 11, *Phil.* 60 a 1. The schol. on *Gorg.* l.c. says the origin of the proverb was Empedocles's καὶ δις γὰρ ὃ δεῖ καλὸν ἐστὶν ἐνισπείν.

957 a 4. τὰ δὲ δημόσια καὶ κοινά may be considered grammatically as intended to be the objects of some verb like κατασκευάζειν in b 1, but the change of construction after διοικεῖν leaves them "hanging."

a 5 f. ὅσοις διοικεῖν = "tribunals whose judicial power is a necessary support to the executive."

b 2. ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις διαβασανίζοντας: "the test of experience" is the chief means of getting these borrowed regulations into shape and fitness.

b 4. All texts have adopted O's far more effective τότε for the τό of A and O.—ἀκίνητα οὕτως: the same οὕτως—"quite"—as in ἀπλῶς οὕτως, ῥαδίως οὕτω, οὕτως ἐξαίφνης, οὕτω (πίνοντας) πρὸς ἡδονήν *Symp.* 176 e 2, but ἀκίνητα is probably an adj., not an adv. here—"so that they are quite immovable."

b 5 f. ὅσα δὲ . . . τοὐναντίον: σιγὴν καὶ εὐφημίας is a sort of

hendiadys,—“the silence of compunction”—the silence, i.e., which is the result of the fear of uttering something ill-omened. Cp. 949 b μετ' εὐφημίας. τούναντίον then will be “regulations which remove such an embargo.” (Or is it “words of good omen and the contrary”? Fic. translates “de laude vituperationeque,” as if εὐφημίαι meant “speaking well of someone.”)

b 6 f. ὅσα παραλλάττει . . . ἀγαθῶν, “arrangements (in our state) which differ from the various (πολλῶν) things which are held just and good in neighbouring states.” τῶν (governed by παραλλάττει) goes with δικ. καὶ ἀγ. and not (as Schn., Stallb., and Wagn.) with πολλῶν alone. Fic. does not translate πολλῶν at all, and Herm. rejects it, with Stallb.'s approval. (Jowett, not without probability, takes παραλλάττει absolutely, making τῶν δικ. καὶ ἀγ. a partitive gen. depending on ὅσα.) The language about this point is provokingly obscure; so too is the arrangement of the subjects.

b 7. Possibly we should (with Herm.) follow A and O in omitting the καὶ καλῶν which is added to ἀγαθῶν in A<sup>3</sup> and O<sup>2</sup>. Fic. read the words, however, and they certainly add significance to the list of adjectives.

c 2. ἴσον . . . κατὰ δίκην, “justly impartial.” The position of the τε forbids us, with Jowett, to take κατὰ δίκην with βλέπειν.

c 3. αὐτῶν πέρι, “on the subject.” (Steph., Ast, and Zürr. read αὐτῶν πάρα, i.e. “from the books.”)

c 4. A and O carelessly wrote κυριωτάτου for κυριώτατα τοῦ; O<sup>2</sup> corrected it.

c 5. Stobaeus has undoubtedly preserved the right reading for us in the simple εἶπερ. A has αειπερ, which A<sup>2</sup> corrected to ἀ· εἶπερ, but afterwards saw to be a mistake, and marked the ἀ as such. Zürr. were the first of modern editors to see that ἀ ought to be rejected.

c 7. Again we owe to Ast the correct κεκτηῖτ' for the MS. κέκτητ'.

c 4–7. The argument is: “as the word for *human reason* (νοῦς) is evidently etymologically akin to the word for *law* (νόμος)” —cp. above 714 a 2—“the study of law, if rightly conducted, is the most *rational*, and *mind-enlightening* of studies.”

c 8. ἄλλων denotes literary and philosophical exposition as a *further, outside field* in respect of Law.

d 1. εἴτ' κτλ.: *prose* “disputations” are subdivided into (1) written treatises, and (2) *viva voce* utterances.

d 2. The almost otiose ἄλλαις expresses the fact that daily



verbal encounters furnish a further means of expressing opinion, beyond that of writing.

**d 3.** καὶ διὰ συγχωρήσεων ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ μάλα ματαίων is coupled by zeugma with the previous διὰ clause—"and sometimes lead to very meaningless admissions."

**d 5.** τὰ τοῦ νομοθέτου γράμματα: cp. 811 c 6 ff. for a similar encomium of the literature of Law as a study.

**d 6.** ἀλεξιφάρμακα, "antidotes."

**e 1.** μονὰς τῶν δικαίων: Ast seems to think this means "the perseverance (on the part of the good men) *in justice*," but all other interpreters take it to mean "the abiding presence (*in the men*) of justice."—καὶ ἐπαύξησιν: at *Polit.* 297 b 2 the wise ruler's task is said to be (τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει) ἀμείνους ἐκ χειρόνων ἀποτελεῖν κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν; cp. above, 688 a b.

**e 3 f.** ὅσοις ἰάσιμοι δόξαι τῶν κακῶν, "such, that is, of the evilly disposed whose views are curable."

**e 4.** οἷσιν δὲ ὄντως ἐπικεκλωσμένοι, "but for men wedded by fate to such views."—O<sup>2</sup> has a variant κλώμεναι, but naturally no text has adopted it.

**958 a 2.** ὁ δικαίως εἴη πολλάκις ἂν εἰρημένον: a parenthesis. He knows he has said this more than once before.—A has ἄξιοι, O ἄξιον corrected by O<sup>2</sup> to ἄξιοι.—A and O have γίγναι corrected by Const. in A and by O<sup>2</sup> in O to γίγναι.

**a 3.** δικαστῶν ἡγεμόνες: by these words I think he means the νομοθέται.

**a 4.** ἐπειδὴν δὲ . . . σχῶσι, "when the suits of the year have been carried through to their final decision." Apparently no cause was to be allowed to be carried over from one year to another; see below on b 1.

**a 5.** ταῖς πράξεσι νόμους αὐτῶν χρῶν γίγνεσθαι τοῖσδε, "the following laws must be made as to their exaction"; αὐτῶν, which stands for δικῶν, is = "penalties." Above at 871 c 3 we had δίκης πράξις for "exaction of the penalty." Ast was the first to see that ταῖς πράξεσι belongs to αὐτῶν. Previous editors put a comma after instead of before ταῖς πράξεσι. Fic. omits the words.

**a 7.** ἀποδιδότω: not *hand over*—that action is described by παραδιδότω at b 5—but *assign to* (by the herald's proclamation).—χωρὶς τῶν ἀναγκαίων κεκτῆσθαι: above at 855 a 8 it was already laid down that ζημίας ἐκτίσεις were not to encroach on the necessary equipment of the κλήρος—here described as τὰ ἀναγκαῖα κεκτῆσθαι χρήματα.

**b 1.** μετὰ τὴν διαψήφισιν ἐκάστην εὐθύς: these words show

that the κατ' ἐνιαυτόν of a 4 does not mean that *execution* of all suits was to *wait till the end* of the legal year, as some translators' words seem to imply.—ἀκουόντων τῶν δικαστῶν: i.e. the dicasts must remain in court while the herald's proclamation was made. (Jowett takes ὑπὸ κήρυκος with διαψήφισιν—"after the votes have been announced by the herald.")

b 2. τῶν δικασίμων μηνῶν ἐχόμενος, "next following the months of the trials"; i.e. a month's respite is allowed after the end of the month in which the particular trial takes place.—A<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>2</sup> have a variant διαδικασίμων not recognized by the dictionaries.

b 3. γένηται, "has passed"; cp. above 867 e 3, *Phaedo* 108 c 1 ἕως ἂν δὴ τινες χρόνοι γένωνται, *Prot.* 320 a 7 πρὶν ἔξ μῆνας γεγενῆσθαι. (Wagn. and Jow. translate γένηται by "arrives.")—ἀπαλλάττη, "gets quit of" (see L. & S. s.v. A. 3); we should say "gets his discharge from."

b 4. συνεπομένη τῷ νικῶντι, "at the bidding of the successful suitor."

b 6. Herm. (*De vest.* p. 71) says that in Athenian law this inability to prosecute was confined to those who had failed to pay their taxes or some other public debt; also that such defaulters *could not be prosecuted either*. This latter disability is distinctly renounced by Plato in c 1.

c 2. ἀφγρῆται: Fic. translates by *laeserit*, Ast by *detrimento affecerit*, conjecturing that τι has fallen out after τις. (Wagn. agrees to this.) Stallb. rightly says that ἀφαιρείσθαι is here used in the sense *thwart, obstruct, disqualify, disable*, comparing Andoc. *Contra Alc.* § 26 τοῦτον Ἀλκιβιάδης πολίτην ὄντα . . . ἀφελόμενος αὐτὸς ἡγωνίζετο, also Soph. *Phil.* 1303, Eur. *Tro.* 1146 ἀφείλετ' αὐτὴν παῖδα μὴ δοῦναι τάφῳ. The special offence here contemplated is resistance on the part of the condemned debtor to the presiding magistrate's execution of his sentence—a much more likely case than that of his *robbing* him—and one much more likely to need a special precautionary enactment such as this. (Schn. translates ἀφγρῆται "abstulit traditum."—O<sup>2</sup> has a variant ἀφαιρῆται which Herm. adopts; he says he sees no reason for the perf.)

c 7. τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο, "to proceed." This is the usual formula in the *Laws* for passing to a fresh subject. The first six printed edd. (and, by inadvertence probably, Schneider) have τῷ for the MS. τό.—As at a 4 the processes successively ordained by the legislator are rhetorically enumerated as if they were actually

being watched in action. In other words, he says here "Next, to close all this ordered existence comes the natural end of death; and for the ceremonies to attend that event we must now make the necessary regulations."

d 1. διδόντι τε δίκας εἴ τινα ἡδικήκει, "and ready to give compensation where he had done an injury." (H. Richards holds that ἡδικήκει is a mistake for ἡδίκηκε.)

d 2. σὺν τοῖς νόμοις ἐν μοίρᾳ γηράσαντι: cp. *Cratylus* 398 b 9 ποιηταὶ πολλοὶ . . . λέγουσιν ὥς, ἐπειδὴν τις ἀγαθὸς ὢν τελευτήσῃ, μεγάλην μοῖραν καὶ τιμὴν ἔχει. So ἐν μοίρᾳ here probably denotes the enjoyment of universal *respect* which comes from a life spent "according to the laws." Cp. above, 923 b 6. (ἐν μοίρᾳ is generally taken to mean *duly*—"at the appointed time" Jow.).—A had μοραι which A<sup>2</sup> corrected to μοίραι.

d 3. O<sup>2</sup> was doubtless right in altering the δέ of ALO to δή; all texts have adopted the alteration.

d 4. Is it not better to follow the example set by Schanz at 761 c 4, and reject the difficult ῆ? Some scribes perhaps had a notion that a word like *if* ought to take a subj., and the absence of a verb here gave such a scribe an opportunity. Stallb. thinks that Attic prose admitted of εἰ c. subj., in cases where it was "just a toss-up" which way the decision went—where it was in no way contingent on any external circumstances. If we reject ῆ here and at 761 c 4, and follow Adam and Burnet in reading δοκεῖ at *Rep.* 579 d 9, we shall have got rid of all the serious Platonic instances of εἰ c. subj. (Zür. and Herm. adopt Ast's ῆν; this reading gets some slight support from the tense of ἡδικήκει, but is in itself unlikely.—It must be admitted that this MS. ῆ was no late introduction; for it is mentioned as a remarkable construction at Bekk. *Anecd.* i. 144.)

d 5. τοὺς ἐξηγητάς: cp. above, 759 d 5 ff.

d 6. For the MS. κυρίους φράζοντας· θήκας Ast, Zür., and Herm. have adopted Valckenaer's attractive κυρίους φράξιν· τὰς θήκας . . . It is curious that the same change from participle to infinitive after κύριος was suggested at *Eur. Suppl.* 1190 by a corrector of P and by Reiske—κύριος . . . ὀρκωμοτεῖν instead of κύριος . . . ὀρκωμοτῶν. To us the infin. construction seems simplest and best, but doubtless both constructions were possible in Greek. The participial construction throws the greater stress on κυρίους. The former is "the Interpreters have full authority to give directions"; the latter "the Interpreters have full authority for their directions." It is by no means clear that Ast

is right in saying that *θήκας* cannot do without the *τάς*. Stallb. indeed says the *τάς* is "plane intolerabilis."—*τῶν χωρίων* depends on *μηδαμοῦ*—"there should be no graves on any part of land which is cultivable."

d 7. [*μήτε τι μέγα μήτε τι σμικρὸν μνήμα*]: there seems to be no point in the mention in this connexion of the mound which marks the grave, or of the size of the mound—which is dealt with below at e 6. The only question here is the sort of ground suitable for a cemetery; and to the discussion of that these words are an obstruction. Cicero, in his translation of the passage (*De legg.* ii. § 67), omits them, and so does Ficinus. I think they should be rejected. (Prof. Burnet tells me he thinks the words are in apposition to *θήκας*, *μνήμα* being used for "grave" simply.)

e 1. *ἃ δὲ ἡ χώρα πρὸς τοῦτ' αὐτὸ μόνον φύσιν ἔχει*: as Ritter says (p. 346), the difficult *ἃ* and the equally difficult *ὅσα* in e 4 stand and fall together, and less difficulty is involved in taking them to be loose accusatives of respect equivalent to *ἐν οἷς* or *καθ' ἃ* (or *ὅσα*), than in accepting any of the proposed alterations in the text. If with Steph. and Wagn. we alter *φύσιν* to *φύσει* we are still left with *ὅσα* to explain, and it is, moreover, an awkward question why *δεχομένη* and not *δεχόμενα*? It is equally hard to believe, with Herm., that Plato began the sentence with the awkward "M or N" phrase *ἃ δὲ ἡ ἡ χώρα*. Ast would read *ἡ δὲ δὴ χώρα*—a somewhat violent alteration of the text.—Heindorf on *Gorg.* 500 b 1 and *Charm.* 156 b comments on the way in which *αὐτός* is often strengthened by a following *μόνος* or *μόνον*; here *αὐτὸ μόνον* is "just this and nothing else"; it is explained by the following *τὰ . . . κρύπτειν*.

e 4. I think *πρὸς ταῦτα* must be bracketed. It is as manifestly inapposite as the *μνήμα* clause above. Possibly a very muddle-headed scribe thought that as *φύσιν ἔχει* above had *πρὸς τοῦτο* with it, *πέφυκεν* here ought to be similarly supplied. (Stallb. violently separates it from *πέφυκεν* and takes it with *μήτηρ οὔσα*, translating "quae hoc nomine parens est nostra"—*ταῦτα* being *τροφήν*.) Fic. gives two alternative renderings of this clause: "Nec enim a vivis neque a mortuis terrae matris fecunditas impedienda est. Nemo ergo aut vivens aut mortuus vivum aliquem alimento privet."

e 6. *ὑψηλότερον πέντε ἀνδρῶν ἔργον*: brachylogically for *ὑψηλότερον ἔργον πέντε ἀνδρῶν ἔργον*. (Not, as Stallb., "sepulchrum ne quis altius exstruito, quinque virorum (tantum) opus." Nor need we, with Steph. and Ast, insert *ἡ* before *πέντε*.)



e 8. For the perfectly correct MS. τῶν, which goes with τεττάρων ἢρ. στίχων, the vulgate, beginning with Ald. and including all texts but Schneider's and Burnet's, substituted τὰ. The size of a man's encomiums is not a measure of space, but "the regulation four hexameters" is.—Again the same brachylogy in ἐγκώμια μὴ πλείω τεττάρων στίχων.

e 9. A left out the first syllable of τετελευτηκότος, A<sup>2</sup> added it above the line.

959 a 1. Down to Ast the vulgate had πρότερον for the MS. πρῶτον.—By a mixture of itacism and haplography the MSS. wrote a nonsensical μικρότερον for the manifestly correct μὴ μακρότερον which Aldus divined to have been the original reading.

a 3. ὡς τὰνθρώπινα, "for average humanity."

a 6. The τε corresponds to the καί before τελευτησάντων in b 1.

a 6 f. τὸ παρεχόμενον ἡμῶν ἕκαστον τοῦτ' εἶναι μηδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ τὴν ψυχὴν: for the resuming τοῦτ' cp. *Theaet.* 172 b 5 τὸ κοινῇ δόξαν τοῦτο γίγνεται ἀληθές. For the meaning of παρεχόμενον cp. *Phil.* 30 b 1 where τὸ τῆς αἰτίας γένος is spoken of as ἐν μὲν τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν ψυχὴν παρέχον—"furnishing" or "providing" the soul. We may translate then: "that what makes each of us (what he is) is nothing but the soul." For a long while I was strongly inclined to connect τὸ παρεχόμενον ἡμῶν ἕκαστον τοῦτ' εἶναι in the sense "what makes each of us to be *this* (and no other)," supplying εἶναι from a 6 (εἶναι τὸ πᾶν διαφέρουσιν) to go with μηδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ τὴν ψυχὴν. For such a phrase we may compare *Timaeus* 49 d 1 f. ποῖον αὐτῶν ὡς ὄν ὅτιοῦν τοῦτο καὶ οὐκ ἄλλο παγίως δισχυρίζομενος οὐκ αἰσχυνείται τις ἑαυτόν; Ficinus takes it so; his translation is "nec aliud praeter ipsam esse quod in hac vita facit ut quilibet nostrum hoc ipsum sit." Prof. H. Jackson has kindly written to me on the passage that he too was at first inclined to this view but afterwards came to prefer the translation given above, which is that of Stallb. and other interpreters. He thinks that παρέχεσθαι suggests the meaning "make a thing so and so," rather than "cause a thing to do or to be so and so."

b 1. τὸ δὲ σῶμα ἰνδαλλόμενον ἡμῶν ἑκάστοις ἔπεσθαι, "while the body is an attendant semblance of the individual."

b 3. τὸν δὲ ὄντα ἡμῶν ἕκαστον ὄντως: Burnet, marking these words off by commas, shows that he, like Ritter, rightly considers that they go best by themselves as the subj. of ἀπιέναι. Generally the first five words are taken to be the subject of ὄντως ἀθάνατον εἶναι. Wagn. puts in an *and* to connect εἶναι with ἀπιέναι.

Herm. dissents from both of these views: he would discard εἶναι, and take τὸν δὲ . . . ἀθάνατον as the subject of ἀπιέναι, marking off ψυχὴν ἐπονομαζόμενον as a further qualification of τὸν . . . ἀθάνατον. The real qualifying clause is ἀθάνατον εἶναι ψυχὴν ἐπονομαζόμενον. For the (superfluously) added εἶναι with ὀνομαζόμενον cp. *Parm.* 133 d 1 ὃν ἡμεῖς μετέχοντες εἶναι ἕκαστα ἐπονομαζόμεθα, and *Prot.* 311 e 4 σοφιστὴν δὴ τοι ὀνομάζουσὶ γε, ὦ Σώκρατες, τὸν ἄνδρα εἶναι. As Ritter says, the two words ὄντα ὄντως form a striking contrast to the immediately preceding εἶδωλα and ἰνδαλλόμενον ἡμῶν ἐκάστοις. Ast says Plato, in calling the dead body an εἶδωλον, is consciously contradicting Homer's view that the ψυχὴ is an εἶδωλον (*Od.* xi. *passim*). He also aptly quotes, à propos of τὸν ὄντα ἡμ. ἕκ. ὄντως, Cicero's "mens cuiusque is est quisque" (*Somn. Scipionis*).

**b 4.** παρὰ θεοὺς ἄλλους: cp. *Phaedo* 63 b 8 where the χθόνιοι θεοί are spoken of as ἄλλους θεούς, with which passage Geddes cps. *Aesch. Supp.* 230 κάκει δικάζει τὰμπλακίμαθ', ὡς λόγος, Ζεὺς ἄλλος ἐν καμοῦσιν.

**b 5.** Burnet alone prints the γάρ which A has (and O mentions as a variant) after τῷ μὲν. It introduces a further account of what ὁ πατριος νόμος says. He also suitably marks off τῷ μὲν . . . φοβερὸν as a parenthesis. With βοήθειαν the construction depending on λέγοντι in a 5 is resumed.—θαρραλέον and φοβερὸν probably agree with λόγον (so Schn.). (Jowett treats them as neuters, and moreover makes βοήθειαν κτλ. depend on λέγει in b 5.)

**b 8.** ὅπως . . . ἔξη: for a similar ὅπως with an impf. indic. cp. 830 b 4 ὅπως αἱ πληγαὶ . . . διεμελετῶντο.

**c 1.** The ἄν is clearly out of place here. Ast would simply omit it (and so Adam on *Rep.* 378 a). Baiter proposed to read παγκάκων, Winckelmann (unsuitably) ἀνιάτων; Schn., Zürr., Herm., and Burnet leave the ἄν unbracketed.

**c 3 ff.** διαφερόντως . . . θαπτόμενον, "under the impression that that lump of flesh-matter that is being buried belongs in any special way to himself."

**c 5.** ὄντινα . . . μάλιστα, "the real one whom."

**c 6.** Fic. and Wagn. make a great mistake in translating these présent participles as if they were perfects; it is not "fatis suis exactis" but "in the course of fulfilling his destiny."

**c 7.** A and O have ἐπιμπράντα, corrected by A<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>2</sup> to ἐμπιμπράντα.—τὸ δὲ παρὸν δεῖν εἶποιεῖν, "while his duty is to do the best he can under the circumstances—to make the best of

what he has got"; i.e., as he goes on to say, he must be content to see the lifeless corpse for what it really is, and dispose of it accordingly. The same proverbial saying occurs at *Gorg.* 491 c, where see Thompson's note.

d 1. ὥς εἰς ἄψυχον χθονίων βωμόν: I have come round to F.H.D.'s view of this somewhat mysterious phrase, i.e. that ἄψυχον simply means "not haunted by a soul." εἰς is (spend) "upon" as at 743 a 8; Fic. apparently makes it *local*—"at."—τὸ δὲ μέτριον . . . ὡς χημονέστατα: all this means is that the legislator is quite the proper person to say what the amount spent should be. (Jowett translates "but the legislator does not intend moderation to be taken in the sense of meanness.")

d 4. ἀναλίσκόμενα is "expenditure."

e 2. πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἀπάντων, "at each man's death."—εἰς γέ τις: cp. *Soph.* 252 e 1, *Polit.* 287 d 8, *Phaedr.* 242 b 2, *Meno* 96 d 8, *Aristoph. Plut.* 402, *Thesm.* 430.—Down to Zürr. all printed edd. had ἐπιστατεῖ for the MS. ἐπιστατῇ; Fic. read ἐπιστατῇ.

e 3 ff. ᾧ καλόν τ' ἔστω . . . καὶ μὴ καλῶς αἰσχρόν, "to whose credit it must count if the funeral ceremony is well and moderately managed, and likewise to his discredit if it is the reverse."

e 7. O<sup>2</sup> gives νόμῳ νομοθετοῦντι for A's νομοθετοῦντι. All edd. but Schn., Wagn., and Burnet accept this νόμῳ. I think Ritter is right in giving it the sense of the immediately preceding νόμον, i.e. *custom*, and further in taking νόμῳ νομοθετοῦντι to mean "dictating to custom"—"we must let the state official set the following bounds to custom." (Jowett ed. 2 makes πολιτικῷ agree with νόμῳ and translates as if we had νομοθετοῦντα for νομοθετοῦντι, "but the lawgiver may also concede some points to the customs of his fellow-citizens." Stallb. tamely translates νόμῳ νομοθετοῦντι "secundum νόμον leges ferenti.")

960 a 1. ἄμορφον: i.e. it is beneath the legislator's dignity to say "you mustn't cry." Cp. 752 a 3, 855 c 3 and our "bad form."

a 3. The MSS. and Stob. all have προάγειν, but the first five texts print προσάγειν.

a 4. φθέγγεσθαι is "cry aloud."

a 5. εἶναι, like ἀπαγορεύειν and κωλύειν just before, has the force of an imperative, but its subject is not, as theirs was, the legislator, but (as with προάγειν) the man who is conducting the funeral. Burial grounds were outside the city. (Fic. misses this, translating "aut ante diem extra urbem se afflictare non liceat.") Stallb. refers to Dem. *In Macart.* p. 1071 ἐκφέρειν δὲ τὸν ἀποθάνοντα τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἢ ἂν προθῶνται πρὶν ἥλιον ἔξέχειν.

**a 7 f.** πάντων and πᾶσι κοινῇ of course mean all the νομοφύλακες.

**b 1.** The correctors of L and O have preserved the correct πᾶσι for the πάσῃ of ALO.—ἄλλαι is in effect “beyond this.” The regulations concerning ταφαί referred to are, e.g., those above at 717 d, 719 d, 873 b, c, d, 909 c, 947 b 3 ff.—περὶ τελευτήσαντας is a good instance of περὶ c. acc. standing for a gen.

**b 2.** ἄταφοι πράξεις: L. & S. translate “refusal of the rites of burial,” Schn. “sepulturae carentes agendi rationes,” Wagn. “cases in which burial must be refused.” Is it not rather “actions which forfeit burial”? The following περὶ clause specifies the cases referred to.

**b 4.** κείνται διὰ νόμων, “have been made subjects of legislation.”

**b 5 ff.** τῶν πάντων δ’ ἐκάστοτε τέλος . . . τὸ ὅλον, “but we do not get to the end of any endeavour by just doing something, or getting something, or settling something; don’t imagine that all has been done that should be done until you have provided for the product of your work a complete and lasting security; until you have done that, you have done nothing.” These words, while marking the end of the positive law-making of the treatise, serve to introduce the more detailed description of the νυκτερινὸς σύλλογος as the sovereign *preservative* of all the laws.

**b 8.** O<sup>2</sup>’s ἔδει for δεῖ looks like a short-sighted correction.

**c 4.** Fic.’s “dicta laudantur” shows that he had before him the MS. ὑμνῆται, and not the vulgate εἴρηται (“quod glossema redolet” Stallb.). Cp. above, 778 d 7 where also ὁ ποιητικὸς . . . λόγος ὑμνείται is translated by Fic. “poeticum illud laudatur.”

**c 5.** A<sup>2</sup> added the τά which A had omitted by a natural error after ἤκιστα.

**c 7 ff.** The etymologizing and its application differ widely from that of the treatise *De mundo* (Bekker’s Aristotle 401 b), but both authors agree in connecting Ἀτροπος with ἀτρεπτος or ἀμετάστροφος (so too at *Rep.* 620 e 5). It is natural after the pointed mention of the names of the three Fates to expect three etymologies; this consideration compels, I think, the adoption of Bekker’s ληχθέντων for the MS. λεχθέντων (variously interpreted as “predictions,” “edicts,” or “the subject of our day’s conversation”). Otherwise there would be an etymology for Κλωθώ in the word κλωσθέντων, and for Ἀτροπος in ἀμετάστροφον, but none for Λάχσις. Schn. and Wagn. adopt ληχθέντων.



c 8. The significant δῆ of the MSS. was rightly restored by Schn. for the vulgate δέ.—For the reference in τρίτην σῴτειραν cp. on 692 a 3.

c 9 f. ἀπηκασμένα τῇ τῶν κλωσθέντων τῷ πυρί τὴν ἀμετάστροφον ἀπεργαζομένων δύναμιν: it is impossible to make anything of ἀπηκασμένα. The only thing it could agree with is τὰ τῶν Μοιρῶν προσρήματα, but what immediately precedes and what follows is concerned with only *one* of these names, i.e. Ἄτροπος. I would suggest, in desperation, that the word is either a marginal comment, describing the matter in the text as “likenesses,” or “comparisons,” or the attempted marginal emendation of ἀπεργαζομένων, or else that ἀπηκασμένα τῷ πυρί together formed an (inexplicable) glossema. Stallb. would reject ἀπηκασμένα . . . πυρί as a “miserandum scioli alicuius glossema”; but we want κλωσθέντων for the same reason that we wanted ληχθέντων. It remains, for the rest of the sentence, to pick from the bunch of emendations. Perhaps we may with Wagner accept Baiter’s τολίπη for the impossible τῷ πυρί, and, reading ἀπεργαζομένην with Schmidt and Stallb., get the meaning “who secures to the ball of the spun thread its inviolable persistency.” Or may we reject τῷ πυρί absolutely, and interpret τῇ τῶν κλωσθέντων as a periphrasis for τῇ Κλωθοῖ—“the Fate of the spun threads”? Herm. substitutes Schmidt’s σωτηρία for τῷ πυρί and accepts Ast’s ἀπεργαζομένη, keeping λεχθέντων and ἀπειακασμένα (sic). Fic. stolidly translates the MS. reading throughout, as does Schn. except that he accepts Bekker’s ληχθέντων. He assumes that τῇ stands for τῇ φύσει or τῇ μοίρᾳ, and that the preserving or the spinning was the work of fire. For the rejection of ἀπηκασμένα τῷ πυρί cp. on 898 b 2.

d 1. ἃ δῆ, “a state of things which . . .”; a vague reference to δύναμιν ἀμετάστροφον. Ast and Voegelein dispute the possibility of this reference in ἃ, and propose to read ἦν δῆ. Ast holds that if we read ἃ it can only refer to προσρήματα. A simpler emendation would be ὅ.

d 3. ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐνομίαν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ σωτηρίαν τῶν νόμων: i.e. “but further, to enthrone Law in the soul, nay to make Law everlasting.”

d 7. οὐ σμικρὸν λέγεις: sc. οὐ σμικρὸν τὸ ἐλλείπον, “what you mention is no small defect.”—A and O read μὴ δυνατόν. For μὴ A<sup>2</sup>, misunderstanding οὐ σμικρόν to mean “would be a grand thing if . . .”, substituted καί, and Fic., and all editors but Burnet, followed him.

**d 8.** Burnet has happily mended the text in this line as well as in the previous one. The MSS. read παντὶ κτήματι τοιοῦτον. To mend this Ald. inserted a τό before τοιοῦτον. All editors, even Schneider, accepted this. Burnet saw, however, that the context did not want the suggestion of a way by which *everything* (παντὶ κτήματι) might gain stability, but how *law* could. He therefore rejected the intrusive τό and read κτήμά τι for κτήματι. παντί is παντὶ νόμῳ; cp. d 5 and e 4. It is a happy and most illuminating emendation.

**e 5.** εἰς μηδὲν βέβαιον καταβαλεῖν: these words explain μάτην; the labour would have been in vain because the basis on which it was founded was insecure. What he says is, "it would be ridiculous to lay an insecure foundation and so frustrate our labour." The connexion would have been easier for us to see if he had written πονῆσαι and καταβαλόντα; in Greek, however, the participle is often the most significant verb.

**e 7.** τοιοῦτον . . . ἄλλον: he uses ἄλλον instead of the usual ἕτερον from a polite desire not to exclude Megillus.

**e 9.** Schneider, doubting the possibility of an interrogative interjected φῆς; in the middle of another question, prefers to give τίς οὖν . . . ἡμῖν to the Ath., so taking φῆς to be not "do you say?" but "you say." But Cleinias, though evidently eager for such information, has *not* said this.

**961 a 3.** τοὺς δὲ τάριστείᾳ εἰληφότας ἅπαντας: see on 951 d 7.

**a 6.** ἐν καίριον A and O, and so the vulgate down to Steph., and so Bekker, Stallb., and Burnet. The correctors of A and O mentioned a variant ἐγκαίριον—a "vocabulum nihili," as Stallb. says—and this Zür., Schn., and Wagner have actually adopted. Herm., more correctly, adopts Winckelmann's ἔγκαιρον, which has occurred already at 717 a 3 (in the MSS.) and 928 a 3. Ast substituted ἄν for ἐν. No change whatever is needed; ἐν is the intensive which singles out anything for special remark—the εἰς which goes with superlatives. As Stallb. says, ἐν τι is the neut. of εἰς τίς. Cp. *Rep.* 565 c οὐκοῦν ἕνα τινὰ ἀεὶ δῆμος εἴωθεν διαφερόντως προΐστασθαι ἑαυτοῦ; We may translate: "who had gone abroad to see if there was anything to be heard which was of special virtue for the preservation of laws." (I suspect, however, that for the very extraordinary dative of the agent τοῦτοις αὐτοῖς we ought to read <ἐν> τοῦτοις αὐτοῖς, and that the absence of ἐν there has something to do with the unnecessary ἐν before καίριον.)—τούτοις αὐτοῖς διαβασανισθέντας: these words

express an important condition. At 951 c 1 and c 7 we were reminded that the *character* of such travellers must be above suspicion. So here it is natural that a rigid inquiry by the members of the σύλλογος (the *τούτοις αὐτοῖς* of the text) should be made into the conduct and record of the travellers, before they were admitted into the assembly. (Jowett takes *τούτοις αὐτοῖς* to be neut.—“having been tested in these same matters.”)—*δόξαι*: the construction is *ἔτι δὲ τοὺς ἐκδημήσαντας . . . (δεῖν) δόξαι . . . τοῦ συλλόγου ἀξιοκοινωνήτους εἶναι*.

**b 1.** *τριάκοντ'* ἔτη is the reading of A and O. For this the vulgate down to Ast wrote *τριακονταετή*; Ast would prefer *τριακοντούτην*; all later editors but Burnet write *τριακονταέτη*, while B. rightly goes back to the MS. reading.—*πρώτον . . . κρίναντα . . . οὕτως*, “after he has first judged him (to be worthy), *only so* (must he introduce him).”

**b 3.** *ἐὰν μὲν . . .* followed by *εἰ*: in a note on *Phaedo* 93 b 2 Stallb. gives several instances from various authors of this variation of the construction.

**b 4.** *ἀπόρρητον εἶναι*, “celandum esse” Schn. (not, as Jowett, “they are forbidden to elect him”). No one must know—least of all the man himself—that he had been so selected as a member of the σύλλογος.

**b 7.** *καὶ μάλιστα*, “vel maxime.” The intensive *καί* is common before *μάλα*, but not before *μάλιστα*, but we have *καὶ μάλιστα* at *Phaedo* 61 e 1, and we have *καὶ διαφερόντως* at *Phaedo* 59 a 9, and *καὶ σφόδρα* above at 627 a 5.

**b 8.** For *παντί* O mentions a plausible variant *παντῇ*.—Both A and O left out *ἦν* after *ἡμῖν*; apparently O<sup>2</sup> added it here, and all texts have it.

**c 5.** *πάντα ἔχουσιν τὰ πρόσφορα ἑαυτῇ*, “equipped with all its own proper appurtenances.” The subj. of *σφίξει* (and complement of *ἔχουσιν*) is not *πόλιν* (as Wagn.), but *ἄγκυραν*; that is the thing which *σφίξει σύμπαντα*.

**c 8 f.** *τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο . . . προθυμίας*, “now is the time for us to do our very utmost to give the right advice.”

**d 1.** *χρὴ . . . ἔργων*, “we must find what for everything is its proper protector in its various activities.” For the use of *εἰκότα* = “fitting,” “satisfactory” cp. *Il. ix.* 399 *εἰκνίαν ἄκοιτιν*.

**d 3.** *τό γε μέγιστον*, “beyond all others”; cp. 942 d 6 *τὸ μέγιστον*.

**d 8.** *συνληβδὴν δὲ νοῦς μετὰ τῶν καλλίστων αἰσθήσεων κραθεῖς, γενομένος τε εἰς ἔν*: sight and hearing are the noblest of the

senses, because they are the most *intellectual*, and thus they naturally combine with *mind* to form a single agency.

**d 10.** καλουμένη: the syntax is noticeable whereby the participle of the predicate agrees in gender with the predicate σωτηρία and not with the subject νοῦς.

**e 1.** περὶ τί; though νοῦς, as below at a 7 in νοῦν περί τι, goes closely with περὶ τί, and the words are literally "the perception of what?" we may translate: "*In what particular way* does the union of mind and senses preserve ships whether in good weather or bad?" The answer is in the word κυβερνητικῶ. The *pilot* represents the ship's *mind*, and the sailors its *senses*, and together they *guide the ship* to port. The same question is asked more definitely below in the form τίνα σκοπὸν θέμενοι; when the activities of generals and physicians are under consideration.—A carelessly wrote ἄλλο περί τι.

**e 8.** After στρατοπέδων Steph. inserted καὶ ἱατρικῆς (Winck. καὶ νόσων), following the translations of Fic. and Corn. "in exercitu et medicina."

**e 9.** Before ἱατρική we must mentally supply οἶον περὶ ἱατρικῆς τίνα σκοπὸν θεμένη.

**962 a 1.** The vulgate and all edd. except Schneider and Burnet give the word ὁρθῶς to Cleinias.

**a 3.** For σώματι O<sup>2</sup> has a variant σώμασι which was the vulgate reading before Ast.

**a 7.** ἔσθ' ὅπως ἂν νοῦν περί τι τούτων ἂν ἔχων φαίνουτο = "it would be clear, would it not, that he did not understand the subject?"—A carelessly (and impossibly) wrote ὅπωςανονν for ὅπως ἂν νοῦν; A<sup>2</sup> put in the missing ν.—We owe the necessary τι before τούτων to O<sup>2</sup>; A and O omitted it.

**a 10.** τὸν πολιτικόν: probably used in just the same sense as above at 959 e 7, and at 963 b 2 and as ὁ πολιτικὸς ἀνὴρ at Polit. 257 b 9. It is, I think, here wrong to connect τὸν σκοπὸν τὸν πολιτικόν (though the same words are so to be connected below at b 6), as Ast (*Lex.*), Schn., and Wagn. do. Fic. rightly translates "si quis finem ad quem *vir civilis* respicere debet ignorare videatur."

**b 1.** μὲν πρῶτον and εἴτα, "to begin with" and "to go on with," are varieties for "either . . . or."

**b 2.** Apparently A and O had originally μηδ' εἰ δεῖν, which makes no sense; this was rightly corrected to the idiomatic μηδ' εἰδεῖν; A<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>2</sup> have a marginal, and not idiomatic, variant μὴ οἶδεν.



**b 6.** τὸν σκοπόν, ὅστις ποτὲ ὁ πολιτικὸς ὢν ἡμῖν τυγχάνει, "what our aim as politicians is."

**b 9.** A and O carelessly read *πρώτων*, but all printed edd. read *πρώτον*; Fic. has "primum"; Schneider keeps *πρώτων* (also translating by "primum").

**c 1.** τοῦ was omitted by A and O; Constantine added it.—O gives a variant which inserts ἡ before πόλις.—*ἀνους οὔσα καὶ ἀναίσθητος*: this is another way of preparing us for the idea that the *νυκτερινὸς σύλλογος* will be *νοῦς* and *αἰσθήσεις* (cp. 961 d) to the state.

**c 6.** For *ἱκανόν* Ast accepts Steph.'s unnecessary *ἱκανῶς*.

**d 2.** *νῦν*: i.e. at 961 d 5 and 962 a 9–b 2.

**d 3.** *πρὸς πολλὰ στοχαζόμενον*: at 693 c 8 we had another instance of this rare construction.

**d 7 ff.** *νῦν δὴ μαθησόμεθα . . . ἐκάστη*, "we must not be surprised to find that the laws of various states are at fault, because in each separate state the law-makers pursue all kinds of different aims."

**d 9 ff.** *καὶ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ . . . ἐν τῇ πόλει*, "in most cases, not unnaturally, with one set of politicians the guiding principle that settles what is right is the desire that certain persons shall have rule in the state." (Steph., Ast, and Wagner think that this sentence was meant to assign the *reason* of the general error, and the two former read τῷ for τό and Ast διὰ τό.—Ast takes τὰ μὲν πολλὰ to be τὰ πολλὰ τῶν νομίμων.)—The *μὲν* in d 9 seems to correspond to the *δέ* in e 4, the contrast being that between those who pursue one aim only and those who pursue more than one.

**e 4.** *δὴ* gives a tone of irony to the word *ἐλεύθερον*: cp. *Prot.* 320 a 6 *δεδιὼς περὶ αὐτοῦ μὴ διαφθαρῇ δὴ ὑπὸ Ἀλκιβιάδου*.

**e 5.** Cp. 694 a 3 ff. *Πέρσαι γάρ, . . . πρῶτον μὲν ἐλεύθεροι ἐγένοντο, ἔπειτα δὲ ἄλλων πολλῶν δεσπόται*.—The stylistic device by which the *ὅπως* is put with the first *τε* clause only, and the *ἔσονται* only with the second, helps the idea of the close connexion of the two objects aimed at.

**e 6.** *οἱ σοφώτατοι, ὡς οἴονται*: those who lose sight of *none* of these and the like objects in their law-making might well claim to be wiser than their neighbours; the really wise, however, were those who had a single eye to the *one thing needful*.

**e 7 ff.** *εἰς ἐν δὲ . . . βλέπειν*: I follow Schneider (in the main) in his interpretation of this passage; but I would put the comma after *τετιμημένον* instead of after *ἔχοντες*, or else put none

at all:—"but they do not aim at *one* object with exclusive devotion, because they can point to that object to which the rest of their objects must be subordinate." The last sentence returns to the Ath.'s main contention. We have been told all through that the prime necessity for the state is the *knowledge* of the supreme object of the law-maker's endeavour; this the *νυκτερινὸς σύλλογος* will supply. (Ast and Wagn. would reject the first *εἰς*; Stallb. would either follow them or read *οὐδέν, οὐδέν*; Steph. would read *οὐ οὐδέν*.)

**963 a 1 ff.** *πάσαι τιθέμενον*: Cleinias refers to the Ath.'s speech beginning at 631 b 3, and below at a 8 more particularly to 631 d 5 *τὰ δὲ θεῖα* [the four virtues *φρόνησις, σωφροσύνη, δικαιοσύνη, ἀνδρεία*] *εἰς τὸν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν σίμπαντα βλέπειν*. The *συνεχωροῦμεν* of a 3 also reminds us of the repetition of the original *συγχώρησις* at 770 c 7 *ἦν δὲ ἡ συγχώρησις ἐν ἔχονσα κεφάλαιον κτλ.*

**a 3.** *βλέποντ' εἶναι*, like the *βλεπούσας εἶναι* at 631 d 3, is a periphrasis for *βλέπειν*.

**a 8.** *νοῦν* here stands for *φρόνησιν*. The statement that *Wisdom is the leader of all the four virtues* is the only general statement made about them beyond that which says that they are all four comprised under one general name. Is not this statement intended as a hint to the solution of the question "in what does the oneness consist?"? For the assertion of the supremacy of *φρόνησις* cp. 631 c 6, 688 b 2.

**a 9.** *τὰ ἄλλα πάντα* are the *ἀνθρώπινα ἀγαθὰ* of 631 b 7, and the *subordinate aims* of 962 d ff.—*τούτων τὰ τρία* is of course "the three other virtues."—For δέι Zürr. adopt O<sup>2</sup>'s *δεῖν*, making the sentence a question throughout. So Fic., who has "oporteret."

**a 10.** *κάλλιστ' ἐπακολουθεῖς*, "how well you attend!"

**a 11.** A had *δεῖ συνακολουθεῖν*, O δὴ *συνακολουθεῖν*; A<sup>2</sup> altered δέι to δὲ and O<sup>2</sup> δὴ to δὲ. It looks as if the variants were all due to an accidental doubling of the *ν* at the beginning of *νοῦν*, which changed the natural *συνακολούθει* to *συνακολουθεῖν*. Stallb., Wagn., and Burnet print δὴ *συνακολούθει*; Herm. and Zürr., like all the early edd., have δὲ *συνακολούθει*; Schn. O's δὴ *συνακολουθεῖν* (an imperatival inf.).

**b 2.** *τὸν δὲ πολιτικὸν (νοῦν) ἐλέγχοντες ἐνταῦθ' ἐσμέν νῦν*: the *ἐκείνο* in the previous line carries back the mind to the previous exposition at 961 c, where the objects of the other professions were examined, and so emphasizes the *νῦν* here: "we have now got to the point of examining the political *φρόνησις*."

b 5. ὁ δὴ is logically "the like of which," rather than "that one which." The previous two questions are equivalent to "what *in your case* is the supreme object of all endeavour?"

b 6. All editors but Schneider write ἄν, πάντων for the ἀπάντων of A and O. See below on c 9.

b 7. διαρθροῦντες: an expressive synonym for διοριζόμενοι, as at 645 c 1. At Arist. Περὶ πορείας ζῶων 705 b 21 it is used in the sense of *differentiate*.

c 3. τί δ' ὅτι δεῖ προθυμεῖσθαι τε συνιδεῖν αὐτὸ καὶ ἐν οἷς; the Athenian does not mean to provide the answer to the question just propounded; his concern is to show that it would tax the wisdom of the profoundest philosopher to answer it, and hence to deduce the necessity for providing the thinking faculty of the state—which is the νυκτερινὸς σύλλογος—with the most perfect and accurate philosophical training (964 d 4 f.). He therefore proceeds to furnish here, and below at 964 a 7 ff., two examples of *the sort of questions* which will have to be considered by them. The first question is the old mystery of the one and the many: "What is it, I say, which we have to be anxious to discern, both in itself, and in its manifestations?" If this translation is right, ὅτι is the indirect interrogative. Fic.'s translation is: "An non quaerendum putatis quid illud sit et in quibus?" (Schn. and Stallb. put a comma after τί δ'.) Schn. translates "Numquid vero et operam dandam esse ei cognoscendo, et in quibus sit danda?"

c 5. οἷον ἐν τίσιν λέγεις; Cleinias's answer is in effect: "show me by an example what you mean by 'in its manifestations.'" This the Ath. proceeds to do by the example of ἀρετὴ αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτό and the four separate manifestations of ἀρετή.

c 6. O<sup>2</sup> gives ἔφωμεν as a variant for the more precise ἐφήσαμεν of ALO and Stob.

c 9. A and O accidentally omitted the καί; Stobaeus has it and A<sup>2</sup> inserts it above the line.—Stobaeus reads αὖ πάντα for the ἅπαντα of A and O, and he is probably right (so Ast); Fic. gives *unam etiam*, which looks like ἐν γὰρ αὖ.

d 1. Boeckh (*Minos* p. 147) proposed to read γ' ἄλλα for τὰλλα, and Ast would read δ' ἄλλα, but Stallb. rightly follows Matthiae, *Gr.* § 279 in upholding the article as meaning "quae commemoravi"; cp. τὰλλα (Stob. τὰ ἄλλα) at d 5 and τοῖς ἄλλοις at d 6.—ὡς ὄντως ὄντα, "as being in reality." However Cleinias understood these words, ὄντως ὄντα, like the αὐτό at c 3, is in harmony with Plato's belief in νοητὰ εἶδη. So he speaks in the *Rep.* of τὸ παντελὺς ὄν, τὸ εἰλικρινὺς ὄν, and of ὄντως κλίνης

ποιητὴς ὄντως οὕτως (597 d 1). Wagn. translates by a mere "in der That," Fic. and Schn. by *revera*.—A has ὄντων for ὄντως, and L and O, which read ὄντως, both mention ὄντων as a variant; Stob. omits the word altogether.—ἐν τούτῳ μόνον, ἀρετήν, "the particular individual thing, virtue."

d 6. O and A<sup>2</sup> correctly write ἐν for the ἐν of A and Stob.; O mentions ἐν as a variant.

d 9. O<sup>2</sup> and Stob. read ὅ γε for the simple ὅ of A and O.

e 1 f. τί ποτε . . . προσείπομεν, "how it comes that, while calling them all the while by the one name ἀρετή, we again speak of them as two." προσείπομεν is a gnomic aor.

e 3. L and O have λέγω, A εγω altered by A<sup>2</sup> to λέγω. L<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>2</sup>, and a late hand in A, all adopt Stobaeus's ἐρῶ, to which A's εγω gives some support. From Ast onwards all texts have ἐρῶ.

e 4. τῆς ἀνδρείας: for the attraction from another case to the case of the relative see Riddle, *Digest* § 192 e; a very similar instance to this is *Phaedo* 66 e 2 καὶ τότε, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἡμῖν ἔσται οὐδ' ἐπιθυμοῦμέν τε καὶ φαμεν ἐρασταὶ εἶναι, φρονήσεως. (Baiter and Wagn. reject τῆς ἀνδρείας.)

e 8. ὡς ὄντος ἑτέρου, "for wisdom is a different thing"; i.e. it is not an *inborn, physical quality*, but a *mental acquirement*. So, in the discussion of this same question at *Prot.* 349 b 1 ff., Socrates says οὐκ ὄν οἶον τὸ ἕτερον αὐτῶν τὸ ἕτερον. The above rough popular definition of the peculiar nature of courage contradicts directly the view expressed by Nicias in the *Laches* 197 a 6 ff., where he denies that animals or little children can properly be called courageous, because their fearlessness is μετὰ ἀπρομηθείας καὶ ἀνοίας; it is also at variance with *Prot.* 350 c 5 ff. (Ritter thinks ὡς ὄντος ἑτέρου may mean "λόγος being something distinct from either φρόνησις or νοῦς.")

964 a 2. πάλιν, "in return."

a 3. διανοῦ δὲ ὡς ἐρῶν καί: as we should say: "you will also have to tell me, you know. (Not, as Jowett, "suppose that I ask you.")

a 4. πάλιν (δείξαι) ὅπη τέτταρα: the Ath. would not merely have to go through the same process, with the remaining two virtues, that he had followed at e 3 ff. above, with regard to ἀνδρεία and φρόνησις, but would have to show how the (now ascertained) uniform character or essence of virtue manifested itself differently in each of the four. The λόγος (e.g. of ἀνδρεία) of which we are to hear below consists of its general character as a virtue, and of its special distinguishing characteristics.



**a 5.** τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο, "further." This second problem is that of defining the significance and application of general terms. Cp. *Ep.* vii. 342 b 1 where ὄνομα and λόγος are mentioned as two out of five necessary accessories of ἐπιστήμη. So above at 895 d 4, where λόγος and ὄνομα are given as two out of the three things that it is desirable to know about everything. Cp. also *Politicus* 271 c 1 καὶ γηγενεῖς δὴ . . . οὕτως ἔχειν τοῦνομα καὶ τὸν λόγον, and *Sophist* 221 b 1 οὐ μόνον τοῦνομα ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν λόγον περὶ αὐτὸ τοῦργον.

**a 8.** τὸν γε ὄντα τι, "si precii alicuius est" Fic. Cp. *Laches* 200 a 8 ἀνδρὶ οἰομένῳ τι εἶναι. It is an expressive variant of the often repeated οὐ καὶ σμικρὸν ὄφελος. Cornarius suggested γνόντα for γε ὄντα, and Steph. and Ast accepted it in the text; not only, however, does the tense of γνόντα condemn it, but "a man who gets to know something" is by itself weaker than "a man who is worth something," and the καί marks the περί clause as belonging best to ἀγνοεῖν. Much the same reason would also exclude W. R. Paton's ingenious τὸν γ' ἐπαίοντά τι.—A<sup>2</sup>'s λέγοντά τι is another wrong-headed correction.—καί is not *also*, but *even*.

**b 1.** πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα: Fic. rightly interprets this to mean "tam nomina quam rationes"—"to know neither name nor nature even of what is most beautiful and most important."

**b 3.** μεῖζον ("more important") continues the idea of the previous διαφερόντων μεγέθει; hence the asyndeton, which is quasi-explanatory.

**b 6.** A and O have φρόνησις δὲ δικαιοσύνη. Assuming the δέ to be a dittographic blunder, most editors simply reject it, but Fic., Zürr., Herm., and Burnet not only reject the δέ but adopt the marginal reading of O and a late hand in A, which is δικαιοσύνη φρόνησις. This is the (ascending) order in which the four cardinal virtues are given at 965 d 2, and at *Phaedo* 69 b 3 ff., but not that at 631 c 5 ff. (φρ. σω. δικ. ἀνδρ.).

**b 8—c 6.** Both Ficinus (who translates "nonne . . . docere debent . . . atque haec significando excellere ceteris") and all other editors before Burnet accept without questioning the reading (in c 2) οὐ δεῖ διδάσκοντα. Burnet, however, reveals the fact that neither A nor O had anything but οὐ διδάσκοντα, though some inferior MSS. have οὐδὲ διδάσκοντα, and further that the δεῖ prefixed to διδ. in A is from the hand of the fourteenth-century bishop Constantine of Hierapolis in Sicily, who was once the possessor of the MS. A—and whom Cobet calls its

"correctorculus." Burnet therefore rightly prints nothing but *οὐ διδάσκοντα*, leaving us to suppose that the *acc. c. inf.* clauses could stand alone after *πότερον*, with some such expression supplied in thought as "are we to think?" It would be better, I think, to mark by a (—) the fresh start at *πότερον*, which is accompanied by the change from plur. to sing. "Are we (on the one hand) to think that on these subjects the interpreters, teachers, and law-makers, who are the guardians of their fellow-citizens,—in the interest of the man who wants to learn and know, or of him who wants to be punished and rebuked because he is a sinner—are we, I say, to think that it is *not* the man who can explain (to him) the effective force of vice and virtue, and make it quite clear, who stands above (all) other men, but (to imagine) that either some poet who visits the city, or someone who professes to be an instructor of youth, is demonstrably the superior of the man who has won the repute of perfect virtue?" Palaeographically the Correctorculus's "shot" was not a bad one. The same carelessness which led to the addition in some inferior MSS. of *δέ* before *διδάσκοντα* might also have led to the omission of *δεῖ* before the same word. But *δεῖ* does not suit both of the two alternatives *πότερον οὐ διαφέρειν* and *ἀλλ' ἢ ποιητὴν τινα . . . βελτίω φαίνεσθαι*.

**b 8.** I do not think that Wagner is right (in his note) in giving to *ἐξηγητάς* the narrower sense it has at 759 d 5; the three nouns are general descriptions of the functions and powers of the members of the *νυκτ. σύλλογος*.

**b 9.** *τῷ δεομένῳ*, which some interpreters connect directly with *δηλοῦντα* in c 3 (so A.M.A.), is possibly merely the *dat. of the person interested*. (Schn. translates "*in usum eius qui . . .*")

**c 1.** The collocation in one clause of the pass. *κολάζεσθαι* and the act. *ἐπιπληξαι*, both depending on *δεομένῳ*, is harsh and unusual.

**c 3.** Schneider puts no comma after *δηλοῦντα*; he makes *διαφέρειν τῶν ἄλλων* refer to *ἀρετή* and depend on *δηλοῦντα*, i.e. he takes *βελτίω φαίνεσθαι* as the only inf. depending on the question *οὐ δεῖ*;

**c 5.** *πάσαν ἀρετὴν νενικηκότος*: this acc. is like the acc. in *τὸν ἅπαντα νικᾷ λόγον* at Soph. *O.C.* 1225, and in the expressions *μάχην, δίκην, Ὀλύμπια νικᾶν*, an extension of the cognate acc. *νίκην νικᾶν*.—The variant *πάσῃ ἀρετῇ* in A<sup>2</sup> is a short-sighted correction.

**c 6 ff.** *εἴτα . . . θαυμαστόν τι (εἴη αἶν)*; "will you tell me that it would be at all surprising that . . .?" A similar *εἴτα* intro-

duces a similar animated question at *Theaet.* 207 d 8, and at *Sophist* 222 b 6.

c 7 (ὅπου μὴ) . . . εἰεν: the opt. shows that the unexpressed verb with *θαυμαστόν τι*; would be εἶη ἄν.

d 3. Burnet and Wagner rightly follow Herm. in punctuating *ποιητέον ἡμῖν, ἢ πῶς*; (cp. 965 a 4 *πότερον οὕτω λέγομεν ἢ πως ἄλλως* ;). Fic. and all other editors join on ἢ (or ᾗ) πῶς to the following question. The question is still “*shall we (by careful selection and training) endeavour to make our supreme deliberative authority as perfect as possible?*” It was not so plainly put in the last paragraph, but it was implied, and that is what *ὁ λέγομεν νῦν* means.

d 3 ff. τοὺς φύλακας . . . κατασκευαστέον; “are we to secure that our guardians are more perfect than ordinary, both in the practice and understanding of virtue?”

d 5. ἢ τίνα τρόπον; “how else?”—τῇ . . . κεφαλῇ τε καὶ αἰσθήσειν: cp. above, 961 d 2–10.

d 8. Cleinias asks, “What do we mean by such a comparison, and wherein does the likeness lie?”

e 1. ὥς οὔσης τῆς πόλεως τοῦ κύτους stands for τὴν πόλιν εἶναι τὸ κύτος; cp. on 624 a 7.—The state as a whole is compared to the trunk of a human body. (Fic. and Schn. take it to mean the hollow of the skull.)

e 2 f. οἶον ἐν ἄκρᾳ κορυφῇ, ἀπειλεγμένους τοὺς εὐφνεστάτους: varying the metaphor, we might say “risen to the top of everything, the cream of the whole.” The fact that they were a selection of the most capable younger men gives the right to speak of them as being “right at the top”—where the head of the body is. Herm., Schn., Wagn., Stallb. (1860), and Burnet rightly prefer the ἀπειλεγμένους of ALO to the suggestive variant ἀπειλημμένους (“set apart”) of the margin of L and O, which was the reading of all previous editions. An inferior MS.—Bekker’s z—gives ἀπειληγμένους, which, as Stallb. says, shows how ἀπειλημμένους perhaps arose.

e 3. ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ψυχῇ, “in every mental faculty.”

e 4. περὶ ὅλην κύκλῳ τὴν πόλιν ὄραν: probably περί does not govern ὅλην πόλιν—which is the direct obj. of ὄραν—but is adverbial as at *Phaedo* 112 e 7 ῥέον περὶ κύκλῳ. The δέ proceeds as if there had been a μέν after ὅλην. Ought we perhaps to read τε for it?

965 a 3. μετὰ συμβουλίᾳς: the younger men had acted as scouts, and treasured in their memory (e 5 above) what they had

seen, and were thus able to help the elder members of the Council in their deliberations.

**a 4.** Probably it was the 'similarity in sound which led to the omission of ὅλην after πόλιν in A and O. It was added by a late hand in A.

**a 5.** ἡ πως ἄλλως: so rightly Steph. for the vulgate ἡ πῶς ἄλλως; so too Fic. before him, translating "sienne an aliter?"—κατασκευάζεσθαι: it seems best to take this to be *middle*; we shall so get rid of the difficulty of the following κεκτημένους, which will agree with ἡμᾶς understood—μῶν (λέγομεν δεῖν ἡμᾶς κατασκευάζεσθαι αὐτοὺς) ὁμοίους πάντας κεκτημένους; (Ast and Wagn. take κατασκ. to be passive, and κεκτημένους to stand for κεκτῆσθαι and to agree with a πολίτας to be extracted from τὴν πόλιν in a 4. L. & S. cut the knot by supposing κεκτημένους to be passive! Jowett treats ὁμοίους πάντας as subj. and κεκτ. as obj. of a supplied λέγομεν, "shall we say that they are all alike owners of the state?" Stallb. ingeniously suggests that πάντα has fallen out after πάντας.)

**a 6.** Steph. altered the awkward secondary predicate διηκριβωμένους to διηκριβωμένως; Stallb. (1860) went further and changed ὁμοίους to ὁμοίως. Fic. seems to have read διηκριβωμένως. The gain in style is so great, and the change such a natural one for a scribe to make, that I adopt Steph.'s reading.

**b 1.** We have had a hint of the possibility of this ἀκριβεστέρα παιδεία in the ἡ (ἐκ) μαθημάτων ποτέ τινων of 770 d 3, where the original constitution of the νομοφύλακες and their functions is described.

**b 4.** ἡς δὲ νῦν σχεδὸν ἐφηψάμεθα, "we are now," he says, "face to face with the mystery of which we had an inkling just now," i.e. at 962 e, 963 b 2-964 a 3—the mystery of *the one and the many*.

**b 7 ff.** The δημιουργός in question is, of course, the νομοθέτης.

**b 10.** πρὸς ἐκείνο συντάξασθαι πάντα συνορῶντα, "to keep his eye fixed on *that* whenever he settles anything"; συνορῶντα πρὸς ἐκείνο forms the main idea of the clause. Cp. *Epin.* 979 a 5 πάντα ἀριθμὸν πρὸς ἀριθμὸν . . . συνορᾶν, and 779 c 7 συνιδόντες ταῖς χρεῖαις. [A.M.A. makes πάντα the obj. of συνορῶντα.]

**c 1 ff.** Here is made clear to us, what was hinted above at 963 c ff., that the philosophical problem is at the root of all practical questions which, like that mooted at 962 e, ask "what is the real object for which I have to strive?" In other words, the supreme object of every endeavour can only be discovered by



the man who can penetrate to the *νοητὰ εἶδη* (*Soph.* 246 b 7) and discern the one in the many. Cp. particularly *Soph.* 253 d 5—c 1. —The first hands in A and O have ἀκριβεστέρα σκέψις θία τε ἄν. In some early MS. the last three words were run into one, and this mistake gave rise to many subsequent adjustments—not now worth recording.

c 9. The καί brings the case of the young candidates into line with the general statement made at c 1 ff.

c 10. τί ποτε AO and the margin of L; L and O<sup>2</sup> have ὅτι ποτέ. The former more animated form of the question seems the more natural, as well as the better attested; the latter looks like a grammarian's correction.

d 1. A has φαμεν ἐν ἀνδρεία; the τε after ἐν, which is needed to supplement the καί before ἐν φρονήσει, was added by A<sup>2</sup> in the margin, and Bishop Constantine added ἐν above the line—as if the ἐν after φαμεν was written obscurely.

d 2. A and O have ἐν ὁ, rightly corrected by A<sup>3</sup> and O<sup>2</sup> to ἐν ὄν. In the margin of L and O there is a noticeable variant ἐνδόν; we are not told what L's original reading was. Fic. seems to have read ἐνόν, for he translates; “quod, cum in fortitudine . . . insit, uno virtutis nomine iure volumus appellari.”

d 3. τοῦτο κτλ.: the asyndeton emphasizes the τοῦτο; “that, believe me, is what we must keep a firm grasp of.”

d 4. εἰ μὲν βουλόμεθα (“if we are agreed”), like the εἰ ἂν γε ἡμῖν . . . πειθόμεθα at e 3, is more polite than the 2nd pers. would be.

d 6. εἴτε ὡς ἐν εἴτε ὡς ὅλον εἴτε ἀμφοτέρα εἴτε ὅπως ποτέ πέφυκεν: the form of the quadruple alternative is nearly the same as that of the triple ones at 899 a 7 ff., *Phaedo* 100 d 5 f., *Rep.* 612 a 4. For the sense cp. the quadruple alternative (cited above) at *Soph.* 253 d 5 ff.—The expressions are chosen so as to fit equally (1) the general problem of the relation of the one to the many, (2) the particular one of the relation of the four cardinal virtues to the one general term virtue—the latter, as we saw at 963 a ff., being a thing which every real government has got to find out.—“Is it some one thing that exists in all four? or is it a composite whole made up of the four separate parts? or are both these things true at once? or is any other explanation possible?”—A and O left out the ὡς before ἐν; A<sup>2</sup> restored it.

e 1. περὶ ἧς κτλ.: it has been established that the government must pursue one supreme end, but how can it, if it cannot be sure that ἀρετή, which is confessedly its end, is one?—A and O again, as at d 6, omit an evidently necessary word—in both cases after

a word ending in -τε. A<sup>3</sup> (in the margin) and O<sup>2</sup> give us οὐτ' εἰ πολλά for the οὔτε πολλά of A and O.

e 2. Again A and O go wrong, writing οὕτως for οὕθ' ὥς. A<sup>3</sup> (in the margin) and O<sup>2</sup> give the right reading.

e 3. The MS. readings in this line are (1) οὐκοῦν (apparently), (2) ἡμεῖς, and (3) ἄλλως δέ πως. For (2) A<sup>2</sup> is evidently right in reading ἡμῖν, and so all editors. For (3) A<sup>3</sup> and O<sup>2</sup> suggest ἀμωσγέπως in the margin, and all editors but Schneider and Burnet have adopted it. The majority of edd. hold, i.e., that to the Ath.'s rhetorical question οἴομεθά ποτε κτλ.; he makes answer, "we must manage to get virtue somehow." But is not this a weak remark as a supplement to the statement made at d 3 ff. that they must never let this object get out of their grasp? I follow Schn. and Burnet in reading for (1) οὐκουν, and this brings the MS. ἄλλως δέ πως to its rights again; "no, believe me," he says, "if we don't secure that object in one way, we must do so in another."

e 4f. εἰ δ' ἄρα τὸ παράπαν δοκεῖ ἐὰν: i.e. "whether" (or "if) we are going to give up altogether our main object," which is ἀρετή in the various elements of our state.—What follows δοκεῖ is obscure. Both A and O read ἐὰν (not ἐάν). A gives two versions of the next three or four letters: (1) \*ρηι and (in the margin) δρηι; O has ὀρηι, with δῆ given as a variant in the margin; δῆ is also written by A<sup>3</sup> in the margin of A. The sense of the three concluding lines is no doubt, as Fic. saw, "if we don't secure this knowledge somehow we must give up our main endeavour." His translation is: "aut . . . modum adinvenire conabimur quo id in civitate nobis aderit, aut, si videbitur, dimittemus." Assuming that all editors are right in reading ἐάν for the MS. ἐάν, we have to choose between various conjectural restorations of the mutilated text which follows it. Schn. reads χρῆν (i.e. χρῆναι), Herm. δρᾶν, Winck. and Burnet (independently) ὀρᾶν δῆ. This last, though not the most defensible palaeographically, gives the most appropriate sense. The Ath. was more likely to say "we must face the possibility of renouncing our main object," than to say "if we decide that we must renounce it, we must." It also suits Cleinias's answer better. Burnet reminds us that ὀρᾶν δῆ χρῶν νῦν occurs below at 968 a 4.

e 6. Here we have another mutilation: A reads ἥκιστ' ἂν ἦι, for which O and A<sup>3</sup> (in the margin of A) have ἥκιστ' ἂν\*. Fic., Ald., and all subsequent editors make the correction to ἥκιστα νῆ. —A has also ξένον for ξένιον (corrected by A<sup>3</sup>).

e 8. L and O (and A<sup>3</sup>) read *μηχανήσαιο* for A's *μηχανῶτο*; Zürr. alone adopt the variant.—The *τοῦτο* here is probably the *τοῦτο* of d 3, i.e. the *philosophic insight*, not that of e 4, which is *virtue*.

966 a 5. Stallb. says that here, and below at b 4, ALO and some minor MSS. have not *δὲ* but *δαί*; from Burnet's silence it may be concluded that with respect to A at all events this is a mistake. Cp. above, 895 c 11.

a 6. The *μόνον* looks on to the *ἦ καί* of the following line. Not only must our *σύλλογος* be able to see how other general ideas besides the four cardinal virtues—cp. b 4 *περὶ πάντων τῶν σπουδαίων*—are *πολλά*, but also how they are *ἐν*. Herm. rightly rejects the *ὄν* after *μόνον*, which L and O give as a variant, because it is condemned both by the authority of the better MS., and by the sense of the passage.

a 8. *ἔοικ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης δεῖν*: Stallb. is probably right in holding that *ἔοικ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης* means the same as *ἔοικ' ἀναγκαῖον*, as in similar expressions at *Soph.* 256 d 11, and *Tim.* 28 a 8.

b 1. The word *ἐνδειξις* is usually a legal term (cp. Pollux viii. 49); but L. & S. are wrong in citing it as such in this passage; here it is *demonstration, exposition*. It occurs again at *Ep.* vii. 341 e 3, where also Plato is speaking of the power of *τινες ὀλίγοι* to expound high philosophical truths. These are apparently the only two passages in which he uses the term. The verb *ἐνδείκνυσθαι* is common in Plato; at 856 c 3, and *Apol.* 32 b 8, the active is used in the legal sense of *inform against*.—With the construction of the dat. with the noun of action—"demonstration by word"—Stallb. rightly cps. *ιάσεις τῷ τρίβειν* at *Phil.* 46 a 8: interpreters generally take *τῷ λόγῳ* with *ἐνδείκνυσθαι*.

b 4. *περὶ πάντων τῶν σπουδαίων*, "on all important subjects." (Certainly not, as Jowett (ed. 2), "of all good men.")—Burnet comes nearest to the *αὐτὸς* of A and O in writing *αὐτὸς* for the *ὁ αὐτὸς* of L and O<sup>2</sup> and all other editions.

b 5. *τοὺς ὄντως φύλακας*: the ordinary *νομοφύλακες*, as constituted and commissioned in Bk. VI. (752 e–755 b and 770), have had many various extra duties assigned to them in the course of the subsequent legislation, but in order to cope with this supreme task there must be constituted, from them and other selected men, older and younger, a yet more highly gifted body—in fact a body of philosophers. Ritter (p. 356) cps. *Rep.* 414 b *καλεῖν τούτους μὲν φύλακας παντελείς*, and *Rep.* 428 d *οὓς νῦν δὴ τελέους φύλακὰς ὠνομάζομεν*.

**b 8.** κρίνοντας . . . κατὰ φύσιν, "secundum naturam diiudicantes" Fic. So too Schn. (Wagn. takes μὴ κατὰ φύσιν with a supplied γιγνόμενα; Ritter, who also suggests taking the words so, cps. 686 d 3, 815 b 5, 816 b 2, and 818 e 3.) To distinguish *on natural lines* is to distinguish *truly*. Such a judgement is necessary both for thought and exposition and for action.

**c 1.** The τῶν σπουδαίων of b 4 is here replaced by τῶν καλλίστων, the added ὁ δὲ σπουδῇ διεπερανάμεθα serving to recall the former term. ἐν τῶν καλλίστων = "prominent among the noblest."

**c 2.** καὶ ὅσης φαίνονται κύριοι δυνάμεως, "and with how great power they are evidently endowed."

**c 3.** The infinitives εἰδέναι, συγγιγνώσκειν and (μὴ) ἐπιτρέπειν are subjects of some such phrase as καλὸν ἐστίν, implied in ἐν τῶν καλλίστων ἐστίν. (Fic. makes them depend on διεπερανάμεθα; but the necessity for the "real" φύλακες being philosophers was *not* part of the previous exposition.)

**c 5.** τῇ φήμῃ μόνον τῶν νόμων συνακολουθοῦσιν, "if they merely acquiesce in what the laws tell them."

**c 6.** μὴδὲ ἐπιτρέπειν is in effect, "not even to allow them to be candidates for the office—not even to give them the chance."

**c 8.** τῶν οὐσῶν: sc. πίστεων.—τὴν δὲ μὴ ἐπιτροπὴν εἶναι, "and this refusal must (ultimately) mean that . . ." All subsequent editors have accepted Ast's illuminating substitution of μὴ for the MS. μὴν. Fic. has merely "ut neminem . . . eligamus."

**d 1.** θεῖον καὶ διαπεπονηκότα: i.e. he must be both naturally gifted and studious.

**d 2.** αὐτά is easily understood to mean τὰ θεῖα.—μὴδ' αὖ τῶν πρὸς ἀρετὴν (ἐγκρίτων) ἔγκριτον γίγνεσθαι: it is very significant of the importance which Plato attaches to philosophic thinking that he will not allow even perfect excellence in conduct among the class described at c 4—who only possess ἀληθοῦς δόξα at second hand—to qualify for the class of "the elect"—of those who, as he expresses it at b 7, are able τοῖς ἔργοις συνακολουθεῖν τοῖς περὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῶν σπουδαίων πάντων. We are reminded of St. Paul's distinction between *Law* and *Grace*.—Herm., Stallb. (1860), and Wagner accept L. Dindorf's emendation (in Didot's *Thesaurus*) of the ἔγκριτον of the MSS. to ἐγκρίτων. But we seem to want something to agree with τὸν μὴ θεῖον rather than a parallel expression to τῶν νομοφυλάκων.

**d 5.** A and O have ἀποκρίνασθαι (*answer*), but A<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>2</sup>



rightly alter it to ἀποκρίνεσθαι (*to be separated from among*). (Schn. and L. & S. suppose it possible that the middle may have had the meaning "separate.") Fic. translates "*ut arceatur*," but the vulgate adopted the reading ἀποκρίνασθαι. Zürr., Herm., Stallb. (1860), Wagn., and Burnet adopt the pass. ἀποκρίνεσθαι. Such a man, Cl. says, must not hope to obtain distinction. Cp. *Rep.* 414 a τὸν δὲ μὴ τοιοῦτον ἀποκριτέον, and 413 c καὶ τὸν μὲν μνήμονα καὶ δυσεξαπάτητον ἐγκριτέον, τὸν δὲ μὴ ἀποκριτέον.

d 6. δὺ' ἐστὸν κτλ. : *not εἰς πίστιν* (τῶν) ὅσα διήλθομεν (*in that case he would have said "there were two" not "there are two"*) : (τῶν) ὅσα κτλ. depends on δὺ' ἐστὸν, and πίστιν belongs solely to περὶ θεῶν. (Fic. and Schn. take the former view.)—For the first pers. ἴσμεν, where we should expect the second, cp. above on 965 d 4 and e 3. (Schmidt, *Em. Plat.* 1848, would read τῶν for τῷ—thus providing ὅσα with an antecedent—"leading to faith in the theology of Bk. X." But this does not emphasize the *two points* as well as the τῷ does.)

d 9 ff. πρεσβυτάτον τε καὶ θειότατόν ἐστιν πάντων ὧν κίνησις γένεσιν παραλαβοῦσα ἀέναον οὐσίαν ἐπόρισεν, "*is far older and more perfect than all the things whose movement, having received its origin (from elsewhere), starts them on a ceaseless round of change.*" We must not let modern idiom blind us to the fact that ψυχὴ is not one of the things which are so "*started*"; they are all σῶμα—all discernible by the bodily senses, while ψυχὴ is not so discernible. For the idiom cp. below, 969 a 7 ἀνδριότατος τῶν ὕστερον ἐπιγιγνομένων. The passage in Bk. X. to which this sentence refers is 896 b 10 ff., where the adjectives are in the comparative degree.—With παραλαβοῦσα cp. 897 a 4 πρωτουργοὶ κινήσεις τὰς δευτερουργοὺς αὐτὰ παραλαμβάνουσαι κινήσεις σωμάτων.—The γένεσις here spoken of is not that of the πάντων, but of the κίνησις.

e 2. Ast first expressed a doubt whether ἀέναον merely means "*everlasting*" or "*ever-flowing*"—in the sense of the μεταβολῆς τε αὐτῶν καὶ μετακοσμήσεως ἀπάσης of 892 a 6, and of the μεταβάλλον . . . καὶ μετακινούμενον of 894 a 5 f. (cp. *Crat.* 402 a 8 πάντα χωρεῖ καὶ οὐδὲν μένει). It seems to fit in best with Plato's ontology to take it in the latter sense, and to suppose πάντων to be *the world as apprehended by the bodily senses*. The former meaning is given to the word by Schn., Wagn., Jowett, and L. & S.; Fic. gives *semper fluentem*, Susenmihl "*immer fliessendes.*"

e 4. τὸ πᾶν διακεκοσμηκώς : cp. Anaxagoras (fr. 12 Diels) πάντα διεκόσμησε νοῦς.—μὴ φαύλως μηδ' ἰδιωτικῶς, "*with a searching and trained gaze.*"

967 a 2. ταῖς μετὰ ταύτης ἀναγκαίαις ἄλλαις τέχναις, "the other related sciences."

a 3. ὥς οἶόν τε: so the MSS. and so all texts. If this reading is correct it must mean "as far as possible," and must qualify γιγνόμενα ἀνάγκαις. But the natural expression for this would be ὥς οἶόν τε μάλιστα. See, however, Adam's note on *Rep.* 387 c 2, where four MSS. read ὥς οἶόν τε in place of the unintelligible ὥς οἴεται of the best MSS. He points out that at *Arist. Pol.* 1313 a 39 ὥς οἶόν τε is used without a superlative. There Bekker proposes to read ὥς οἴονται, which Apelt (*Progr.* 1901), with perhaps better reason, proposes to read here. A comparison of the three passages seems to me to tell in favour of the MSS. (Fic. would make ὥς οἶόν τε qualify καθεωρακότας, "cum . . . pro viribus . . . inspexerint," and so Stallb.)

a 4. O<sup>2</sup> mentions an unintelligible variant ἀναγκαίους for ἀνάγκαις.

a 5. ἀγαθὼν περί τελουμένων: lit. "occupied about good which is being accomplished." For *good* and *perfection* as the final cause of cosmic arrangements cp. *Phaedo* 97 c ff. and *Tim.* 39 e.

b 3 f. ἄψυχα ὄντα . . . νοῦν μὴ κεκτημένα: the second participial clause develops the first, and gives the reason for it; i.e. this marvellously exact calculation would never have been possible if the heavenly bodies had not been informed by ψυχή, for without ψυχή there is no νοῦς, and only νοῦς could arrange things fittingly.—εἰς ἀκρίβειαν is an adverbial clause qualifying θαυμαστοῖς: "so wonderful in accuracy," i.e. "so wonderfully accurate."

b 5. νοῦς . . . ὁ διακεκοσμηκῶς πάντα: cp. above on 966 e 4.

b 6 ff. οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ πάλιν ἀμαρτάνοντες ψυχῆς φύσεως . . . ἅπανθ' . . . ἀνέτρεψαν πάλιν: cp. the disappointment about Anaxagoras expressed by Socrates at *Phaedo* 98 b 7 ff.

c 2. τὸ γὰρ δὴ πρὸ τῶν ὁμμάτων, "for judging by (near) appearances." The τὸ of A and O, which Burnet is the first to discover and print, makes the expression an adverbial one, and is much better than the τὰ of the vulgate and all other texts. The δὴ which A gives is omitted by L and O. For πρὸ τῶν A erroneously wrote *πρωτον*, but A<sup>2</sup> corrected it. Fic. has "nam quae ante oculos sunt haec et in caelo esse crediderunt." This is not a translation of the Greek, but, as usual, he gets hold of the right idea. I have removed the commas which stand in all recent editions after ἐφάνη and φερόμενα.

c 4. μεστὰ . . . λίθων, "a pack of stones."

c 5. διανεμόντων τὰς αἰτίας, "which (inanimate bodies) provided" (not "shared," for that would be διανεμονμένων) "the causes of." Cp. *Phaedo* 98 b 9 f., and *Arist. Met.* 985 a 20 ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις [where he—Anaxagoras—thinks he can discern a necessary cause] πάντα μᾶλλον αἰτιᾶται τῶν γιγνομένων ἢ νοῦν. (Fic. and Ast take διανεμόντων to be used, by a violent grammatical dislocation, of the philosophers—the αὐτοῖς of c 3: "his causas totius mundi dederunt" Fic. Ast cps. 815 c 5 ἀποτελούντων and 829 d 5 ἀποδιδόντων.)

c 6. τότε: i.e. at the date of the persecution of Anaxagoras.—A late hand in A, and O<sup>2</sup>, give ἐξεργασμένα as a variant for ἐξεργασμένα (which is active as at 801 e 8).—δυσχερείας, "unpopularity"—consequent on the ἀθεότης; the two words almost form a hendiadys. (Jowett's "much atheism and perplexity," and Wagn.'s "Abneigung gegen Beschäftigung mit dergleichen" are both wide of the mark.) τῶν τοιούτων is the philosophers, and ἐξερ. ἄπτεσθαι is "caused to attach."

c 7. καὶ δὴ καὶ λοιδορήσεις γε ἐπὶ ἡλθον ποιηταῖς, "and that was how poets took to abusing them." For ἐπέρχεσθαι τινα λέγειν τι cp. *Gorg.* 485 e 5 καὶ γὰρ ἐμοὶ τοιαῦτ' ἅττα ἐπέρχεται πρὸς σέ λέγειν, and *Crat.* 428 c 2. The γε marks a further stage arrived at by the opposition to philosophy; A and O wrote it as τε, but A<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>2</sup> corrected it. Cp. *Phil.* 48 d 7 λέγω καὶ δέομαι γε πρὸς τῷ λέγειν (where Stallb. would prefer τε, as A and O did here).

c 8. κυσὶ κτλ.: the passage from some (unidentified) poet is given more fully at *Rep.* 607 b 6. For the case of ἀπεικάζοντας cp. ἐπαρώμενον at 949 b 2.

d 1. The "other silly things" which poets took to saying were probably quotations which in *Rep.* follow that about ἡ λακέρυζα κύων.—O has here, in ἄλλα τε αὖ, alone preserved, as it did at 746 b 6, what seems to be the right reading (so Bekker, Stallb., and Burnet); A has ἄλλα τὰ altered to ἄλλα ταῦτα by A<sup>2</sup> and to ἄλλα τε by A<sup>3</sup>; we are not told what L has, but L has O's reading in the margin. (Zürr., Herm., and Wagn. read ἄλλα τε, Schn. a simple ἄλλα.) The ἡ . . . κύων of the *Rep.* passage confirms the gender of χρωμέναισιν, for which W. R. Paton proposes to read χρωμένοισιν.

d 4 ff. This paragraph sums up and reinforces the argument which began at 964 d 3. The highest class in the state must be (1) the most intelligent, (2) thoroughly trained in philosophical speculation, and (3) of an ordered, harmonious, and law-abiding

character and behaviour. In connexion with these requirements Ritter (p. 361 note) calls attention to Aristotle's remark (*Pol.* ii. 1265 a 2) that, though Plato started in the *Laws* to model a state suited to the actual condition of mankind, and only "second-best" as compared with the ideal state of the *Republic* (cp. above 739 a-e), he yet gradually brought round the second-best institutions more and more into resemblance with those of the ideal: *ταύτην βουλόμενος κοινότεραν ποιεῖν ταῖς πόλεσι κατὰ μικρὸν περιάγει πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἐτέραν πολιτείαν*. We have here, in fact, very much the same class of rulers which we have in the *Republic*.—*βεβαίως θεοσεβῆ*: only if the following requirements are fulfilled can a man's religion stand firm against the shock of doubt, or the temptations of life.

d 6. *πρεσβύτατον*: again, as at 966 d 9, and below at 969 a 7, I would take the superlative as equivalent to a strong English comparative—"far older than all."

d 8. *τόν τε εἰρημένον*: in the margin of L and O we are told that some scribes would omit *εἰρημένον*; this is natural in view of the previous *εἰρημένον*, but it is all the more unlikely that anyone should have put it in if Plato did not.

e 1. *τόν . . . νοῦν τῶν ὄντων*, "the world mind"—the mind which is "at the heart" of existence, the mysterious power of which *ἡ ἐν ἐνὶ φερομένη κίνησις* is an image (897 d ff.). (Stallb. denies the possibility of such an expression as *νοῦν τῶν ὄντων*, and would add the word *αἷτιον*, thus totally altering the sense of the passage, and introducing the strange idea that the special *νοῦς* which governs the motions of the stars is the cause of all created things.)—*τά τε πρὸ τούτων μαθήματα λάβῃ*: this is sufficiently explained by 818 a 1-3, where there is a significant reference to the education of the super-*φύλακες*.—The repetition of the *λάβῃ* is, grammatically speaking, unnecessary, but natural and helpful. (Stallb. would reject it.)

e 2 f. *τά τε . . . συναρμοσπόντως*: we may perhaps paraphrase "and unless he grasps the connexion between that study and the science of Harmony so as to apply the spirit of it to his practical behaviour and his sense of what is lawful." Cp. *Rep.* 500 d 4 *ἃ ἐκεῖ ὁρᾷ μελετῆσαι εἰς ἀνθρώπων ἡθῆ καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ τιθέναι*. For the spiritual influence of Music cp. *Rep.* 401 d 5 *κυριωτάτῃ <ή> ἐν μουσικῇ τροφῇ, ὅτι μάλιστα καταδύεται εἰς τὸ ἐντὸς τῆς ψυχῆς ὃ τε ῥυθμὸς καὶ ἁρμονία . . . φέροντα τὴν εὐσχημοσύνην*.

968 a 1. We learn from Burnet that the *ὅσα τε μή*, which the



vulgate down to Ast adds to λόγον in e 4, was due to the fact that A wrote ὅσα τε μή instead of ὁ δὲ μή at the beginning of the next sentence, where O, as at 967 d 1, and at 764 b 6, has preserved the correct reading ὁ δὲ μή. A late hand in A added ὁ δὲ μή in the margin, and so the vulgate got both. Fic. ignores the ὅσα τε μή. —For ταῖς δημοσίαις ἀρεταῖς cp. above on 710 a 5 τὴν δημώδη (σωφροσύνην). The man here depicted is of course one of τοῖς πλείστοις spoken of at 966 c 4 ff. "The popular virtue in its highest conceivable form leads to the same conduct as the philosophic virtue. The difference is that we can trust the latter, and not the former" Archer-Hind, *Phaedo*, App. I. p. 153.

a 4 ff. ἤδη . . . εἰ καὶ τοῦτον προσοίσομεν, "if we shall straightway add this law too." (Fic. and several later interpreters take τοῦτον to agree with σύλλογον.)

a 6 f. ὡς φυλακὴν . . . σύλλογον, "(intending) that the nocturnal council of the rulers shall be a legally established protector and preserver." Here I follow Stallb. and Burnet in removing the comma which in other texts stands after σωτηρίας, and regarding ὡς φυλακὴν ἐσόμενον . . . τὸν νυκτ. σύλ. as an instance of the construction noticed, e.g., at 762 e 5.

b 1. παιδείας . . . κοινωνὸν γινόμενον: this participial clause contains the most important point in the Ath.'s pronouncement.

b 2. L<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>2</sup> and Constantine in the margin of A mention an inferior variant ποιούμεν for ποιῶμεν.

b 3. We owe the correct ἀλλ', ὃ ᾧστε to O<sup>2</sup>; O had ἄλλωσ τε, a copyist's slip; A had ἀλλ' ὅλως τε, which is a misreading started by the substitution of ο for ω as at 967 c 2.

b 7. Stallb. and Burnet rightly mark off πρὸς δ' . . . εὐρήσω as a parenthesis. The Ath.'s being at home in the subject is no guarantee that other people are so, but it is a justification for his offer of help.

b 11. τίς δὲ ὁ τρόπος ἡμῖν γινόμενος ὁρθῶς γίγνοιτ' αἶν: these words might be supposed to refer to the statutory constitution of the σύλλογος. But this has already been explained more or less above at 951 d ff. and 961 a onwards. The Ath.'s words at c 4 ff. τότε δὲ . . . νομοθετεῖν imply that he supposed Cleinias had in view, among other things, the definition of the powers of the Council, but we may, I think, assume that Cleinias had grasped the significance of the Ath.'s insistence on the special training necessary for its members, and also felt that that was the point on which he needed most enlightenment.

c 1. O<sup>2</sup> gives the emphatic τουτί as a variant for τοῦτο, and

all editors but Schn. and Burnet have adopted it.—For the λέγωμεν of ALO L<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>2</sup> mention a variant λέγομεν.

c 3 f. οὐκέτι νόμους . . . δυνατόν ἐστὶν νομοθετεῖν, “we can go no further with our law-making.”

c 4. πρὶν ἂν κοσμηθῇ, “until (the Council) is set up.” (Fic. and Jowett (ed. 2) take *the state* to be the subject, and Jow. translates αὐτοὺς by “the citizens.”—τότε δὲ . . . νομοθετεῖν, “then it will be time to decide what their powers ought to be.” L and O mention a plausible but not necessary νομοθετητέον for νομοθετεῖν; infinitives which count as indirect imperatives are common in the *Laws*. (Ritter’s view, p. 364, which is very attractive, is that we should get at the true meaning of the above parenthesis if we could persuade ourselves that the words κυρίους and αὐτοὺς ought to exchange places; “then let *them* (the members of the Council) fix by law what they ought to have power over.” By supplying κυρίους in thought with γίγνεσθαι Ritter thinks that even with the arrangement in the text this meaning can be extracted.)

c 5 ff. ἀλλὰ ἥδη . . . ὀρθῶς, “but only the schooling of many a conference can rightly form an instrument like that.” κατασκευάζειν, “get into shape,” is a quasi-synonym for the κοσμεῖν of c 4. Burnet usefully marks off τότε δὲ . . . νομοθετεῖν as a parenthesis; ἀλλὰ ἥδη κτλ. continues the idea of οὐκέτι δυν. ἐστ. νομ.

c 9. A,<sup>2</sup> L<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>2</sup> give the unsuitable καταδεκτέος as a variant for καταλεκτέος; perhaps some scribe thought καταλεκτέος κατάλογος stylistically objectionable.—A and O wrote εἰ for εἴη. The omission of η was probably due to the following κ. In early minuscules the characters for η and κ were very similar. The vulgate down to Ed. Bipont. has an absurd ῆ.—κατάλογος: we must turn to the beginning of Bk. VI. in order to find what were the possibilities for such a selection. We are there told (754 c 6) that, doubtless including the ten Cnossians who were charged with founding the new Magnesia (702 c 5), 100 of the oldest and best Cnossians were to be chosen to take part in the preliminary selection of chief magistrates. From these would come the original 37 νομοφύλακες. Of these the ten oldest, with the addition of, say, fifteen of the distinguished priests of Apollo and the Sun, who acted as Euthynoi, and three past and present Directors of Education, with five approved travellers in foreign parts, would provide the older members of the Council. If these thirty-three chose each a younger companion there would be in all sixty-six, a not unlikely number.

d 2. *τρόπων ἥθεσιν καὶ ἔθουσιν*, "in character and habits."

d 3. *ἀ δεῖ μανθάνειν*: this refers to the detailed mapping out of the subjects of Mathematics, Astronomy, and Philosophy, which we have been told are to be the subjects of advanced study.

d 5. *χρόνους, οὓς τε καὶ ἐν οἷς*: i.e. (1) the *sequence of subjects*, and (2) the *time to be allowed to each*.—O<sup>2</sup> gives *ἕκαστον* as a variant for *ἕκαστα*, and Zürr. adopt it.

d 6. Both the structure of the sentences and the following justifying *γάρ* clause make it clear that *ταῦτ'* refers only to the sequence and duration of the separate studies.—*ἐν γράμμασιν λέγειν* means "to prescribe," and can hardly have, as Ritter hesitatingly suggests, a reference to written text-books.

e 1. *ὅτι* is the neut. indirect interrogative.

e 2. For the MS. *πov* O and L mention a variant *τοῦ*; if any change be thought necessary, Stallb.'s *τον* is preferable.—With the whole passage from c 5 to e 5 Ritter well compares the following passage from *Ep. vii.* 341 (c 4—d 1) *οὐκουν ἐμόν γε περὶ αὐτῶν [philosophy] ἔστιν σύγγραμμα οὐδὲ μήποτε γένηται· ῥητὸν γὰρ οὐδαμῶς ἔστιν ὡς ἄλλα μαθήματα, ἀλλ' ἐκ πολλῆς συνουσίας γιγνομένης περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα αὐτὸ καὶ τοῦ συζήν, ἐξαίφνης, οἷον ἀπὸ πυρὸς πηδίσαντος ἐξαφθὲν φῶς, ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ [i.e. of the pupil] γιγνόμενον αὐτὸ ἑαυτὸ ἤδη τρέφει.*

e 4. A<sup>3</sup>, L<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>2</sup> give a futile variant *ἐλεγχθέντα* for *λεχθέντα*.—All subsequent editors (even Schn.) have adopted Ast's brilliant, though simple, emendation of the MS. *ἀπόρρητα* to *ἀπρόρρητα*.

e 4 f. *διὰ τὸ μηδὲν προρρηθέντα δηλοῦν τῶν λεγομένων*: in effect this amounts to saying that it is hopeless to try and convince the public beforehand of the propriety and advisability of any definite course of advanced study. For the general education of the average citizen he has in Bk. VII. mapped out the course pretty completely. Cp., e.g., 809 e ff.

e 7 ff. *τὸ λεγόμενον . . . ποιητέον*, "it is open to us, in the common phrase, to try our luck. If we can make up our minds to put the fortunes of our whole community to the test, we must do so, and (so) risk complete success or complete failure." I follow Fic. in the interpretation of this passage, and in preferring the *βάλλοντας* of A<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>2</sup> to the *βάλλοντες* of A and O, but not preferring the *πάντα* of L and O<sup>2</sup> to the *ταῦτα* of A and O. Schn. and Burnet alone prefer *βάλλοντες*, holding doubtless that the clause belongs to *ἐθέλομεν*. Herm., Stallb., and Wagn. (as well as Schn. and Bur.) prefer *ταῦτα* to *πάντα*. Reading *ταῦτα* we must

decide whether ταῦτα ποιητέον means "we must do as I say" (about the Council), or simply "we must do so," i.e. take the risk; probably it means the latter.

**969 a 1.** ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν συγκινδυνεύσω: the Ath. here accepts frankly the duty to which at 753 a 7 ff. he demurred.

**a 3.** κекινημένης: for κινεῖν in the sense "start a subject" cp. *Politicus* 297 c 7, *Rep.* 450 a 8. The common form of expression is λόγον κινεῖν περί τινος rather than κινεῖν (e.g. παιδείαν) ἐν λόγοις. The αὐτὸς is possibly an allusion to the fact that the task of training the younger councillors involves a second introduction of the subject of education treated in Bk. VI., but such an expression hardly seems in place; perhaps we should read δὴ for it.

**a 4.** οὐδ' ἑτέροις τιςὶν προσφερές, "and no small risk either."

**a 6.** ἢ ᾧ ἂν θεὸς ἐπώνυμον αὐτὴν ποιήσῃ: Fic. curiously takes this to mean "or after whomsoever else (than you) God has it named." Clearly it is "or after whatsoever person or thing else (than the city of the Magnetes) God has it called." For ἐπώνυμος with the dat., "called after," L. & S. cites *Soph. Fr.* 408 (Dind.), 877 (Nauck).

**a 7.** ἢ: an alternative like "either victory or Westminster Abbey."—With ἀνδρείοτατος τῶν ὕστ. ἐπιγ. cp. Milton's "Adam the goodliest man of men since born."

**b 1.** For the δοκεῖν of A and O, A<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>2</sup> suggest δόξα.

**b 2.** For οὗτος O mentions a variant τοιοῦτος.

**b 3.** ἀμφισβήτησις τε κτλ., "there is hardly a modern legislator of a different opinion"; i.e. no legislator will be able to provide anything better. With ἀμφ. παρὰ ταῦτα cp. *Gorg.* 507 a 2 παρὰ ταῦτα ἄλλα.

**b 5.** σχεδὸν ὕπαρ ἀποτετελεσμένοι: cp. *Rep.* 443 b 7 τέλειον ἄρα ἡμῖν τὸ ἐνύπνιον ἀποτετέλεσται, and *Od.* xix. 547 οὐκ ὄναρ ἀλλ' ὕπαρ ἐσθλόν, ὃ καὶ τετελεσμένον ἔσται.

**b 6.** σμικρῷ πρόσθεν: i.e. 961 d.

**b 7.** A and O write οὔτε after κεφαλῆς, a mistake of the hand, not of the mind; O<sup>2</sup> corrected it to νοῦ τε, and a late hand in A wrote νοῦ in the margin.

**b 8.** A, whose eye must have wandered to the συμμείξαντες in the previous line, has συμμιχθῶσι for the ἐκλεχθῶσι of O and the margin of L. Herm., Wagn., and Burnet rightly follow O (cp. above, 746 b 6, and 967 d 1).

**c 2 f.** οἷους . . . πρὸς ἀρετὴν: cp. 627 e 3 τρίτον . . . πρὸς ἀρετὴν, and *Meno* 100 a 6 εὐθὺς τοιοῦτος . . . πρὸς ἀρετὴν "just such a man for virtue"; here it is "such as we never saw

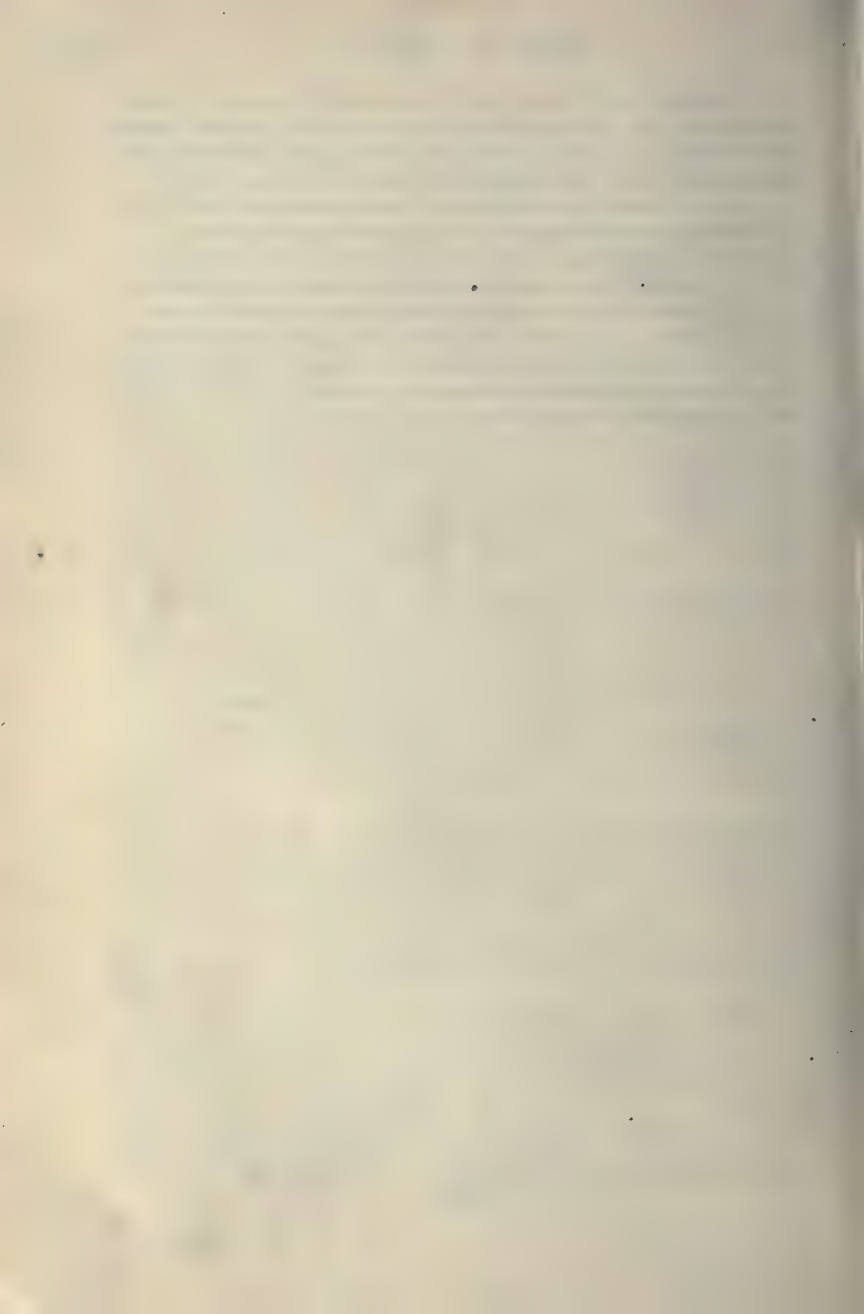


yet for perfection of saving power." σωτηρίας is probably a *gen. of definition*; cp. 722 b 3 εἰς ἀρετὴν τῆς χρείας. (Stallb. makes σωτ. depend on φύλακες. Ast says πρὸς ἀρ. σωτ. stands for πρὸς σωτηρίαν ἀρετῆς. Winckelmann would read σωτῆρας.)

c 5 and c 7. Steph. corrected the κατοικήσεως and κατοίκησιν of the MSS. and previous edd. to κατοικίσεως and κατοίκισιν.—The *gen. κατοικίσεως* is the same as that which is usual with verbs of *desisting from*; e.g. with μεθίεναι (*intrans.*) or μεθίεσθαι.

d 1. To the ἐγὼ of A and O Bishop Constantine added a τε.

d 2. Herm. and Burnet and Wagner rightly adopt the σὺ which Ast conjectured to have fallen out by a not unusual scribe's error before συλλάμβανε. The sentence is lame without it. Fic. has "sed tu quoque opem feras."



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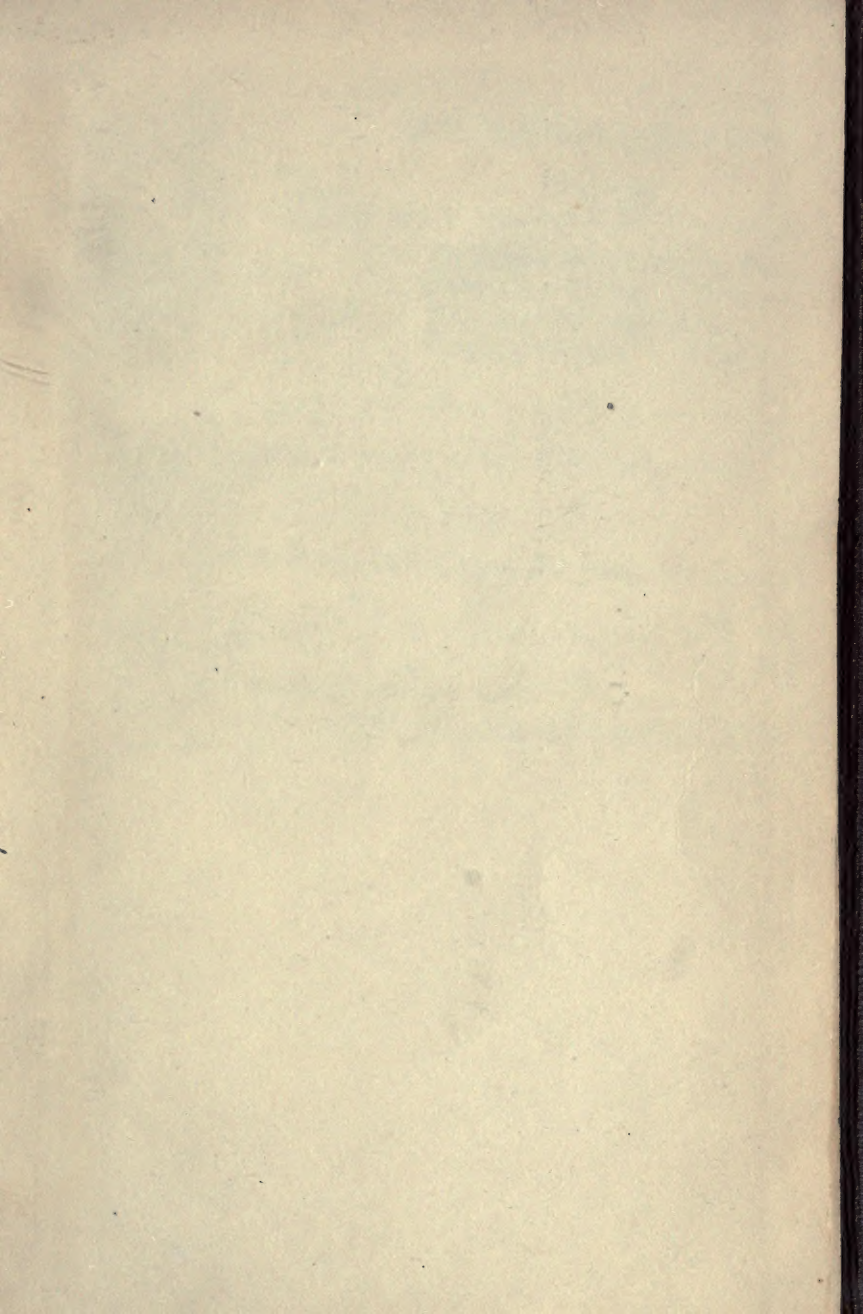
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